FOUNDATIONS OF ENGLAND

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THE FOUNDATIONS OF ENGLAND

SIR JAMES H. RAMSAY

THE FOUNDATIONS OF ENGLAND

OR TWELVE CENTURIES OF BRITISH HISTORY

(B.C. 55—A.D. 1154)

36107

BY

SIR JAMES H. RAMSAY OF BAMFF, BART., M.A

AUTHOR OF "LANCASTER AND YORK"

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME I

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To the Members of My Own Family

Living and Departed

Who have Assisted and Encouraged Me

in a Lengthy Task

PREFACE

THE favourable reception given by historical scholars to *Lancaster and York* encourages me to give to the public a further instalment of my work. Reasons to which I need not refer induced me to begin by publishing the last section of my History first. But I do not propose to go on advancing by backward steps, and therefore I now go straight to the period at which the British Islands are first brought within the light of external history. I am fully aware that I am now entering on a track that may be said to have been thoroughly explored, if not beaten flat, by the feet of those who have gone before me. Yet again it might be said what an array of problems and pitfalls does not the rash man face who professes to deal in the spirit of our age with twelve centuries of history! I can only say that the work has not been undertaken to support any preconceived theories, or with any polemical object; that a weary length of years has been devoted to it; and that I have endeavoured to avail myself of all the best lights.

Some thirty years ago the late Mr. C. H. Pearson gave to the world two brightly written volumes that claimed to represent the most advanced state of historical knowledge. But historical research has been actively at work since then; and our knowledge has been proportionately extended. A fresh landmark might fairly now be set up. Public taste, no doubt, of late years has favoured short monographs—"Epochs," and "Lives," and "Studies" dealing with individual situations, or persons, or problems. Such treatment of subjects, when done scientifically, and with proper reference to authorities, is most valuable, the best of all work perhaps. But for those who have to "get up," and those who have to assist others in "getting up," history for definite ends,

the thread of a continuous narrative, on a uniform plan, with consistent views, must have its value.

My narrative throughout is based on an independent examination of the original authorities. For personal collaboration I fear that I have no one to thank. But at every step I find myself under the greatest obligations to the works of others. These obligations, I trust, will be found properly acknowledged.

With pre-historic questions I have not presumed to meddle. Coming to history proper, a natural desire of late has shewn itself for information as to the social condition of the people at various stages of our history, and Histories professing to be more or less "social" have been published with little or nothing in the way of social facts to record, evidence on social questions being only accessible through the laborious paths of special research. But for the Celtic population of our Islands I may say that we have evidence as to social facts and life going back to very remote periods—periods anterior to any for which we have any records of current events. The stages of development in the career of the Family and the Tribe reflected by the testimony of the old Irish customs embodied in the *Senchus Mor* will be found very interesting. If the actual process of early feudalization does not reveal itself, distinct steps in the process may be noted clearly. For the sketch of Celtic mythology, and the few facts anterior to the Roman occupation, I must confess myself indebted to the works of Sir John Evans and Mr. John Rhys. Of the period of the Roman occupation I have endeavoured to give a more connected account than has yet been put together. Hüber and Mommsen have contributed much of the materials. Personal acquaintance with the localities has assisted me in tracking out the course of Agricola's campaigns in modern Scotland. I hope and believe that my localization of the Battle of the *Mons Graupius* will be generally accepted. The site gives life to the narrative of Tacitus. For the dim period between the end of the Roman occupation and the traditional beginning of the Anglo-Saxon settlements only a little Church history can be offered; but still deathless interest attaches to the names of Ninian and Patrick. For the earlier Anglo-Saxon period, fixing of dates and sites is the most that can be done; but

the vivid insight of the late Mr. J. R. Green has enabled us to bring out salient features, and to track the workings of underlying causes. The course of Anglo-Saxon legislation I have treated historically, and in connexion with the social surroundings of the times. To all facts bearing on the condition of the agricultural population of England down to the time of the Norman Conquest I have given special attention. For the Anglo-Saxon constitution, both earlier and later, and in endless other ways, I have to acknowledge my obligations to our great historic scholar, Bishop Stubbs. In fixing sites the *Mediæval Military Architecture* of Mr. G. T. Clark has been of great service to me. To battles and military operations I continue to give special attention. I feel confident that I have discovered the long-lost site of "Brunnanburh." I may point out that an American investigator, without fixing the exact spot, pronounces in favour of the same locality (C. T. Wyckoff, *Feudal Relations of England and Scotland*, p. 14, Chicago, 1897). I venture to invite attention to my accounts of the battles of Maldon, Ashington-Canewdon, and especially of Senlac. For the later Anglo-Saxon period and the reigns of the two Williams, it is unnecessary to say that the patient industry and wide reading of Mr. E. A. Freeman have placed all available materials at the disposition of students. A review of the facts is as much as is open to any one coming after him. The reigns of Henry I. and Stephen give greater scope. For the latter period the *Geoffrey de Mandeville* of Mr. J. Horace Round has enabled me to supply a fairly intelligible account. I must also gratefully acknowledge the light that his other writings have thrown on a variety of difficult questions connected with the Norman Conquest.

BAMFF, 1898. J. H. RAMSAY.

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NOTE TO READER

Where the *ipsissima verba* of another are given without modification, double inverted commas (" ") are used. If the words are translated, transliterated, or in any way modified, single inverted commas (' ') are used; e.g. "*Candida Navis*"; "*La Blanche Nef*"; 'The White Ship.' "With all my horrible imperfections on my head"; 'with all his horrible imperfections on his head.'

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CHAPTER I

Earliest Historic Notices of the British Isles—Celtic Immigrations—Ethnology—Early Celtic Life and Institutions—The Primitive Family and its History—The *Senchus Mor*

THE British Islands are situated nearly in the centre of the northern temperate zone between the 50th and 58th parallels of north latitude, and their aggregate area does not quite amount to 123,000 square miles, an extent of territory less by one-third than that of Italy, and not much more than half of that either of France or of the Spanish peninsula. Yet a rare combination of physical advantages have amply compensated to the inhabitants of these Islands the narrow bounds of the land they live in. A mild and healthy climate, free from extremes of heat or cold; a soil of diversified surface and great general fertility; a regular and abundant rainfall, the first requisite for agricultural production; an insular configuration, giving protection against foreign invasion; an extensive seaboard and numerous harbours to encourage commerce and naval enterprise; and, lastly, an immense wealth of mineral products, are among the causes that have made Britain great.

The British Islands.

The British Islands may be said, in the language of modern research, to have been "discovered" by Pytheas of Marseilles, an eminent Greek mathematician and astronomer. Pytheas had heard of Britain and British tin; and he was prompted to explore this new world by the desire of establishing commercial relations, along with a new trade route through Gaul, for the benefit of his fellow-townsmen, in opposition to the Carthaginians, who had the entire command of the tin drawn from the Spanish Peninsula; the small tin-bearing islands off the coast of Galicia may be identified with the Kassiterides,—'the tin islands from whence our tin comes,'—as mentioned by Herodotus more than a century before the time of Pytheas.[1] They have sometimes, on the authority of Festus Avienus, a writer of the fourth century of our era, been identified with the Scilly Islands on the Cornish coast.[2] But the older authorities—Posidonius (born circa 135 B.C.), as quoted by Strabo, Diodorus Siculus (floruit 50 B.C.), and Pliny (died A.D. 79)—distinctly connect the tin islands with the coast of the Iberian Peninsula.[3] To Festus again appears to be due the further belief that the

Earliest Notices.

Pytheas.

[1] Herodotus, *Hist.*, III., c. 15. This writer flourished circa 450 B.C.

[2] See the extracts, *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. xix. (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848.)

[3] *Id.*, iii. v. viii. See also Elton, *Origins of English History*, 13–18.

Carthaginians worked mines in Britain; this again must be declared unfounded. There is no historical evidence for the supposition, and archæological evidence is equally wanting. Not a coin or an article of Phœnician make has ever been discovered on the soil of Britain.[1]

To return to Pytheas. He lived in the time of Aristotle and Alexander the Great; but his travels are not noticed by the former, and therefore are judged to have been published after his death, which took place in the year 322 B.C. Pytheas' journals are unfortunately lost; but fossil fragments of them have been discovered embedded in the writings of Strabo and others. From these relics and other notices of Pytheas, carefully collected and arranged by Mr. C. Elton, we learn that he made his way to Britain by sailing round the coasts of Spain and Gaul, and so up the Channel till he landed in "Kantion"—Kent—which he roughly describes as facing the mouths of the Rhine. Great Britain appears to have been known to him as 'Brettanic,' or 'the Brettanic Isle,'[2] the group being also spoken of as the "Brettanides," names more in accordance with Celtic spelling than the later Roman derivatives, 'Britannus' and 'Brittanicus.' Pytheas apparently landed in the early summer; he made his way up the east coast to the far north, returning by the same line to Kent, from whence he sailed to the mouth of the Garonne, proceeding from thence overland to his native city. His explorations were thus confined to our eastern coasts. He saw plenty of wheat, and noticed with surprise that the natives had to thrash their corn in big huts,[3] *i.e.* barns, the climate not admitting of outdoor threshing as in Southern Europe: he also noticed a drink made of wheat and honey, the metheglin or mead of later ages.

Visit to Britain.

How far Pytheas contributed towards opening up intercourse between Britain and Marseilles does not appear. The earliest British coins that have come down to us are copied ultimately from the coinage of Greece, through types derived from Marseilles. These British coins are supposed to date from about 200 B.C. If so, a trade route through Gaul would have been established by that time.[4]

Trade with Marseilles.

No reference to the sister island is made by Pytheas. For the first clear mention of its name and also for the first mention of that which appears to have been the oldest distinctive name of Great Britain we are indebted to the anonymous author of a treatise on the World, formerly attributed to Aristotle, but now admitted to have been written some seventy years later, or about 250 B.C. 'In the ocean outside the Pillars of Hercules are two large islands called the Bretanics, Albion and Ierne.'[5] Ierne is of course Erin; and Albion appears to

Albion and Ierne.

[1] J. Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, p. 21. J. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 47. (S.P.C.K., 1882.)

[2] "ἡ Βρεττανική." Elton, *sup.*, Append. 428, 429.

[3] ἐν οἴκοις μεγάλοις.

[4] J. Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, 22, 34.

[5] ἔξω [τῶν Στηλῶν] νῆσοι τυγχάνουσι οὖσαι δύο βρεταvικαὶ λεγόμεναι Ἀλβιον καὶ Ἰερνη.

be merely a modification of the primitive Alba, genitive Alban,[1] the name by which Gaelic speaking people still designate North Britain. Thus the name, as used by them, "is one that has retreated to a corner of the island, to the whole of which it once applied."[2] As for the name Britain, Welsh Brydain or Prydain, Mr. Rhys would trace this back to the Latin Britannia, and that again to Britannus and Britanni; where the proper native spelling would be "Britto" and "Brittones"[3] Another view, however, is that the Welsh Prydain is merely from Brydain used in conjunction with the words *Ynys y*; "Ynys y Prydani"; 'The Isle of the Britons'; the *B* being modified by the preceding *s*.[4]

Some two centuries after the time of Pytheas Britain was visited by another distinguished Greek *savant*—the geographer Posidonius,[5] "with whom Cicero studied at Rhodes." His notes of travel again must be looked for in the pages of Diodorus Siculus, who wrote not many years later.[6] It would seem that Posidonius visited the tin districts of Cornwall, to which he gives the name of "Belerion." He describes the tin as being found not on the surface or by washing river sands, but by skilful mining in a rocky soil; the ore being smelted and cast into blocks shaped like knuckle bones.[7] The metal for exportation was carried by land to an island off the coast to which he gives the name of Ictis; he describes the island as being in reality such only at high tide, the channel being dry at low water when the tin was carried across. The foreign merchants who bought the metal at this primitive Staple shipped it to Gaul, and then carried it on pack horses, thirty days' journey, from the coast to the 'outlet of the Rhone' (*i.e.*, its junction with the Sâone); from whence it went down the river to Marseilles.[8]

Posidonius.

The Cornish Tin.

Export to Gaul.

Timæus the historian,[9] apparently quoting from the travels of Pytheas, speaks of an island "Mictis," on the British coast, to which seemingly tin was brought six days' sail in canoes of wicker work covered with hides. "Ictis" and "Mictis" might be thought to suggest "Vectis," the Isle of Wight. But why should the tin be taken over to the Isle of Wight, where there are no harbours, instead of being

Timæus.

De Mundo, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. i. Mr. Rhys again suggests that "Iverion" may have been the oldest name of Ireland.—*Rhind Lecture*, 1889-1890. The form used by St. Patrick in his Confessions is Hiberione or Hyberione. See the *Trip. Life*, vol. ii., passim, Professor C. Whitley Stokes. Rolls Series, No. 89.

[1] Albion would represent the Welsh pronunciation of a Gaelic Alban. Rhys, *sup.*, 202. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, 204.

[4] Windisch in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædia.

[5] Posidonius may have been born about 135 B.C., and probably visited Britain about 110 B.C.

[6] Diodorus flor. circa 50 B.C.

[7] A huge "knuckle-bone" of tin was dredged up near Falmouth in 1823. Elton, 235.

[8] See the extracts, *M. H. B.*, ii.

[9] Timæus apparently lived B.C. 352-256. Smith, *Dictionary of Biography*.

shipped direct from Southampton or Portsmouth? It has been suggested that "Ictis" and "Mictis" might be identified with Thanet; but there is no evidence of any great shipping intercourse in historic times between Thanet and the continent: the probability is that the bulk of the intercourse across the Channel was carried on between the places whose very names stamp them as having been from the beginning of time the stepping stones in this transit, Calais the Kyle or crossing place and Dover,[1] the Water, the place where men went down to their ships. Cæsar's statement that the tin came from inland supports this view, as it merely implies that the tin was brought to Kent from the mining districts by land, and not by water. The islands of "Ictis" and "Mictis" seem to have sprung out of the primitive Gaelic name for the Channel, *Muir-n-Icht*.[2] With this we may also connect *Morini*, the Roman name for the people of the Boulonnais and the neighbouring parts of Flanders and *Armorica* the later Brittany.

Timæus, still quoting Pytheas, as is supposed, gives a curious account of a mode of harvesting and dressing corn for food in Britain. 'Their harvest,' he says, 'consists in cutting off the ears of corn and storing them in pits underground; they take out each day the corn that has been longest stored, and dress the ears for food.' To understand this description one should compare it with a passage from Martin's 'Description of the Western Islands of Scotland,' which was published in 1703. "A woman," he says, "sitting down, takes a handful of corn, holding it by the stalks in her left hand and then sets fire to the ears, which are presently in a flame. She has a stick in her right hand, which she manages very dexterously, beating off the grains at the very instant when the husk is quite burnt. . . . The corn may be so dressed, winnowed, ground, and baked, within an hour after reaping from the ground."[3]

Parched Corn.

Before entering on the continuous history of Britain, which will begin with Cæsar's invasion, it may be well to take a glance at the ethnology of the Island and the early condition of the inhabitants. That the population was mainly if not wholly of Aryan Celtic blood[4] seems a fact too well recognised to need proof. All our river names appear to belong to one or other of the Celtic tongues. That the Celts entered Britain from Gaul may also be assumed; and the later immigrations appear to have resembled the Danish immigrations of the ninth and tenth centuries, beginning with predatory inroads and ending in territorial settlements. Cæsar writes as if the latest

Ethnology.

Celtic Immigrations.

[1] Irish, *dobar*; Welsh, *dwfr dwr*.

[2] *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, Irish Archæol. Society, 1844, p. 18.

[3] Elton, *Origins*, p. 33. In Ireland the operation was seen by Arthur Young, not a hundred years ago. Corn thus burnt in the ear is called *Loisgrean* (lusgraun). Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 237.

[4] For Aryan races, see J. Rhys' *Celtic Britain*, pp. 1, 2.

immigrations of Belgic Gauls were of recent date[1] and he mentions one Divitiacus, king of the Suessones (Soissons), as having exercised rule in Britain within living memory.[2] The memory of these colonists is perpetuated by the Roman name for Winchester—*Venta Belgarum*.

For the ethnology of Britain at the time of the Roman conquest we are obliged to depend in the main on evidence drawn from later times; but as we have no evidence of any extensive migrations or displacements of population during the Roman occupation, it does not seem too much to assume that, in the main, the distribution of races was the same when they entered the Island as when they left it. The Celtic inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland therefore apparently belonged to three sister races, representing three successive immigrations: the Gael, the so-called Picts, and the Britons.

Gael, "Picts," and Britons.

The Gael, or as they themselves spell the name Gaidhil, formerly Goidel,[3] are the ancestors of the Gaelic speaking inhabitants of Ireland and the West Highlands of Scotland, and of the Manxmen; Pictish blood runs in the veins of the bulk of the population of the Northern and Eastern Highlands of Scotland and Fife, while some relics may be found in the extreme south-west of Scotland,[4] and in Cornwall; while the Britons are represented by the modern Welsh, or as they call themselves Brythons or Kymry. At the period of the Roman conquest the Gael presumably had Ireland all to themselves; the Picts occupied Britain north of the Tweed, with some portions of the west coast of Southern Britain; while the Britons would hold all the rest. But in the absence of specific evidence these distributions must be taken as mere rough outlines and subject to all reservations. The Gael would represent the earliest Celtic immigrants, who has been driven westwards by the Picts; the Picts again having been displaced by the Britons.

One word as to pre-Celtic inhabitants of our islands: with these history cannot undertake to deal; but archæologists seem agreed in believing in an earlier race of Finnish or Turanian blood. It has been often remarked that all writers of antiquity in describing the Celts speak of them as a fair-haired race.[5] Special students of the subject believe the pre-Celtic inhabitants of Britain to have been dark haired. Now the pre-Celtic people, if not utterly exterminated, a very unlikely circumstance, would presumably have been absorbed and assimilated by the earliest Celtic immigrants, namely the Gael; of British races, the Gael have the largest proportion of

[1] *De Bello Gallico*, V. 12. [2] "Nostra memoria," *B. G.*, II. 4.

[3] Rhys, *C. B.*, 3.

[4] As late as the year 1138, at the Battle of the Standard, the men of Galloway are distinguished as Picts. See below, vol. ii., under that year.

[5] "Aurea casariis ollis," etc. Verg. *Æn.*, VIII. 659. See the further references, Elton, *Origins*, 113.

dark smooth hair. It is open to conjecture, therefore, that this peculiarity may be derived from an admixture of pre-Celtic blood.

The ethnic relations of the Gael to the Britions are pretty well recognised. The Pictish question is an old difficulty. Some regard them as Gael; others as Britons or Welshmen; while one eminent philologer would exclude them together from the family of Aryan races.[1] In our view the facts and probabilities of the case seem to tally best with the theory that they were a Celtic race, intermediate between the Gael and the Britons, and speaking an intermediate dialect.

Ethnic Relations.

The history and etymology of the name "Pict" again are involved in doubt; but the prevalent opinion is that the word was simply Roman. It "is found applied to them for the first time in a panegyric by Eumenius in the year A.D. 269."[2] In Welsh literature the name appears as "*Gwyddyl Ffichti*," 'Pict Gael'; the Welsh not recognising them as brethren; while the Irish equally disclaiming kinship, called them "*Cruithnig*";[3] a name which must have obtained some recognition among themselves as in later days we shall find them taking *Cruithne* as their *Eponymus*. Their own name for themselves has almost been lost, owing to the total want of Pictish literature, but it would seem that they called themselves simply "*Albanach*,"[4] "Albans" or "Men of Alba," as distinguished both from Gael and Britons.[5]

The Name "Pict."

"Albanach."

The differences in type between the Eastern Highlanders and the Western Highlanders, even at the present day, are clearly marked. On the other hand Tacitus, whose narrative of events in Britain is a mere outline, felt bound to record a difference in type between the "Caledonii," and the inhabitants of Southern Britain. Their stature and fair hair he thought pointed to a Teutonic origin. Without troubling ourselves with this suggestion, we may say that the "*rutulæ comæ*" quite agree with the type of tall, sandy Scotchman which we specially associate with Pictish blood. The Western Gael is darker, and, if red haired, of a deeper red. The

[1] Rhys, *C. B.*, 4, 56, 70, etc.

[2] Rhys, *C. B.* In his Rhind Lectures Mr. Rhys alters his view, contending that the name Pict was not, as is generally held, a loan word from the Latin, but of indigenous origin.

[3] Rhys, 236. In old Irish writings, Pictish names are treated as foreign words, and indeclinable. Whitley Stokes (*Academy*).

[4] The name is given in the *Senchus Mor*, I. 71. We have also a place in Londonderry, *Lis Albanagh*, the "lis" or fort of the Albans. Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, I. 272. So again at the Battle of the Standard, the war-cry of the men of Galloway is given in Latin as "Albani," evidently "Albanach."

[5] In Anglo-Saxon the name appears as "Peohta" or "Pihta," being the correct rendering of "Pict," as a word borrowed from Latin: hence comes the name "Pentland" Hills, still written "Pechtland" in the sixteenth century: the name must have been given by Teutonic settlers in East Lothian. The name again appears in "Pentland" Forth which was probably applied to it by the Norsemen.

type of the later Teutonic settlers in the Eastern Lowlands is again different.

But the divisions of the Celtic family must be determined by reference to the rules of Celtic phonology. The letter *p*, common in Welsh, is rejected by the Gaelic dialects, where it is represented by the letter *c*, "liable to be modified into the guttural spirant *ch*." Thus the Welsh "*pen*," = head, is in Gaelic "*caenn*": the Welsh *mab* ("for an older *map*") is the Gaelic *mac* = "son." Again an initial letter *f* is essentially Gaelic; being represented in Welsh by *gw*: so the Gaelic *finn* = "white," becomes *gwyn* in Welsh.[1] The Pictish language shows its intermediate position by retaining on the one hand the Welsh *p*, with which Scottish place-names abound; while on the other hand, without altogether rejecting the Welsh *gw*, it generally prefers either the Gaelic *f*, or an intermediate *w*. Of the Pictish kings three are said to have been sons of *Wid*. This name in Welsh would be *Gwydd*; in Gaelic *Foit* or *Foith*: and again we have a name Wrad, which in Welsh would be *Gwriad*.[2] The relations of the three languages appear to be curiously epitomised in their names for the Roman Walls' end on the Forth; which were, British *Pengual*; Pictish *Penfahel*; and Gaelic *Cenail* now Kinneil; "where *Cenail* accurately represents the pronunciation of the Gaelic *cean-fhaill*, literally *Head of Wall*, *f* being quiescent in construction."[3]

Evidence of Language.

Pengual. Penfahel. Cenail.

"By Pol Tre and Pen
One may know the Cornish men."

All three vocables are found to the North of the Tweed; where we also have a special "Traver"; (as in Travernent now Tranent; Traveregles, now Terregles;) a word not found in Wales.[4] But the especial Pictish root would seem to be "Pit," properly Pet, as "Pitcairly," "Pitfour"; meaning Portion and = Welsh Peth, old Irish Cuit, and modern Cuid.[5] One hundred and sixty-five place names beginning with "*Pit*" are to be found in Scotland, between Caithness and the Tweed, but all on the Eastern side of the country; a very large proportion being found in the "Kingdom" of Fife, where the Pictish tradition is the strongest.[6] Three other root words recognised as Pictish are *Auchter*, *For*, and *Fin*. "*Auchter* is obviously the Gaelic *Uachter*, upper, and as such we have

[1] See Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, I. 205, etc. Rhys' *C. B.*, 223.

[2] R. Garnett, *Philological Essays*, p. 197.

[3] Garnett, p. 198, *Bæda Hist. Eccl.*, I. c. 12. Nennius, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 60, cf. Skene, *sup.*, 218.

[4] Skene, *sup.*, 215.

[5] Ex relatione Whitley Stokes; cf. Skene, *sup.*, 223.

[6] For old British names with the letter *p* preserved by classical writers (Mons Graupius one of them), see Rhys' *C. B.*, 225. Names involving the letter *x* might also perhaps be regarded as Pictish; see p. 228. This in Welsh ought to be *ch* or *h*, in Gaelic *s* or *ss*.

it in Ireland. It is not in Wales." *For* and *Fin* are contractions from *Fothuir* and *Fothen*: they again shew the Gaelic *f* and do not occur in Wales.[1]

The affinities and the distinctions as towards the Gael on the one hand, and the Britons on the other hand seem pretty well balanced.

It may not be out of place to remark here that when we come to domestic literature we shall find the threefold division of the Celtic race, as Britons, Picts, and Scots (Gael) uniformly recognised by all writers. If, however, we should find ourselves unable to assign to the Picts a co-ordinate position between the Gael and the Britons they must be classed with the latter. The prevalence of the letter *p* and other Welsh forms in names of undoubted antiquity seems conclusive on this point. For instance the two ancient divisions of the county of Aberdeen, Mar and Buchan, seem simply the Welsh for Great and Small. Now the Welsh forms must be primitive, because at no time posterior to the Roman occupation was there any immigration from Southern into Northern Britain by which Welsh forms could have been imported. On the other hand we know that the immigration of the Gael-Scots from Ireland must have brought, and did in fact bring, a large influx of Gaelic forms to overlay or supplant the earlier forms. Thus, the island at the mouth of the Firth of Forth is now called Inch Keith, a strictly Gaelic name. But it was known to Bæda as "Guidi" where the Welsh *gw* seems traceable. In short the Gaelic names need not be primitive, but the Welsh or quasi-Welsh forms must be primitive.[2]

British Civilization.

Of the civilization and manners of the early Britons the writings of Cæsar and other authorities do not give us a high idea; not even with respect to the Britons of the South coast. These, no doubt, had a coinage, as we shall see; but as a whole the people could only be described as entering the age of iron; that is to say that with them iron had begun to come into use, without displacing bronze, or even stone, which in fact for some purposes outlived bronze.[3]

In the matter of domestic arts and material appliances the life of the Britains was certainly primitive. Their dwellings, like those of the Gauls, were mere wigwams, circular structures of sticks and reeds;[4] sometimes,

[1] Skene, *sup.*, 224. The present Finhaven is for Fothenavon. Forteviot for Fothiurtabhaicht.

[2] Mr. Whitley Stokes holds that Pictish "was a Celtic language nearer to Welsh than to Irish." *Academy*, 4th June, 1892, and 20th January, 1894. *Linguistic value of Irish Annals.* So too Prof. Windisch and Mr. A. Macbain.

[3] In a British cemetery, of late date, we have flint flakes and flint scrapers associated with implements of bronze, and iron, and pottery of superior make.

[4] The primary meaning of the Welsh "Adail," to 'build,' whence "adeilad," a 'building,' is said to be to 'wattle.' D. S. Evans' Welsh Dictionary, cited Rhys. The primitive Anglo-Saxon word was to 'timber' a house (getimbrian), implying more substantial structures.

but only sometimes, resting on stone foundations: their forts and refuges, always circular or elliptical in plan, were mere "pahs," fastness ingeniously fenced in with earthworks and palisades. Dwelling-houses. Cæsar praises the efficiency of their war-chariots; but the use of chariots seems to imply that their horses or ponies were mostly too small to ride upon. Again it is clear that the Britons tattooed their bodies[1] with woad; and we must recognise the fact that their matrimonial customs were polyandric. Tattooing. In modern society intellectual culture is so much bound up with luxury and domestic comfort that we can hardly realise culture without comforts. Yet the two are not necessarily connected; and Celtic Ireland still supplies the best proof of the fact. A Life of America's great poet tells us of "a ragged Irish labourer, unshaven and unshorn"; reared presumably in a cabin; who, on seeing the inscription on a piece of plate in a shop window in New York, exclaimed, "That must be for a prisintation to the poet Longfellow; thim two lines . . . is from his poethry."[2] In like manner the Britons though primitive were not uncultured. At any rate the world has been slow in getting rid of the usages which we deem primitive in them. Houses made of clay and wicker work:—"creel houses":—were still known in Scotland in the last century; Berwick-upon-Tweed, the border fortress, was only protected by palisades in 1296. To the present day sea-faring men in England are frequently tattooed. We can understand what the tattoo mark was to the primitive man; it was his colour, his flag, his heraldic device, the badge of his race and kin; and all men are proud of their race. What the tattooed heart or anchor represents to the mind of the modern Tar it would be hard to say.

The evidence of British polyandry may appear slight, but when taken in connexion with the proofs accumulating from day to day of the wide-spread diffusion of such customs in former days, and of their survivals in modern days, it must be pronounced sufficient;[3] and a recognition of the fact is necessary for a proper understanding of early Celtic society. Polyandry. The theory of the relationship of tribal communities is clearly derived from an original mother kinship, afterwards transferred under

[1] Cæsar, *B. G.*, v. 14. Ovid, *Amorum*, II. xvi. 39: "Viridesque Britannos." The poet lived B.C. 43 to A.D. 18; also Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, XXII., c. 2 (A.D. 23–79); C. J. Solinus (circa A.D. 80) given *M. H. B.*, x. For later notices referring to the Northern parts of the Island, see Claudian "In Rufinum," I. 123, *M. H. B.*, xcvii. (A.D. 396) "Nec falso nomine Pictos"; the letter of Sidonius Apollinaris to Lampridius (*Epp.* viii.) cited by Mr. Rhys, *sup.*, 55 (A.D. 431–482); Isidore of Seville, *Origg.*, IX. ii. 103. extracted Skene, *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 339; "Scoti propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore" (died A.D. 636), and the St. Gall MS., cited *Encycl. Brit.*, "Ireland" from Hattemar, *Denkmale*, II. 227, 233.

[2] *Final Memorials of H. W. Longfellow*, by S. Longfellow.

[3] So C. N. Starcke, *La Famille Primitive*, p. 136; and E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 454 (London, 1891). Neither writer believes in general polyandry.

modifications to communities under the laws of male kinship, male eponyms being invented to suit the new state of things.[1] In Southern Britain polyandry was passing away, if not gone, by the time of the Roman invasion; there we find kinship distinctly traced on the father's side. But for polyandry in the Midlands and the North we have the testimony of a series of writers;[2] with the conclusive fact as regards the latter districts that in the royal Pictish House of Scotland, at any rate down to the time of Kenneth Macalpin (842–856) descent was traced in the female line.[3] So in Irish legend the higher gods are spoken of as the "*Tuatha Dé Danann*," or tribes of the goddess Danu. "In Welsh her name takes the form of *Doû* and the gods descended from her are accordingly called the children of *Doû* . . . Their father is not usually mentioned."[4]

Evidence of Irish and Welsh Legends.

Probably it will come to be recognised ere long that the mere appearance of a woman in the position of a reigning queen, in a primitive community, is *prima facie* evidence of polyandry past or present. In Britain we are confronted by queens and princesses from the very first.[5]

Female Rule.

Dion Cassius records the story of the British lady, wife of a Northern chieftain, Argentocoxos, who assured Julia Augusta, the wife of Septimius Severus, that she could have as many husbands of her own rank as she pleased.[6] This suggests the prevalence of something like the system of the Nairs of Travancore, where the sisters live at home with their brothers, the eldest male acting as head of the family. The sisters' children are the heirs of the house;[7] the brother's offspring belonging to the houses in which they are born. Thus the family property is kept together: there is no need to provide portions for the sisters, for they have a joint interest in the family property, which cannot be alienated without their consent:[8] they have a voice in all matters of

A Northern Lady.

[1] W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*. The close resemblance of bhrâtri = brother to bhartri = husband is noticed by Max Müller, *Academy*, 17th Jan., 1885.

[2] Cæsar, *B. G.*, V. c. 14; Eusebius Præpar. Evan., *M. H. B.*, xcv. Jerome attributes polyandry to the North Britons on the authority of natives whom he met in Gaul; *Id.*, xcix. See also Strabo, *Geogr.*, iv. 208, *M. H. B.*, vii. (B.C. 54–to A.D. 21), and C. J. Solinus, *M. H. B.*, x.

[3] So Bæda, *Hist. Eccl.*, I. i. s. 7, where, however, a mythical reason is given for the custom, so too in the books of Lecain and Ballymote, Printed *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 40, 45. See Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I., 232, 301, 306, 315, 323.

[4] J. Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 89, 90.

[5] See below for the Queens Cartismandua and Boudicca. That women were as eligible as men for the position of sovereign is distinctly stated by Tacitus: "*Neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt.*" *Agricola*, c. 16.

[6] *M. H. B.*, lxi. Dion lived A.D. 155, till after 230.

[7] Cf. F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven.*

[8] Starke, *Famille Primitive*, 97, 98, suggests that landownership was the root of polyandry, at least of one type of it (Paris, 1891).

importance; and they enjoy the special respect due to those whose children are the heirs of the family.[1] All the essential features of this system are traceable in the ancient customs of Ireland. Casar speaks of the intermarriage of brothers and sisters as common. A well-known case in Brehon law was that of the two sons of Parthalon, who were married to their sisters, the 'two chief daughters of Parthalon.'[2] So again Dechtere, the sister of Conchobar the Ulster hero, acted not only as his charioteer, but also as his bedfellow.[3] Another leading case was that of Dorn daughter of Buidhe who had committed an offence against family law by connecting herself with a stranger, a Pict or Albanach, by whom she had a son, without the privity or consent of the family. For this offence, when need came for a hostage to be given up, she was the person selected. But her son, mongrel Pict though he was, belonged to the family in her right—and it was for a murder committed by him, along with other members of the family, that the unfortunate woman was given into bondage.[4]

Old Irish Customs.

The right of the family to control the connexions formed by the female members[5] must have been based on the theory that a child *primâ facie* belonged to the mother's family. Again the child of a woman carried off by force from her family, if born within a month, belonged to her family; and the father had to buy it from them if he wished to have it.[6] Again we hear of the independent woman living in her own house and receiving the visits of her 'husband' there. This was recognised as a special form of marriage with definite legal incidents.[7] This recals the "Beena" wife of Ceylon and early Arabia; and, more remotely, the Roman wife who retained her independent *status* by absenting herself for one day in the year from her husband's house. The form of capturing a wife gone through in Irish and Welsh weddings suggests that exclusive rights over a wife may

[1] Ex relatione Atholl Macgregor, H.M.I.C.S., for five years in charge of the Malabar District, and again for five years Resident at Travancore.

[2] *Senchus Mor*, I. 155. For other cases see Rhys' *Hibbert Lectures*, 308, 431.

[3] Rhys' *Hibbert Lectures*, 431. For further cases, one Welsh, one Irish, see p. 308. For polygamy and incest cf. *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, by Whitley Stokes, I. clxviii. For the story of Queen Medb and her three husbands, *Id.*, xiv. (Rolls Series). The intermarriage of brothers and sisters seems closely connected with polyandry generally. Westermarck, *sup.*, 451–459; *Starcke*, 132.

[4] See the whole case, *Senchus Mor*, I. 65–77. This book claims to give a code of ancient Irish custom or law modified so as to bring its rules into harmony with Christian teaching. The original compilation is ascribed to a committee of nine; three kings, three bishops (St. Patrick one of them), and three Wise Men. But the oldest MS. dates about A.D. 1350. The work as we have it is a collection of texts of varying degrees of antiquity, with later commentaries and illustrations. At times the language of the texts seems too archaic for the commentators: at times they perplex the reader by referring to familiar texts by the opening words only.

[5] See again *Id.*, I. 181., II. 403.

[6] *Id.*, III. 451.

[7] *Id.*, II. 397, 399.

have been first recognised in the case of captives taken in war; and that when monogamy became popular the old tribe law was evaded by a legal fiction of wife-capture.[1] 'Connexion of abduction' with a woman carried off from her family (*fine*) is specially noticed in the Senchus.[2]

Wife-capture as a form of Marriage, Origin of.

In Irish law, to the latest times, little or no distinction was drawn between legitimate and illegitimate children. If an office was hereditary in a family, bastardy was no bar to election, as in the notorious case of Hugh O'Neil as late as the 16th century, when he was allowed to succeed to a peerage though the offspring of an adulterous intercourse.[3]

Illegitimate Children.

Of Celtic society the primitive social and political unit must have been the joint family (Irish *finé*), owning and cultivating in common a family estate, under the general direction of an elective head, who would naturally be the oldest or the ablest male member of the house. This family should be regarded as a group elastic enough to expand in time to a petty tribe (*tuath*) or village,[4] its general character being that of a small autonomous community. The relations of the members of the family to each other were strictly defined, the general principle being that of copartnership with mutual liability and responsibility. The family shared the fines payable for injuries done to a member, and received the whole of the fine due for the murder of a member. So on the other hand they were liable for the penalties incurred by the misconduct of a member.[5] Contracts which might affect the family could not be entered into without consent; thus a member could not without consulting the others rent land on his own account;[6] but if he found himself unable to cultivate his own share of the family land he might arrange with another

Primitive Celtic Family.

[1] See Sir J. Lubbock, *Origin of Man*, p. 104, etc. [2] II. 401, 403.

[3] *Id.*, III. cxlvi. It must be stated that the act was that of the English Government, done from political motives; but no Government could have taken such a step if there had not been some warrant for it in local custom; anyhow a report made by Sir John Davis, Attorney-General for Ireland, to the Earl of Salisbury (1606) tells us that in the succession to lands 'there is no difference made between legitimate sons and bastards.' Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, III. 197.

[4] "Among the people of Gaelic race the original social unit appears to have been the 'Tuath,' a name originally applied to the tribe, but which came to signify also the territory occupied by the tribe community." Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, III. 136. The writer goes on to argue that the Finé, as meaning the sept or clan under a later aspect, was posterior to the Tuath. So it probably was, but as he admits that "the original bond of union between the members of the tribe was belief in a common origin," the tribe must have emerged from a family of some sort, a *finé*, in fact. *Id.*, 138, 171. In Wales a family estate was called a "wele" or "gwely," rendered "lectum" or Bed. The individual portions of the sons were "gavells." Seebohm, *Tribal System*, 31, etc.

[5] *Senchus Mor*, II. 135, 137, 309.

[6] *Id.*, II. 217, 223, 224 note, 307. Again, a man might not, in strictness, mortgage his share, or adopt a stranger, etc., 283–289.

for help in the work.[1] Under certain conditions a family might expel an incorrigible member, and so clear themselves of all further liability on his account.[2]

Standard of Value.

In assessing fines and penalties the standard unit of value (*sét*) was a cow; three cows being equal to one "cumal" or female slave.[3] In Scottish and Welsh legislation also the cow appears as a standard of value.[4]

External Relations.

Towards externs the relations of the family were less well defined. At the best they were of a diplomatic nature. In the absence of central authority wrongs could only be redressed in the last resort by retaliation and force of arms. 'A foot for a foot; an eye for an eye; life for life';[5] this was the primary maxim to the last. But the necessities of society had led at an early stage to the establishment of a tariff of pecuniary fines for all sorts of injuries, by payment of which compensation might be made to the injured party, and the right of retaliation waived. But there was no power to compel the parties either to make or accept the satisfaction except the force of public opinion, and the mediation of friends exercised in the interests of peace.[6] If the wrong-doer refused to make amends, and his family did not care to abet him, they might give him up to the injured party, who might kill him if he pleased; but the right to kill the wrong-doer was strictly personal to the injured party, and any man killing the wrong-doer, except by the direction of the injured party, would be guilty of murder.[7]

Tariff of Fines.

The fines varied not only according to the injury done, but also according to the social position of the injured person. Each social grade had its value or Honor-price (*Enechlann*). The fine for murder was called *Eric*, and was equal to the full Honor price: minor fines for injuries done to a man's person or property were called *Smacht* fines and *Dire* fines.[8] Under the later system part of the fines went to the *Flath* (chief or landlord) and the king, and in fact formed no inconsiderable part of their revenues.[9]

Traces of similar institutions are to be found in Wales and the Celtic parts of modern Scotland, but with respect to these districts we have no

[1] *Senchus Mor*, III. 359.

[2] *Id.*, III. 381. The king became responsible for these outlaws.

[3] *Encycl. Brit.*, "Ireland," p. 256. *Trip. Life of St. Patrick*, W. Stokes, I. cli.

[4] See *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, I. 299, cited Skene. Fordun, II. 448. See-bohm, *Tribal System of Wales*, 106, 216, etc.

[5] *Senchus*, I. 9.

[6] Down to the latest days of Irish independence law-suits could only be determined by arbitration. *Hy Many*, 161. *Tripartite Life*, I. clxxiii. See more below.

[7] *Senchus*, III. lxxxi. See also below.

[8] In Welsh law the murder-fine appears as "Galanas," and the minor fine as "Sarhad." In Scottish law we have "Cro" and "Geldach," and in Anglo-Saxon "Wer" and "Bot." Robertson, *Scotland*, II. 284.

[9] See W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, III. 152.

records comparable in antiquity with those to be found in the Senchus Mor. In this collection we have evidences of a primitive Aryan society untouched by Roman or other extraneous influences. Our earliest authorities for Welsh and Scottish institutions belong to much later ages,[1] and exhibit systems of more mingled origins.

The following passages from the Senchus seem to show the Irish *Finé* in its primitive simplicity. 'The family (*finé*) can impugn among themselves, they can impugn outside; they make oath, they relieve each other; the family sustains itself.'

'Let every member (*fear-fine*) keep his family-land; let him not sell it or alienate it . . . or give it to pay for crimes or contracts.[2] He may impugn the contracts of his family, and every contract of his kinsman for whose crimes and contracts . . . he is liable.'

'He cannot impugn contracts who wounds or betrays by evil deeds and evil compacts; who alienates his family lands; who has adopted one of a strange family; who does not share the family property with profits and losses; who does not observe justice.'

'The head of each family should be the man of the family who is the most experienced, the most noble, the most wealthy, the wisest, most learned, . . . most substantial to sue or be sued.'[3]

Feudalisation.

But at the time when we get our first historic insight into Britain, Celtic society in some regions had travelled beyond that stage. In Gaul we find a powerful territorial aristocracy (*equites*) in possession of all property and influence; the peasantry being poor, in debt, and reduced to practical, if not actual, serfdom.[4] In Britain we find kings bearing rule, and that fact alone would imply an advance on the system of the *finé* pure and simple. It is not too much to assume that these British kings were of the same type as those that held sway in Ireland down to very recent periods.[5] In Ireland the lowest in the scale of 'kings' was the *ri-tuaith* or 'tuath-king.'[6] The *tuath* thus becomes the political unit: it was apparently a development of the *finé*; the word originally meaning 'people,' but ultimately coming to signify 'district,' the sense in which it is now used.[7] As a social group we may regard the *tuath* as an enlarged *finé*, or an aggregate of finés; the head man of the leading family would be the tuath-king. Further agglomerations of *tuatha* would result in the *Tuath*

Development of the Tribe.

[1] For early Welsh society, see Seebohm, *Tribal System in Wales*; and Skene, *sup.*, 197; for early Scottish society, see *Id.*, 209.

[2] See also *Senchus*, III. 63.

[3] *Senchus Mor*, II. 279-285.

[4] Cæsar, *de Bello Gallico*, VI. c. 13.

[5] Rhys, *C. B.*, 63.

[6] E. O'Curry, *Lectures*, I. ccxxix. (Introduction, W. K. Sullivan); Seebohm, *Tribal System in Wales*, 61, 134, etc.

[7] "It glosses *populus* in the *Wb. M. S.* of Zeuss." Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, p. 123. Whitley Stokes gives three Irish words for tribe: *clann*, *cenél*, and *tuath*. *Trip. Life*, clxxi. For those in Scotland, see F. J. H. Skene's *Fordun*, II. 443, Appendix.

Mor (big-tuath) and the provincial kingdom (*Cuicidh*),[1] with 'Kings' and 'High-Kings' (*Ardrigan*) rising in regular succession.[2] It is probable that military conquest was a leading agent in effecting these unions, the conquered tribes being obliged to enrol themselves in the victorious families. In Scotland it is said that the Campbells, a militant clan, compelled many minor clans to assume their name.

Kingship.

In time of war the Irish king (*Ri*) appears as the *Toisech* or Captain.[3] But all times the royal office was partly elective, partly hereditary, the electors being restricted in their choice to the members of a particular family,[4] as among the Anglo-Saxons. It is expressly stated that the king was not only elective but also liable to deposition.[5] It was also requisite that he should be free from all personal blemish: a blemish the result of an accident might involve deposition.[6] Careful as the law was to inculcate deference to the 'royal' will; it is clear that the 'king's' legitimate authority was small, and that his rule was more like the leadership of the elder brother of a joint family than the absolute control of a Roman *paterfamilias* over the children of his begetting. A special check on the authority of the king was provided by the institution of Tanistry, a truly Celtic custom, apparently devised to ensure the maximum of strife and discord. Under this system the installation of a king was immediately followed by the election of a successor, or Tanist, who stood as it were on the steps of the throne, to watch the king's proceedings. In the case of the premature death of the Tanist—no uncommon occurrence—another was immediately appointed. To make confusion worse confounded, the rule, at least in some tribes, was to take the Tanist from a rival branch of the royal family, so that the different houses might reign alternately.[7] It would also seem that the Tanist rule applied to petty chieftainship as well as to offices of royal dignity.

Tanistry.

That the kingship, or chieftainship, as in many cases we should be inclined to call it, properly belonged rather to a dominant family than to a personal succession or dynasty appears from the fact that the regalian dues, in certain cases at least, were payable to 'the family of the king.'[8]

[1] Literally, 'Fifth Part,' referring to the number of the Provinces.

[2] O'Curry, *Lectures*, I. ccxxix-ccxxxi. (Introduction).

[3] The name also appears in Scottish history, Skene, *C. S.*, III. 216. For the elective chief in Gaul in time of war, see E. W. Robertson, *Scotland under Early Kings*, I. 24. We shall find the same practice among the Anglo-Saxons.

[4] Skene, *sup.*, 141. So too with respect to the appointment of abbots in Irish monasteries.

[5] *Senchus*, I. 55. *Tribes of Hy Many*, J. O'Donovan, p. 161 (Irish Archæol. Society).

[6] *Id.*, I. 73.

[7] So at least in the united Scoto-Pictish kingdom. Skene, I. 230. For Tanistry, see Robertson, *Scotland under Early Kings*, I. 36.

[8] *Hy Many*, *sup.*, 64.

The limited extent of the territorial *tuatha* may be gathered from the fact that in general they are represented by the modern baronies.[1]

Attached to the royal office for the king's support were certain portions of the tribal lands, mensal lands. These of course were independent of his own private property. He was also entitled to a certain amount of entertainment at free quarters for himself, his servants, horses and hounds. This right was "called *Coininm* corrupted into *Coigny*." Above all he was entitled to a share of all the fines exigible in judicial proceedings. The *ardri* or over-king would also receive tribute, paid in kind, 'food-rents,' from the vassal kings; the connexion between them involving in the first instance an advance of stock from the superior to the inferior, as if their relations were those of landlord and tenant.[2] But this may represent a comparatively late state of things, and not the primitive monarchy. For the Senchus, as a working manual of old texts and modern interpretations, embodies fragments from social formations of very different epochs. A passage which must be pronounced much later than some of those above extracted gives the following insight into the then constitution of the *Tuath*.

The King's Endowments.

'Of *Corus*[3] *tuaith* (tuath law) there be three branches.

(1) *Corus flatha*[4] (Chief or Landlord law).

(2) *Corus finé* (Family law).

(3) *Corus feine* (Law of the Lower Orders.[5]

Under these heads alongside of the old family law we find a mass of new rules dealing with the relations of landlord and tenant; and with those of lord and vassal, implying not only individual ownership of land, but also considerable accumulations of land in single hands. We hear of free tenants (*Saer Ceile*), and bond or servile tenants (*Daer Ceile*); we have cottars, 'strangers' and dependants: we have, within the tribe, higher orders (*Grad Flaith*, *Aire*), and lower orders (*Grad Feine*), with minute subdivisions of rank in each class.[6] All these are based on property either in live-stock or land, and on propinquity in blood to the landlord or chief. This implies a con-

Accumulation of Property.

[1] O'Curry, *sup.*, xcviii.

[2] Skene, III. 142, 151. For regalian dues in Wales, food-rents, and entertainment on progresses, see Seebohm, *sup.*, 25, 155, etc. For Scotland, Skene, *sup.*, 227.

[3] For renderings of the various Irish terms for law and custom, see Whitley Stokes, *Trip. Life, sup.*, clxxiii. 'Proper order' is suggested for *Corus*.

[4] In the translation *flath* is frequently rendered "lord" and "chief," but the meaning seems clearly "landowner." The Scottish word "laird" probably comes nearest to it, including chiefs and minor persons.

[5] *Senchus*, III. 17.

[6] Thus above the *Fer Midba*, or inferior class of freeman, we have six grades of the *Boaire* (cow-lord) grade, distinguished by the amount of their cattle and other animals, and five of the *Aire* or landed-gentry grade, besides the Tanist and King or Chief. Skene, 142–145, citing the Senchus. For similar gradations in Wales (only less minute) see Seebohm, 8, 110, 116, 119.

siderable change in the state of things from the times of the family-tribe, with its joint ownership and general social equality. The tribe has been feudalized. The process must have run its full course when we find it laid down that 'to the tenant the *Flath* is as a king' (*Ri*);[1] and that 'every Flath may judge his own tenants.'[2] So too he receives the share of the fines, and claims to control his tenants' contracts.[3] Every Flath is to his tenants as a petty king, but every *Flath* is not the head man of his tribe,[4] he is one out of several within the tribe. The head of the tribe in the latest days of Irish independence was generally styled its *Toisech* or Captain, the title of *Ri* being mostly reserved for the rulers of bigger 'countries,' while the *Flaith* were also called *Oclaich*.[5] But if the tribe has been feudalised to a certain extent, the old principles are not wholly forgotten. King, *Toisech*, and *Tanist* are still in theory elective.[6] If the "fee simple" or "legal estate" in the land is vested in the chief, it is only under burden of supporting his kindred within certain degrees of relationship, apparently within the third degree in descent.[7] Each of these according to his degree is entitled to a certain allotment of land, rendering certain dues to the chief. But "no estate passed," and the chief could allot these portions, and again throw them into hotchpot and re-divide and re-allot them as he pleased.[8] No explanation is given of the object of such a proceeding, but we must take it to have been connected with the system of cultivation in common, of which we shall hear more. It was probably intended to secure equality among the portions. But independently of these periodic re-allotments a fresh distribution of the land upon a new basis would seemingly have to take place at the death of each chief, when a new table of degrees of kinship would or might have to be drawn up.

Survivals of Primitive Theory.

Cadets.

Re-allotment.

On the other hand it would seem that if a family held an allotment for three full generations without a change their title became absolute.[9] What became of the men thrown out of the magic family circle by the advent

[1] *Senchus*, II. 209. [2] *Id.*, 345. [3] *Id.*, 299, etc.

[4] See the passages cited, Skene, 184, where the *Flath* is clearly placed below the *Ri Tuaith*.

[5] See the instances from different parts of Ireland, Skene, III. 157-161, etc. Various *Tuatha* are named with one *Toisech* to each, and from four to seventeen *Oclaich*.

[6] See the agreement between Queen Elizabeth and the Hy Many or O'Kelly's, 6th August, 1589, 'all elections to be utterly abolished.' Skene, *sup.*, 161; also Robertson, *sup.*, II. 465.

[7] So at least in Scotland, Robertson, II. 260, and in Wales, Skene, III. 199, 205, Seebohm, *sup.* 91.

[8] See the Inquisition taken at Mallow in 1594, Robertson, 465; also the report of Sir John Davis to the Earl of Salisbury (1606), extracted Skene, 165, 196. In the feudalised Welsh manor of the 14th century the right of redistribution seems to have been converted into an escheat to the lord. Seebohm, 45, from the Denbigh Extent of 1335. [9] Skene, 144: so too in Wales, 199.

of a new chief does not clearly appear. All sons, whether legitimate or not, inherited alike,[1] anyhow the result of the whole system was to keep agriculture at lowest stage, and to favour the breaking up of holdings. We are told that the land 'had been from time to time divided and sub-divided . . . as almost every acre . . . had a several owner, who termeth himself a lord and his portion of land a country.'[2] Amid the squabbling and confusion which such a system must have fostered it is interesting to hear that special provision was made for religion and culture. Besides the inalienable mensal lands of the chief, endowments were provided for the Church, and for the Brehon, the Bard, the Sennachy or historian and others, being representatives of the old Druid class, of which anon; these lands were distinguished as 'freelands' being exempt from the dues and liabilities attaching to other possessions.[3]

Endowments of Bards and Brehons.

It must have been under this feudalised state of the tribe that the inhabitants of a *tuath* are spoken of as 'the large family,' or *clann* of the *Flath*. The theoretic blood-relationship is shown by the use of family names, O'Kellys, O'Connors, and the like, to denote the inhabitants of a district.[4]

But again we are glad to hear that the duty of protecting his tenants 'against every injustice that he is able' is clearly laid on the *flath*.[5]

This clan system is as well known in connexion with Scottish as with Irish history. In mediæval times we find a Scottish magnate undertaking obligations not for himself only, but also for all his 'Kin friends and men,'[6] a formula unknown in English history.

A disposition to lean on others must be held one of the tendencies of Celtic nature. The feeling of citizenship had little hold upon Celts. The bonds that held society together were rather personal than civil. The Celts allowed their original tribe meetings to be deprived of all political importance. The Teutons retained and developed them. "To the retention or loss of this essential element of an automatous tribe-community the difference of the fortunes of the Celtic and Teutonic races is mainly referable."[7] The total

Bases of Celtic Society.

[1] Sir John Davis, *sup.*, speaks of succession in "gavelkind," which in the mouth of an English lawyer would mean equal succession.

[2] Sir John Davis, *sup.*

[3] *Id.*, Skene, 148, 168: see also 162.

[4] See Skene, 162 (from the *Tribes of Hy Many*), 195, etc. The strictly blood-relations were distinguished within the clan as the "Cinel" or "Cenél," in Wales 'Cenedl.'

[5] *Senchus*, II. 345, cf. Seebohm, *sup.*, 71.

[6] "Ye said lordis ar bundyn and oblist yaim selfis yair kyn friendis and men," etc., A.D. 1465. MS. cited Tytler, Scotland, IV., 404. So John Lord of the Isles pledges himself "pro consanguineis et consiliariis suis," A.D. 1481; *Fœd.*, XII. 140.

[7] Merivale, *Rom. Hist.*, I. 255. See *Senchus Mor*, III. xxvi. Compare the case of Orgetorix, who, when a meeting had been called to consider his conduct swamped it

absence of any provision for permanent legislative action is one of the most remarkable features of the Brehon law.[1] Records of popular meetings of any political importance are rare in Irish history. On the other hand the duty of deference to the will of the chief, whether king, chief, or landlord, is constantly inculcated under the penalty of bringing down the wrath of Heaven, failure of crops, and barrenness of cattle.[2]

No Legislation.

The entire absence of judicial machinery among the Celts was equally remarkable. One of the most recent investigators of Gaulish institutions tells us that in ancient Gaul he could see no central tribunal; no power to decide between tribe and tribe.[3]

No Judicature.

In the Scottish Highlands the only public courts known even in later mediæval times were the circuit courts at Aberdeen and Inverness, and they emanated from the king's court at Edinburgh, itself an institution borrowed from England. North and west of Inverness there would be no law but the law of the local chieftains only, controlled by the force of public opinion. In the Brehon code the only judicial proceeding known was arbitration. A criminal action being in fact a suit for damages, criminal and civil suits alike began with a 'distress,' that is to say the formal seizure or impounding of some chattel. If the defendant was prepared to submit his case to legal arbitration he gave security, and the distraint was released. A large part of the Senchus Mor is devoted to limiting and defining this mode of procedure, which was known as *athgabáil*. Notice of an intended distress was in all cases requisite.[4] If the rank of the defendant was such as to make the arrest of a chattel useless or impracticable the only alternative left to the plaintiff was 'to fast upon him' (*troscud*); that is to say, to sit down at his doorstep, to remain there without eating or drinking, till the defendant was shamed into giving security to submit his case to arbitration. In India the practice was known down to the last century as "*sitting dharna*";[5] a proof that the custom dates from times anterior to the separation of the Aryan races.

"Fasting upon" Adversary.

If fasting failed nothing remained but social ostracism. "He who does not give a pledge to fasting is an evader of all; he who disregards all things shall not be paid by God or man."[6]

As 'distress' and 'fasting' were the only remedies for past injuries, so the exaction of hostages was the only security for the future observance

with his 'family,' *i.e.*, his retainers and defendants. "Omnem suam familiam coegit; et omnes clientes obœratosque suos," etc. Cæsar, *B. G.*, I. c. 4.

[1] *Senchus*, III. xxiv. [2] *Ibid.* and xxv. 27.

[3] D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Revue Celtique*, VI. 5.

[4] *Senchus*, I. 64–305; II. 1–131. I spell athgabáil as spelled by Mr. Whitley Stokes, *Trip. Life*.

[5] *Senchus*, I. xlviii. 113–119. [6] *Id.*, I. 113.

of a compact. 'The hostages' appear as a regular and dismal incident of every petty Irish Court.[1] In the retinues of the Irish kings long trains of officials are found: stewards, poets, doctors, door-keepers, butlers, keepers of horses, keepers of hounds;[2] but no officer to keep the peace. Irish jurisprudence to the last failed to evolve the elementary institutions of a peace-officer, a tribunal with settled forms of procedure, or a judge with power to enforce his decrees.

Hostages.

No Police.

A fully franchised member of the community was called *aire*;[3] ownership of land or membership in one of the recognised families, were the primary qualifications; but the possession of twenty-one cows also entitled a man to rank as *aire*; in this case he was distinguished as a *bo-aire*, or cow-aire. Where land was let to a tenant it appears to have been usual for the landowner to advance a certain amount of stock, receiving a proportion of the increase. This tenure was known in Scotland as "steelbow." In Ireland the tenure might be either base, arising from vassalage, and involving personal service (*daer* tenure); or free, arising simply *ex contractu*, and involving no personal service (*saer* tenure).[4] In the case of arable land the crop was divisible into three parts: one for the landowner; one for the man who found the seed; and one for the tiller of the soil.[5] One-third of all that grows or increases was the regular rent.[6] A large proportion of the labour was evidently done by women;[7] but the rights of a woman, whether as wife, mother, or labourer, were very much on a par with those of a man.[8]

Social Ranks.

Agricultural Tenancies.

Nothing was known of perpetuity or tenant-right, but the law encouraged continuity by imposing slight penalties on eviction without due cause. It is needless to say that the only "people" to whom the land belonged in those days were the members of the landowning families.

Some scholars hold that the lands of the *Flatha* were owned in severalty as apart from the ordinary tribe lands, and without any liability to redistribution by the chief.[9] Such lands were styled *Orba*, lands of inheritance (Germ. *Erbe*). That some lands were owned by individuals, not by fami-

[1] See also *Trip. Life*, clxxii. [2] See, *e.g.*, Skene, 162.

[3] So the writers in the *Encyclo. Brit.*, "Ireland," p. 357. Whitley Stokes gives *airig* as a class of gentry above the mere freeman or *sóir*, *Trip. Life*, clxxii. The former, however, suggest that only heads of the smaller families would be *aire*.

[4] *Senchus*, II. xlviii. L. The 'laws' of *saer* and *daer* tenants fill two chapters of the *Senchus*, I. 41, etc. Whitley Stokes gives the words *sóir* and *dóir* as 'free' and 'unfree.' For free and unfree tenants in Wales, see Seebohm, 91, 14. It is plain, though the writer does not point out the fact, that the unfree must have been settled on the lands of the larger proprietors. [5] *Senchus*, II. 411.

[6] *Id.*, III. 127. [7] *Id.*, II. 367, 371, cf. 393, 410. [8] *Id.*, II. 345, 383.

[9] So Skene, *sup.*, 148, and J. Fordun, II. 444 (append.), also the writers in *Encycl. Brit.*, "Ireland," 257.

lies or tribes, even in early times is certain.[1] It is not too much to suppose that the ownership of an individual parcel of land, no matter by what title, would raise a man to the rank of *Flath*. But there seems nothing to shew that even the official heads of *Tuatha*, whether Kings *Toisech* or Tanists, necessarily owned any property in severalty, as apart from the mensal lands, which, of course, for the time being, would always be owned in severalty. Still less does there seem to be ground for attributing such ownership to the larger class of *Flatha*, also styled *Oclaich*. Sir John Davis in his report distinctly states that apart from the endowments of the chiefs, clergy, and Brehons, 'all the other lands holden by the inferior inhabitants are partable in course of gavelkind';[2] where no doubt the use of the word "inferior" introduces some uncertainty. But we must point out that the grades of Flatha were determined not by the title by which they held their estate, but by its extent, and specially by the number of their undertenants.[3] A near relative of the chief holding a big plot of tribe land would be just as much a landlord to his undertenants as if he held an individual estate of inheritance. Whether the demesne lands of the chiefs or other larger proprietors cultivated by their serfs or labourers, would be exempt from the law of cultivation in common, is quite another point, but one on which we cannot speak with any confidence.

Ownership of Land.

Cultivation in common was clearly the rule. It is spoken of as one of the 'laws' of the tenants. The requirement was presumably accompanied by rules for the redistribution of the holdings from time to time (a redistribution to be carefully distinguished from that consequent on a devolution of property). A wretched system, intended to secure equality, but in practice presenting an utter bar to any permanent improvement of the soil. This system, under the name of "Rundale," still obtained in some estates in Donegal within this century;[4] it is also remembered in Scotland as "Runrig." Co-tillage is likewise mentioned in the Welsh Triads as a standing institution.[5] But the system was not specially Celtic, being common to the Teutons and other races.[6]

Cultivation in Common.

[1] See Whitley Stokes' *Trip. Life*, clxxv.

[2] Skene, *C. S.*, III. 197. [3] See *Id.*, 145–147.

[4] The redistribution of holdings, as described by a proprietor from Donegal, was wholly managed by the tenants among themselves, without any intervention on the part of the landlord.

[5] See the quotation, Seebohm, *Engl. Village Comm.*, 192, where cotillage is given as one of the bonds of free Welsh tribesmen. For more, see *Id.*, 119.

[6] See more below.

CHAPTER II

DRUIDISM, CELTIC MYTHOLOGY AND RELIGION, COINAGE, ARMS, ETC.

The Druids.

PERHAPS the most interesting institution of the ancient Celtic world, and that which has attracted most attention, was that of the Druids. The subject has by no means been exhausted, and in fact is only just beginning to be understood. The Druids (Irish *drui*, Welsh *derwyddon* [1]) were a sort of corporation or hierarchy of wise men, men of learning, held in great honour, and enjoying special immunities, such as exemption from military service, taxation, and other public burdens.[2] They have been described as "soothsayers, priests and medicine men";[3] but none the less they were the depositaries of the learning of the age, such as it was. They represented Law, Physic and Divinity, with Science to boot.[4] From one point of view the deference paid to them may be taken to indicate a respect for culture on the part of a people of literary instincts: from another and a more important point of view it represented an effort on the part of primitive society to set up a standard of right and wrong as against the all-prevailing empire of brute force. In this aspect the higher Druids were priest-judges; depositaries of the Common Law of the race; whose decisions were admitted to be final as enunciations of law, civil or criminal; but who had no means of enforcing their decrees, except perhaps by a sentence of excommunication.[5] This if enforced would probably involve a sort of social ostracism, but ostracism would be hard to enforce against a man of influence.

As already mentioned, the Druids were not a caste, but a corporation, with a chief Druid as president, an officer elected for life. New members

[1] Rhys' *C. B.*, 69, 70. The name is found on the most indisputable native records; *e.g.*, a stone in the Isle of Man has "Dovaido maqi Droata," where for "Droata" others read "Druada"; in either case = Dovaido, son of the Druid. J. Rhys and Whitley Stokes, *Academy*, 16 and 23 August, 1890.

[2] "Neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt, militiæ vacationem omniumque rerum habent immunitatem." Cæsar, *B. G.*, VI. c. 14.

[3] Rhys, *sup.*

[4] "Rebus divinis intersunt sacrificia publica et privata procurant religiones interpretantur," "de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine de rerum natura . . . disputant." Cæsar, *sup.*, 13, 14.

[5] "Nam fere de omnibus controversiis publicis privatisque constituunt . . . præmia pœnasque constituunt: si qui aut privatus aut publicus eorum decreto non stetit sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc pœna apud eos est gravissima."

were admitted after due course of study and probation, which might last a period of twenty years.[1] The instruction was imparted orally, the neophytes being made to learn quantities of verse by heart. Cæsar thought this strange, inasmuch as the Gaulish Druids, at any rate, were acquainted with the Greek character, of which they made use in other matters.[2] But Cæsar probably did not appreciate the difficulties in such a state of society of procuring writing materials for the purposes of education or general literature. To the present day in Arabia and Hindustan a large part of the native literature is transmitted orally, compositions being thrown into metrical form to facilitate repetition.

Co-optation.

Oral Study.

In Cæsar's time Druidical learning flourished equally in Gaul and Britain. In the former country its headquarters were in the central district of the *Carnutes*, or modern *Chartrain*, where a grand gathering used to be held once a year, when suits and questions of all sorts were referred to the wise men for decision. The system was supposed to have originated in Britain;[3] but it seems more likely that the system, such as it was, had merely maintained itself in greater purity in the Island than on the Continent, where it would be more exposed to contact with extraneous influences. As the cult of people described as specially superstitious[4] we may believe that Druidism had in it not a little of mysticism and charlatanry. Yet in their religious teaching the Druids "had reached the first article of a creed, the belief in a human personality that should outlive the body: but they held it in its lowest form, the doctrine of the transmigration of souls."[5]

By the Romans Druidism was regarded with suspicion as something they did not understand, something calculated to keep alive a spirit of nationality; and accordingly it was suppressed throughout the Empire. But there is no reason to believe that elsewhere it died out all at once. In North Britain and Ireland the early Christian missionaries found Druidism flourishing at the courts of the British and Irish kings. In the biographies of St. Patrick and St. Columba the Druids are treated as magicians, vain pretenders to supernatural gifts, and as such ranked with Jannes and Jambres and Simon Magus.[6] When Christianity became established the Druids would lose their sacerdotal functions, which they had to surrender to the new priest-

Survivals of Druidism.

1. "Annos nonnulli vicenos in disciplina permanent." Cæsar, *sup.*, 13.
2. "Cum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus, Græcis utantur literis," *sup.*, c. 14.
3. *B. G.*, VI. 13; Tacitus, *Ann.*, c. 14, 29.
4. "Natio est omnium Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus," etc. Cæsar, *B. G.*, VI. c. 16.
5. "In primis hoc volunt persuadere non interire animam sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios," etc. Cæsar, *B. G.*, VI. 14. Pearson, *History of England*, I. 18. For a case of transmigration in Irish Legend, see Rhys' *Hibbert Lectures*, 431.
6. Rhys, *C. B.*, 70 and notes.

hood; but in other respects we seem to trace the institution lingering on down to times comparatively recent.[1] As professional jurists, the depositaries of an ancient Common Law, the Brehons[2] appear to be the direct descendants of the older Druids, with this single modification that they became a hereditary caste. In all other respects the functions and positions of the two sets of men seem indistinguishable. Both could give legal advice; enunciate the law; act as arbiters; but not enforce a decree. The poem of Dubhthach given in the introduction to the *Senchus*, as a mixture of law, religion, astronomy, and cosmogony, answers in every respect to Cæsar's description of a Druidic lay. If Dubhthach's verses had been before him he could not have summarised them better than he does.[3] As beneath the arch-Druid we have Druids and Druids; so beneath the arch-Brehon and Brehon we have grades of Poets (*fili*), and Doctors or teachers (*'ollamh*), men enjoying definite positions by virtue of educational franchises; acquired through systematic courses of study.[4]

The Brehons.

In connexion with Celtic culture we may notice the indigenous script—the Ogham alphabet. Clumsy it may be in some respects, but still very ingenious, the Ogmic writing. This character seems to have been originally intended for monumental inscriptions on rectangular pillars of stone. The consonants are formed by long strokes, or groups of strokes, cut along one or other of the faces of the pillar from the angle; the vowels are represented by shorter stokes or notches cut across the angle. For writing on parchment or the like a horizontal line or stem was drawn across the page, and the letters were indicated by strokes above, below, or across the stem.

Ogham Alphabet.

Stones inscribed with these characters have been found in Ireland, Devonshire, South Wales, the Isle of Man, Scotland, and recently at Silchester, the Roman Calleva Atrebatum. Some of the Irish stones bear evidences of a very high antiquity. Of fifteen monuments found underground in the year 1889, at Ballyknock in the county of Cork, we are told that the language of five of them belongs "to the old Irish period, say from A.D. 600 to A.D. 900"; while the rest exhibit "a primeval Celtic dialect"—a dialect which "bears the same relation to Gaelic—even the Gaelic of the ninth century—that Latin does to French."[5]

The inscriptions found in Scotland, we are told, are of comparatively

[1] For references to Druids in Irish Legend, see Rhys' *Hibbert Lectures, passim.*

[2] *Brithemain* anglicised *Brehons*, W. Stokes, *Trip. Life.*

[3] Cæsar, *sup.*; compare *Senchus*, I. 19, 27, II. vi. Dubhthach was a contemporary of St. Patrick—one of his first converts. *Trip. Life*, p. 282.

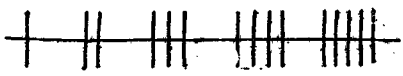
[4] *Encyclop. Brit., sup.*, 256, 258. So again we have 'Druids and Poets': *Tribes of Hy Fiachrach*, p, 26, O'Donovan (Irish Archæological Society).

[5] Whitley Stokes, *Academy*, Nov., 1891. One of the Ballyknock names, "Meddugeni," is identified with the Gaulish "Medugenos"; *C. I. L.*, II. 162.

late date.[1] At any rate, so far as we can judge at present, Ireland would seem to have the best claim to be considered the birthplace of Ogham letters.[2]

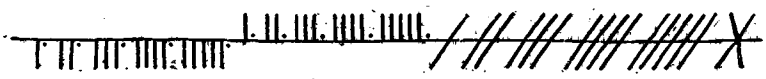
IRISH OGHAM ALPHABET.[3]

VOWELS.



A O U E I

CONSONANTS.



B L F S N H D T C Q M G NG ST R P

"Exceedingly little is said by ancient authors about the religion of the people of Britain."[4] Of the Gaulish deities, however, we hear something, and they were probably very much the same as those of Britain: Cæsar, who as a pontiff and the author of a book on divination might be considered something of an authority on matters of Divinity, thought that he could identify the chief Gaulish deity with Mercury; 'the inventor of all arts; the patron of roads and traffic; the chief arbiter in matters of money-making

Religion.

Gaulish Deities.

[1] Not so however the stone found at Newton in Aberdeenshire, which Mr. W. Stokes seems to refer to the eighth century.

[2] For the learning on this subject see R. R. Brash, *Ogham Inscriptions* (Dublin, 1869), and *Ogham Inscribed Monuments of the Gaidhill* (London, 1879); Earl of Southesk, *Ogham Inscriptions of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1885); and again, Whitley Stokes, *Academy*, 4th June, 1892.

[3] Communicated by the Rev. Canon G. Browne, late Disney Professor of Archæology in the University of Cambridge.

[4] Rhys.

and commerce.[1] After him come Apollo and Mars and Jupiter and Minerva. Of these they hold much the same beliefs as other nations do.'[2] Unfortunately Cæsar does not trouble himself to record the names of these deities; but the poet Lucan names three: "Teutates"; "Hesus" or "Esus"; and "Taranis"; whose altars, he tells us, ran with blood:[3] while Ansonius, a native of Bordeaux, tells us of the temple at "Bajocasses" (*Bayeux*), dedicated to "Belenus," whom he identifies with Apollo.[4]

Taking the gods in the order named by Cæsar, the Celtic Mercury may be fairly identified with the Gaulish Ogmios, described by Lucian, and the Irish Ogma; the inventor of letters, the patron of literature and persuasive speech. The name Ogmios however has not yet been identified on any Gaulish[5] or on any British inscription. Lucian depicts this divinity as primarily a Heracles, with the power of eloquent speech superadded;[6] a compound of Heracles and Hermes. Heracles is generally recognised as a solar god. The epithet of 'Sun-faced' or 'Shining-faced' given to Ogma in Irish legend helps the identification.[7] He was originally a solar god whose special attributes as such became merged in the conception of the Great Civilising Influence.

Ogmios, or Ogma.

The Gaulish "Apollo" is placed before us by Cæsar simply in the character of a repeller of diseases—"*Apollinem morbos depellere*"; and not as a sun-god: but in Britain we find him clearly defined by the inscription "Soli Apollini Aniceto."[8]

The Gaulish Apollo appears to have been known "all over the Celtic world," and by various names, of which the most common seem to have been Maponos, and Grannos. Maponos we are assured is the same word

[1] "Hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quæstus pecuniæ mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur." *B. G.*, VI. 101. An inscription has been found in Yorkshire of the date of 191 of our era, 'To the god who invented roads.' Hubner, *Corpus Inscriptt. Latt.*, VIII. No. 271, but the name is wanting. Elton, 258.

[2] "De his eandem fere quam reliquæ gentes habent opinionem." *Ib.*

[3] "Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro,
Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Hesus,
Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ."—*Pharsalia*, I. 445.
Marcus Annæus Lucanus died A.D. 65.

[4] Ansonius, *Professores*, No. 4; Elton 258. The Ode is addressed to the poet's friend Patera, who claimed descent from the Druids who had charge of the temple of Belenus. Antonius must have been born in the early part of the 4th century. He lived to celebrate the victory of Theodosius over Maximus, A.D. 388.

[5] Gaidoz, *Esquisse De La Religion des Gaulois*, p. 13.

[6] Lucian, a Greek satirist, was probably born about A.D. 120. Smith, *Dictionary of Biography.*

[7] See J. Rhys' *Hibbert Lectures*, 5-20: and *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, 313. The name "Ogma" is connected with "Ogam" writing, but the exact relationship of the two words is not clear. *Ib.*

[8] *C. I. L.*, VII. No. 543.

as the old Welsh *mapon*, now *mabon*, '*boy*' or '*male child*'; while Grannos "is probably to be referred to the same origin as the Sanskrit verb *ghar*, 'to glow, burn, shine' . . . English *gleam*"; the name also appearing in the Irish Grainne, originally a dawn-goddess, or a moon-goddess.[1] Thus Maponos and Grannos will stand respectively for the *Bonus Puer*, and the *Posphoros* of a Transylvanian inscription: "*Deus Bonus Puer Posphoros Apollo Pythius.*"[2] As the author of light and heat the sun-god naturally became the patron of hot springs and healing waters. The springs of Aix-la-chapelle were known to the Romans as Aquæ Granni."[3]

Maponos—Grannos.

Apollo again has been identified with *Belenus*,[4] a name which seems connected with the Sanskrit *gvalana* fire; and possibly with the solar festival of Beltaine, or May day. Anyhow the Celtic Apollo from first to last stands out as a sun-god. In Gaul hot springs were dedicated to Apollo-Grannus and Apollo-Borvo (whence the modern "Bourbon").[5] The springs at Bath were consecrated to a goddess Sul-Minerva or Sulis-Minerva: she had a temple there, and a college of priests, bound to keep up a perpetual fire on her altar.[6]

Belenus.

The inscriptions to Mars found in Britain are numerous, and he appears under many names, such as Mars, Toutates, Corotiacus, Belatucader or Belatucadros, Cocidius, Alator, Loucetius, Camulus, Condates, Rigisamus.[7] The first of these clearly indentifies him with the Teutates of Lucan. Among the names given to the god in Gaul we have Segomo, which is traced in Ireland in composition with the word Netta or Nia as forming the name Netta-Segamonas (*genit.*) or Nia Segamain (*dat.*).[8] Mars Camulus also appears on the Continent; and doubtless gave its name to the capital of the Trinovantes Camulodunon, or 'the stronghold of Camulos.' A meaning has been suggested for Camulos by taking it in connexion with another Gaulish epithet given to Mars, namely Vintius (Gaulish *Vintjos*) or 'the Wind-God.' It is thought that Camulos may be connected "with the old

Toutates.

Camulos.

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, 146, 510, etc., and comparing 678.

[2] *Id.*, 21–24. For these names in Britain see Hübner, *C. I. L.*, VII. Nos. 332, 1082, 1345, etc. The anonymous geographer of Ravenna gives "Maponi" as the name of a place in Britain, but the site has not been identified; *M. H. B.*, XXVI.

[3] Rhys, *sup.*, 24, *q.v.* for other places where the name is found.

[4] See *Ansonius*, Elton, 258, 280. [5] Rhys, 25.

[6] *C. I. L.*, VII. 38, 39, 40. C. J. Solinus' *Polyhist*: c. 22, *M. H. B.*, IX. There may have been a secondary dedication of the springs at Bath to "Apollo," as an interesting head of a sun-god in bas-relief may be seen in the Museum there. The hair and beard are twisted round the head so as to represent rays or a *nimbus*.

[7] See *C. I. L.*, VII. passim; all can be traced through the index. "Marti Cocidio" and "Marti Belatucadro" occur several times each. The inscription M[arti] Condat is accompanied by a *swastika* 卐, No. 420.

[8] See Rhys' *Lectures*, 33, 34. The name occurs on Ogham inscriptions and in the *Book of Fenagh*, edited by Prof. Hennessy.

Saxon *himil* and the German word *himmel*, heaven or sky."[1] These two names might indicate the steps by which a deity, originally a god of the sky, might become the lord of storms, strifes and war. In later Celtic Camulos appears as Cumall 'king-warrior' of Ireland and father of the great Finn.[2] Associated with the war-god on the monuments, as for instance on one found at Bath, was the goddess "Nemetona." She has been identified with "Nemon," the wife according to Irish tradition of Nét the war-god of the ancient Irish.[3] Another Irish war-fury was "Bodb-Catha," a name which certainly looks very like the "[C]athubodva" of a Gaulish inscription.[4]

Nemetona.

"All the facts bearing on the history of the Gaulish war-god conspire to prove that he was once the supreme divinity of the Celtic race." But as the Celts "made progress in the arts of peace . . . the old god associated with the sky was eclipsed by the younger gods, the Gaulish Mercury and the Gaulish Apollo, just as even before the Wiking period Tyr had been cast into the cold shade by the rude glories of Woden, a younger god of many-sided character."[5]

The War-god Supreme.

Jupiter was worshipped under many names[6] of which only a few have as yet been interpreted. One whose etymology seems fairly clear was *Cernenus* or in Gaulish *Cernunnos*, meaning 'Horny' or the 'Horn-God.' On an altar found in Paris we have underneath the name Cernunnos a bearded figure with the horns of a stag. The horn of course was a solar emblem, symbolical of rays, and many horned images, and images accompanied by horn emblems, have been found on Gaulish soil.[7] But the wheel as the instrument of rotation and motion was also a well-known solar emblem,[8] and therefore Cernunnos ought probably to be identified with the nameless wheel-god of the Gaulish monuments, corresponding to the original acceptation of Jupiter as *Diespiter*, the Sanskrit *Dyaushpiter*, the god of light.[9]

Cernunnos.

Taranis or *Taranus* has again been styled the Celtic Jupiter; and inscriptions have been found "Jovi Taranuco" and "Deo Taranucno." Of his position in the celestial group there can be no doubt; and with one conception of the classical Jupiter he certainly coincides, but not with the original or proper conception, as his name is

Taranis.

[1] Rhys, 33–39. [2] *Id.*, 40.
[3] Gaidoz, *Esquisse*, 10. Rhys, 42. *C. I. L.*, VII., No. 36.
[4] Rhys, 43. [5] *Id.*, 49.
[6] On British inscriptions Dolichenus is the common one, *e.g.*, *C. I. L.*, VII. 98.
[7] Rhys, 78. *Bulletin Epigraphique*, I. 111, 112, and esp. *Revue Archéol.*, 1880, p. 337.
[8] Gaidoz, *Études*, 93–98. Rhys, 55. For the swastika and a wheel associated on one altar, see *Revue Archéol.*, 1880, vol. xl., p. 17.
[9] Rhys, 109, 116.

simply the Welsh *Taran* or Irish *Torann* 'Thunder.'[1] He carried a long hammer as his emblem, and was, like Thor, the Thunder-god,[2] the god of foul weather, whose worship would arise in natural parallelism with that of the Sun-god, the god of fine weather. "*Jupiter Taranucus*" would thus correspond exactly to the Jupiter Fulgur Fulmen of another inscription and the Greek Ζεὺς Κεραυνός.[3]

But the attributes of the two Joves had a tendency to be blended and merged in a broader conception of one Supreme Ruler of the heavens, as in the case of the Roman Jupiter. And so on a Gaulish monument we find a god with the wheel in one hand and a thunderbolt in the other;[4] where however the influence of Roman ideas is seen, first by the use of the thunderbolt, which was not the proper Gaulish emblem for thunder; and secondly by the nudity of the figure, the proper Gaulish divinity being draped.

But of extant Gaulish monuments the one that seems most clearly to indicate the solar character of the national worship is an altar found in Paris with carvings on all four sides. On one side are the words "TARVOS TRIGERANOS"[5] with the figure of a bull with three cranes sitting on his back; one on his head, one on his shoulders, and one on his tail. On another side we have "ESUS," and a figure armed with a hatchet; on the third "JOVIS," represented with the eagle and the thunderbolt; and on the fourth "VOLCANUS," with hammer and tongs ready for work.[6]

Esus.

Here the three cranes on the bull, like the three-legged Manx emblem, and the *Triguetra* found on Lycian coins, must symbolise the three strides of Vishnu, the three stages in the daily solar course, sunrise, midday, and sunset. The same idea is expressed on other Gaulish monuments by three-headed images and figures associated with triple symbols.[7] A sun god, a thunder god, a moon goddess, with their proper partners of the other sex, were the starting-points of most mythologies.

The Three Strides.

To finish with the Celtic Jove, it is thought that in the British Isles he may be traced in the person of Nodens, whose shrine has been dis-

[1] *Garnett Philolog.: Essays*, p. 197. Rhys calls attention to another Irish form of the word *toirn* or *tairn*, of the feminine gender; he argues that the Taranis of Lucan was a female: the comparison with the Scythian Diana supports this view. Perhaps Taranus was the male thunderer, and Taranis the female.

[2] *Revue Celtique*, V. 386; VI. 417. Gaidoz, *Esquisse*, 11. For a cut of the hammer god see *Revue Celtique*, I. 5. The hammer is like a long croquet-mallet.

[3] *Revue Celtique*, V. 383.

[4] See the engraving, *Bulletin Epigraphique*, I. 57.

[5] Whitley Stokes decides that the *Trigeranos* is one word and not two, as suggested by M. Mowat, *Academy*, 25th Sept., 1886.

[6] *Bulletin Epigraphique*, I. 60–68.

[7] A. Bertrand, "Triades Gauloises," *Revue Archéol.*: 1880.

covered within Sydney Park on the Severn,[1] though his name there appears to be identified with that of Mars.[2] Of the identity of Nodens however with the Irish Nuada and the Welsh Nydd or Lydd there can be little doubt.[3]

Nodens, Nuada, Nydd.

Another leading deity, if not the leading deity, traceable in Irish legend was Dagda, older Dagodevos, the Great, the Good God, the original king of the Tuatha De Danann.[4] He had a wise daughter or daughters of the name of Brig, Brigit, or the Gaulish Brigindo, whose memory appears to have been perpetuated in the person of the Christian saint, Bridget.[5] Among Dagda's august brethren were Nuada of the Silver Hand, Ogma and Lug, of whom below.[6]

Dagodevos Dagda.

Brig.

By all accounts Celtic state-worship was of a gloomy and ferocious character. Human sacrifices, and vows of human offerings, are described as common. The doctrine of atonement by blood, we are told, was inculcated in its crudest form.[7] Cæsar also speaks of huge Molochs of wicker work in which whole hecatombs of living men were burnt to death.[8] Scepticism on this point is dispelled by the fact that it appears from writings of much later date that human sacrifice was thought to ensure the stability of a building.[9]

Sanguinary Rites.

In the sun's yearly course four points invite special attention; namely, the winter and summer solstices, when he pauses to turn in his career, and the spring and autumn equinoxes, these marking roughly the beginning and end of summer and winter. All four points have been honoured by mankind with special observance time out of mind. In the calendar of later pagan Rome the 25th December as a special solar day was appointed for the feast of Mithra, the Asiatic *Sol Invictus*. When the Christian Church began to arrange its calendar, Mithra's day was chosen for the Nativity of Christ, the new Sun of Right-

Solar Feasts.

[1] The name appears as Nudens, Nodens, and Nodons, *C. I. L.*, VII. 138, 139, 140.

[2] The identification is not certain, as the inscriptions give only "D. M. Nodonti," and "Deo Nudente M dedit."

[3] Rhys, 125, etc.

[4] *Id.*, 75, 147, 154. The writer identifies Dagda with Chronos or Saturn as a sort of superannuated god, *the Keeper of Elysium*, 149, 152, 644.

[5] *Id.*, 75, 388. For the perpetual fires of St. Bridget and her position generally in the 12th century, see *Giraldus Cambrensis*, V. 120 (Rolls Series), and *Historia Pontificalis*, *Pertz*, XX. 518, 539.

[6] Rhys, 579.

[7] "Pro vita hominis nisi hominis vita reddatur non posse aliter Deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur." Cæsar, *B. G.*, VI. c. 16.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] For Wales, see the legend in *Nennius*, c. 44, *M. H. B.* For Ireland, see Cormack's *Glossary*, by Whitley Stokes, p. 63 (Irish Archæological Society). "The same belief is still entertained in India." For burying prisoners alive at the funeral of a king, see O'Curry, *Lectures on Manners of Ancient Irish*, II. cccxx. Sullivan, cited Elton, 272.

eousness.[1] Midwinter's day having been fixed for the birthday of Jesus, Midsummer's day was appointed for that of the Baptist, who was born six months earlier.[2]

By the Celts the equinoctial points appear to have been more attended to than the solstices, the 1st May and the 31st October being their great solar days. By the Gael these days were respectively named "Bealltaine" or "Beltane," and "Samhuin" or "Samhain." The latter word means "Summer's end" (literally *Summer's rest* or *Summer's death*).[3] The etymology and meaning of Beltane are lost.[4] Both days were celebrated with bonfires and other observances. The most distinctive rite performed on these occasions was the kindling of virgin fire by the rubbing of sticks. The process, originally performed by twirling a stick between the palms of the hands with its point pressed against another piece of wood, was in time facilitated by the mechanical appliance of a wheel revolving on its axle; hence the wheel became doubly a solar emblem.[5] The fire so obtained was held sacred; the village hearths were annually rekindled from it;[6] in the North of Scotland it was known in recent times as "forced-fire" or "will-fire" (German *Noth-feuer*); cattle were passed through it to guard them from murrain.[7] An instance of this practice is recorded in Perthshire within this century.[8] "Pennant has left us a description of a rural sacrifice which in his time was performed on the 1st of May in many Highland villages"; while Martin in the Hebrides saw a flaming brand carried three times daily round a new-born babe until it was christened.[9] So recently were these observances part of the life of the people; while the names of the Celtic deities can hardly be recovered by scientific research.

Lustral Fires.

One other Celtic festival ought perhaps to be noticed, namely their midsummer festival held on the 1st of August and dedicated to the god Lugos, Irish Lug, Welsh Llew or Lleu, a deity who might almost be considered the first of Celtic gods. In Ireland the feast was called after him "*Lugnassad*," while in the Isle of Man the 1st August is still known as "*Lhuanys*," apparently another form of Lugnassad. In Wales the day was known as "Gwyl Awst," "August Feast," whence the

Lugos.

[1] Compare the words of St. Patrick, who clearly found sun-worship prevalent in Ireland: "Nam sol iste quem videmus . . . nunquam regnabit . . . et omnes qui adorant eum in penam miseri male devenient. Nos autem qui credimus et adoramus solem verum Jesum Christum," etc. *Trip. Life*, 374.

[2] Luke i. 26. H. Gaidoz, *Études de Mythologie Gauloise*, p. 15.

[3] Cormack's *Glossary*, by Whitley Stokes, 19.

[4] Murray, *New English Dictionary*, *sub voce*.

[5] In the Runic Calendar Christmas Day was marked by a wheel as a solar emblem. Gaidoz, *sup.*, 9.

[6] *Rev. Celtique*, IV. 194. Elton, 263.

[7] Elton, 293, citing Martin, *Description of Western Islands*, p. 113.

[8] *Mirror*, 24 June, 1826, cited Kemble, *Saxons*, I. 360.

[9] Elton, 293, 294, citing Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, 1772, p. 94, and Martin, *sup.*

mediæval name for the 1st August "*Gula Augusti*," or "*Goule d'Août*." Within the limits of ancient Gaul three cities still attest the fame of *Lugos*: Lyons, Leyden and Laon, each originally a Lugdunum, properly Lugodunum, 'Lugos' Fort' or 'Lugos' Town.' It is worthy of note that at Lyons the 1st August was a day of great observance.[1]

Primitive Religion.

"The average villager one meets in the Panjâb and Northern India is at heart neither a Muhammadan, nor a Hindu, nor a Sikh, nor of any other religion as such is understood by its orthodox, or to speak more correctly, authorised exponents; but his religion is a confused unthinking worship of things held to be holy, whether men or places, in fact Hagiolatry."[2] So doubtless with the Celts; regard for omens of luck or ill-luck; for fairies and banshees; dwarfs and elves; "cursing-stones" and "wishing-wells" made up the bulk of the practical religion of the people.[3] Every locality and every river, perhaps every grove and fountain had its tutelary divinity.[4] All the phenomena, all the forces of Nature were deified and worshipped. Surrounded by facts and mysteries that called for explanation, conscious of the narrow limits within which his knowledge of things was restricted, man fell back upon direct supernatural agency to account for every thing that he could not understand.

The Mistletoe.

Much has been made of the Celtic veneration for the mistletoe, and especially for mistletoe grown on the oak. To many it is the central point in Druidism. Our knowledge of the subject, however, is really derived from one man, and one man only, the elder Pliny. He describes at length the ceremonies with which the plant was picked to ensure its efficacy as a charm against barrenness, and an antidote to poison. A Druid, clad in priestly white, cut the precious shoot with a golden knife and received it on a spotless cloth: a white bull was then sacrificed.[5] The belief in the virtues of the mistletoe was doubtless due to its strange parasitic growth; and the special regard for the oak-grown mistletoe, like that for the four-leaved shamrock, was due to its extreme rarity. We are told that in Brittany to this day a mistletoe bough is hung

[1] See Rhys, 390-431. We may also compare "Lugotorix" the name of a noble Briton who led the attack on Cæsar's ships B.C. 54. Cæsar, *B. G.*, V. c. 22.

[2] R. C. Temple, *Legends of Panjâb*.

[3] Compare the Laws of Cnut, forbidding heathen practices, *i.e.* worship of idols, sun or moon, fire or water, springs, stones or trees of the forest. No deity is named. "Secular Dooms," II. c. 5; Schmid, *Gesetze*.

[4] Elton, 283–285, 292. Rhys' *C. B.*, 67. Thus the Roman wall (*vallum, prætentura*) had its *genius*. Hübner, *C. I. L.*, VII. Nos. 634, 886, Britannia and Brigantia are deified, Nos. 203, 875; the "Matres Campestres," 510, 1084, are the Irish Sîde (whence Glen Shee in Scotland) and the "Ladies" of our Lady-Wells and the *Loge-les-Dames* the holy tree round which Joan of Arc danced as a child. See also W. Stokes, *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, I. clviii.

[5] *Hist. Nat.*, XVI. 195. The line attributed to Ovid, "Ad viscum Druidæ Druidæ cantare solebant" is pronounced spurious.

over the stable door for luck. But before specially connecting this superstition with Celtic religion, Pliny might have called to mind how the Cumæan Sybill had directed Æneas to gather mistletoe from an oak as the charm wherewith to open the gates of the Nether World.[1] In modern times we are told that the reverence for the plant has left more enduring traces on Teutonic soil than in France, and our own Christmas mistletoe might be appealed to as evidence of the fact.[2]

Of the personal relics that have come down to us from the men of early Britain the most interesting as indications of their civilization and wealth are their coins, of which many specimens have been found, the most important being their gold coins. These were modelled after coins apparently derived from Marseilles; these again being copied from the gold *stater* of Philip II. of Macedon, a fine coin weighing about 133 grains and exhibiting a laureated head on one side, and on the other a charioteer in a biga.[3] The first British imitations bear some resemblance to the original; the later copies wander further and further away from the track till all resemblance is lost. The coins prior to the Roman invasion bear no inscriptions. The loss of weight and general degradation of type traceable between the earliest and the latest of these uninscribed coins are held by Sir John Evans to imply a lapse of about 150 years.[4] Gold currency therefore might be supposed to have been introduced into Britain about 200 years B.C. According to the same authority the coinage first appeared in Kent, thence spreading Northwards and Westwards to the petty kingdoms of the south coast. But he doubts if up to Cæsar's time the use of money had made its way as far as Gloucestershire or the northern parts of Wilts and Somerset.[5] This suggests that the gold currency was limited to the Belgic kingdoms. With reference to this subject it may not be out of place to point out that Saxon England practically never had a gold coinage, and that even Norman England never saw a gold coin struck till the year 1257.[6]

Coinage of Britons.

Gold.

But the British currency was not limited to gold which might be considered a coinage *de luxe*, more intended for the glorification of the king who issued it than to supply an actual business want. For daily needs we find in circulation uninscribed pieces of silver, copper and brass, the earliest of these apparently coinciding

Silver, Copper, and Iron.

[1] Vergil, *Æneid*, VI.

[2] See H. Gaidoz, *La Religion Gauloise et Le Gui de Chêne.*

[3] This *stater* was not struck till after the year 356 B.C., when Philip acquired the valuable gold mines of Crenides or Philippi; J. Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, p. 24.

[4] *Coins of Ancient Britons*, pp. 25–32.

[5] *Id.*, 37, 41.

[6] Ruding, *Annals of the Mint*, I. 186. A few gold pennies, however, of Archbishop Wigmund of York (A.D., 837) and some of Æthelred II. and Eadward the Confessor have been found. C. Oman, *Academy*, 10 August, 1895.

with the latest of the uninscribed gold coins.[1] Cæsar also mentions rings or bars of iron as being used for small money.[2] After his time we shall find the British currency making a fresh start.

Very striking as evidences of the life and work of bygone ages are the Celtic earthworks of our southern counties. The sacred circles of Stonehenge and Avebury are famous. Less known, but very remarkable are the concentric ramparts and ditches to be seen among other places at Holwood (Kent), Reigate, St. George's Hill (Surrey), St. Katherine's Hill (Winchester), Old Sarum, Yarnbury (near Steeple Lawford), Ogbury, Scratchbury (near Warminster, three several triple enclosures), Amesbury, Barbury, and Liddington (both near Swindon).[3] The broken fragments also of lines of earthworks formerly continuous, the Wansdikes and Grinsdikes of the same districts,[4] tell in like manner of sanguinary struggles between races battling for the possession of the soil. Three epochs might be mentioned with which these relics might be connected, namely, the struggles of the Belgic settlers with the earlier inhabitants: or those of the Belgic Britons with the Romans; or again, those of the Romanized Britons with the Anglo-Saxons. Some, however, of the fortifications seem to point rather to intertribal warfare. They also bear witness to a population greatly in excess of that to be found in the same districts at the present day.

Earthworks and Monuments.

The fortifications of the Britons exhibit a remarkable uniformity of type throughout our island. All affect elevated sites, not always suitable for ordinary habitation, but very defensible. Their ground plan is either oval or circular, with double and triple rows of ramparts and ditches. The Roman camp is usually rectangular, at any rate enclosed by straight lines, with rounded corners, the latter a very noticeable feature. The Romans again seldom or never placed their camps on inconvenient heights, but in comfortable situations, with water within easy reach, usually, in fact, on a river bank. In North Britain we sometimes find the innermost rampart of a fort built of stones which appear to have been vitrified by the action of fire.[5] The appearances do not suggest that these walls have been raised to any great height. As a conjecture we suggest that the vitrification may have been a rude mode of cementing a foundation course or plinth, in lieu of "dowelled" masonry, to support a stockade. In Ireland lake-dwellings, "island-stockades" were in vogue. These *crannoges*, as they were called, were

Forts.

[1] Evans, *sup.*, 99, 116. [2] *B. G.*, V. 12.

[3] The last six places are all in Wilts. The Amesbury work is of unusual shape, being triangular. It also has a mound-fort in the centre, which must be referred to Anglo-Danish times, but the outer works seem Celtic.

[4] For the so-called Belgic Ditches see Dr. Guest, *Archæol. Instit.*, Salisbury vol., p. 28.

[5] As at Craig Phadrick, near Inverness; at Dunsinane, near Coupar-Angus; on Barry Hill, near Alyth, etc. Vitrified forts have also been found in France.

found very troublesome by the English in warfare as late as the time of Elizabeth. In these bronze and neolithic articles have been found associated with Tudor and Stuart relics.[1]

Domestic Implements.

The metallic implements of early date that have been found in Britain include bronze celts or axe-heads of many patterns, with a few iron ones; bronze sickles, knives, daggers, spear-heads, and swords; the latter mostly leaf-shaped, but sometimes shaped like a spit or rapier. Thirty inches is given as the maximum length of these last.[2] Iron swords of British make have also been found in various parts of Great Britain and Ireland; but in less numbers than those of bronze; partly because iron perishes more readily than bronze; partly perhaps because the practice of burying weapons with the dead may have gone out of fashion when the use of iron became general. The iron swords appear to have been mostly sheathed with bronze scabbards,[3] iron scabbards being less common. The blades of the iron swords varied from 1 ft. 8 in. to 3 ft. 6 in. in length; the ends being less pointed than those of the bronze swords that proceeded them, but sharper than those of the Teutonic swords of later days. Sir. A. W. Franks would ascribe the introduction of these swords to about the same date as that of the gold coinage, namely, 200 B.C. or thereabouts. After the Claudian Conquests[4] these weapons again were driven out by "the shorter and more effective Roman sword."[5] That bronze implements in the more backward districts remained in use till a much later period is proved by the fact that bronze celts have been found in Cornwall

Weapons.

CELTIC SWORDS.
(From Evans' *Ancient Bronze Implements.*)

[1] W. G. Wood Martin, *Irish Lake Dwellings.*

[2] See Sir J. Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements, passim*; also the specimens in the British Museum, the Dublin Museum, and the Meyer collection at Manchester.

[3] See a specimen in the Late-Celtic collection in the British Museum.

[4] A.D. 43–54.

[5] *Archæolog.*, XLV. 251–265. The swords of the Picts of the time of Agricola must have been of the longer type. Tacitus speaks of them as "enormes gladios . . . sine mucrone." *Agricola*, c. 36.

associated with coins of Constantius Chlorus.[1] In Ireland bronze appears to have been still in use in late Christian times;[2] so probably in Scotland. Cæsar speaks of the Britons as importing their bronze.[3] That sounds odd, as the tin, if not both the copper and the tin, of which bronze was made were found in Britain; while moulds for casting bronze celts have also been found in Britain. Perhaps the remark should be understood as applying to manufactured bronze of a higher character, many bronze articles of foreign type having been found in Southern Britain.[4] Again Cæsar makes mention of mines of iron on the South coast.[5] These must have been the mines of the Weald of Kent and Sussex, "where the last forge was only blown out in the year 1825."[6]

Among the military appliances of the Britons their war chariots (*essedæ covini*) cruelly armed with scythes must not be overlooked.[7] Their size may be inferred from that of their wheels, of which one has been found, and it measures just 30 inches in diameter.[8] They were probably built of wickerwork, open in front and closed behind, in that respect differing from the Greek and Roman chariots which were closed in front and open behind. Cæsar praises the efficiency of the British chariot, with which the warrior could at will act as a horse-soldier or a foot-soldier, like the original Dragoon of modern times. The chariot-men would begin by skirmishing round the enemy's position, throwing their spears and endeavouring to break his ranks. If they got in among squadrons of cavalry the warriors would jump out and fight on foot,[9] the charioteers meanwhile falling back, ready to succour their masters in case of need. 'Thus they exhibit in battle the mobility of cavalry with the steadiness of infantry.'[10] Their driving was very skilful, and they could pull up and turn in a moment when going downhill at full speed. In case of need they could make their way along the pole to the horses' heads and so back to the car.[11]

Chariots.

The shield in common use was a round target, plated with bronze, with a central boss; to all intents and purposes the identical shield in use in the Scottish Highlands down to the year 1745.[12]

[1] Evans' *Ancient Bronze Implements*, 115. [2] *Encyclop. Britannica*, "Ireland," p. 256.
[3] "Œre utuntur importato," *B. G.*, V. c. 12.
[4] J. Evans, *Ancient Bronze*, 419, 483. [5] *B. G.*, V. c. 14.
[6] Boyd Dawkins, *Transactions of International Congress of Pre-hist. Archæol.*, 1868, p. 188, cited Rhys. *C. B.*, 21.
[7] "Covinos vocant quorum falcatis axibus utuntur," *Pomp. Mela.*, III. 6. (flor. circa A.D. 45). *Essedum* is Cæsar's word for the chariot.
[8] *Archæol.*, XXI. 42.
[9] "Cum se inter equitum turmas insinuaverint." *B. G.*, IV. c. 33.
[10] "Ita mobilitatem equitum stabilitatem peditum in prœliis præstant." *Ib.*
[11] Cæsar, *sup.*
[12] Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements*; conf. Tacitus, *Agricolat.*, 36, "brevibus cetris." For an engraving of a British shield made of bronze and 14 inches in diameter, see *Archæologia*, XXVII. pl. 22.

Flint arrow-heads have been found in great abundance, especially in the Northern districts, but none of bronze or iron. This suggests that stone must have remained in use for arrow-heads, unless we suppose the bow and arrow to have been abandoned, as perhaps may have been the case in the districts occupied by the Romans.

Flint Arrow-Heads.

British pottery, as found in their graves, is usually of a very rude sort, hand-made, of coarse clay, imperfectly baked, and only ornamented with finger marks and nail scratches. But a British cemetery at Aylesford in Kent has yielded specimens of wheel-made pottery of a superior kind, coated with black lustrous pigment, and exhibiting an undoubted elegance of form. Encircling groins or cordons are a special ornament. Along with these was found a wooden tankard hooped and handled with bronze of artistic design; also a fine wooden pail, hooped with flat bands of bronze: the uppermost band being ornamented with *repoussé* scrolls of considerable merit. But in the cinerary urns of the same cemetery flint flakes are found associated with implements of bronze and iron. The approximate date of these urns seems fixed by the presence of two gold coins, not inscribed, but of a type found on both sides of the Channel.[1] The superior pottery, therefore, and the artistic bronze can only be ascribed, like the gold coinage, to the Belgic tribes of the South coast.

Pottery.

With respect to the native coinage we may here point out that a numismatic map of Britain drawn up by Sir John Evans[2] shows that, practically, all the "finds" of British coins yet made fall within a line drawn from Peterborough to Worcester, and thence southwards to Dorchester. This would include all coins struck down to the time of the extinction of native rule within those districts, say down to the year 50 of our era.

Again with respect to interment of the dead it may be useful to state that it is believed that the practice of cremation was introduced among the Celtic nations about the same time as the use of iron; say B.C. 200–100; and that it was derived from Illyro-Italic tribes settled on the Eastern Alps. The Celts are said to have been slow as compared with the Germans to adopt the practice. Thus, in the cemetery at Aylesford already referred to, skeletons of bodies buried entire are found in proximity to the cinerary urns. The skeletons so found must have been buried in a tucked-up attitude, with the knees drawn up towards the chin; the usual attitude of skeletons found in Pictish graves in Scotland.[3] Again in the great necropolis of which Stonehenge might be regarded as the mortuary chapel, the numerous mounds contain remains, some cremated, some buried at full length, and

Cremation.

Bodies in Tucked-up Attitudes.

[1] See the article by Mr. A. J. Evans, *Archæologia*, vol. lii. p. 315, etc., and Plates and the objects themselves in the British Museum.

[2] Supplement to *Coins of Ancient Britons*.

[3] A. J. Evans, *Academy*, 21 Dec., 1889; and again *Archæologia*, vol. lii. p. 323.

some tucked-up.[1] With regard to this last position we have the suggestion that it may have been connected with funerals conducted on horseback, the bodies being doubled up for convenience of transport on pack-saddles, when taken to distant places of burial.

Strabo describes the Britons as being taller than 'the Celts,' *i.e.* the Gauls, and darker haired.[2] The exports from the island included corn, cattle, gold, iron, skins, slaves and hounds; the latter being used in war as well as in the chase. In return the Britons took salt, glass, earthenware, bronze (manufactured bronze?), beads, and trinkets.

Exports and Imports.

Great Britain is spoken of as a very populous country, and one thickly studded with habitations.[3] History and archæology are agreed on this point. But Celtic inability to combine neutralised all the advantages of numbers. No evidence of any federal organization has been discovered; the want of it helped the Romans in their conquest of Britain[4] just as it helped the English in their conquests in Ireland.

[1] See Hoar's *Wiltshire*, I. 52. These facts suggest a great antiquity for Stonehenge, if it witnessed successive periods of Celtic custom with regard to burial.

[2] "ἧσσον ξανθότριχες," IV. 278.

[3] "Hominum est infinita multitudo creberrimaque ædificia." Cæs., *B. G.*, V. c. 12.

[4] "Nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius quam quod in commune non consulunt . . . Rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus." Tacitus, *Agricola*, c. 12.

CHAPTER III

CÆSAR'S INVASIONS OF BRITAIN

B.C. 58–54

THE first attack of the Romans on Britain was undertaken in the summer of the year 55 B.C.

Within the space of the previous four years, that is to say since the early spring of the year 58 B.C., Caius Julius Cæsar had not only over-run and subjugated Gaul, but also defeated and expelled rival powers competing with Rome for the possession of a land no longer able to govern or defend itself. Thus he had driven back a mass immigration of the Helvetii, who, yielding to pressure from the Germanic tribes on the North and East, had crossed the Jura in quest of a home in Western Gaul. He had expelled Ariovistus, a German leader settled on the left bank of the Rhine, in Upper Alsace. He had repelled the formidable incursion of the Usipetes and Tenchtheri across the lower Rhine; and had checked threatening demonstrations on the middle Rhine by taking his forces across the river into the territory of the Ubii, to camp defiantly for eighteen days on Teutonic soil. These operations concluded, Cæsar led his forces to the coast of the Morini, *i.e.*, the district adjacent to Calais and Boulogne. The irruption of the Usipetes and Tenchtheri (B.C. 55) had apparently taken him by surprise, and thereby delayed the intended expedition across the Channel. At any rate it is clear that the plan of invading Britain had been conceived for some time; and considerable preparation made therefor.

Cæsar in Gaul.

Crossing of the Rhine.

Cæsar's motives were probably mixed: "the romance of a brilliant adventure" was probably one; but the undertaking was altogether in harmony with Cæsar's policy which was to forestal danger, and keep up his *prestige* by striking boldly at any quarter from whence trouble might possibly arise. If the Britons had not

Policy towards Britain.

[1] The compilers of Napoleon III.'s *Histoire de Jules César*, place the pile-bridge thrown across the Rhine by Cæsar on this occasion at Bonn, II. 143. Mommsen would place it between Coblentz and Andernach: *History of Rome*, Translation by Dickson, IV. 256. Both works agree that the Ubii were established between the Lahn and the Sieg. For the events of the years 58–55 B.C. see Cæsar's own narrative, *De Bello Gallico*, I., II., III., and IV. capp. 1–15.

lent any very material help to their cousins in the Armorican war of the previous year they must certainly have sympathised with them, and their close relations with the Belgæ, the most warlike and patriotic of the Gauls, laid them open to especial suspicion. Britain might easily become an asylum for fugitives, and a basis for hostile action against the Roman dominion in Gaul. Thus the crossing of the Channel, like that of the Rhine, was a defensive operation conducted by offensive means.[1]

The hostilities on the Rhine had taken up too much of the summer of the year 55 B.C. to leave time for effecting conquests in Britain, but Cæsar thought that there might still be time enough to effect a *reconnaissance* to pave the way for future operations. Accordingly while shipping was being gathered he endeavoured to pick up information about Britain and the Britons. But the merchants who were brought before him told him as little as they could, professing ignorance of all but the south coast and its harbours. On the other hand reports of Cæsar's intentions were promptly transmitted to the Britons, who lost no time in sending envoys to offer hostages and promise submission. Cæsar applauded these wise dispositions on their part; made liberal promises to the ambassadors; and sent them back with Commios, a Belgic Gaul of extensive influence both on the Continent and in the Island, to cultivate a Roman party in Britain. Finally Caius Volusenus was sent in a war galley to survey the coast and report on a landing place. At the end of five days he returned without having been able to set foot on shore, so thoroughly were the Britons on the alert.[2]

Negotiations.

The fleet collected for the occasion included galleys built by Cæsar for the war of the previous year against the Veneti of the Atlantic seaboard. Eight sailing vessels (*naves onerariæ* were assembled in one harbour, as transport for two legions. The war-galleys or *triremes*, (*naves longæ*) propelled by oars, were assigned to the commissariat and staff (*quæstori legatis præfectisque*); while another fleet of eighteen ships of burden was detained by foul winds in a harbour eight Roman miles 'higher up,'[3] that is to say eight miles to the eastward. The *data* furnished by Cæsar seem to identify the principal harbour, to which he gives the name of *Portus Itius*,[4] with Boulogne; and the lesser harbour 'higher up' with that of Ambleteuse.[5]

Preparations for War.

[1] Mommsen.

[2] Cæsar, *de Bello Gallico*, IV., capp., 20, 21. Cæsar made Commios king of the Atrebates.

[3] *Id.* 22, 23, 28: "Superiore portu." That by "superior" he meant an easterly direction is proved by his use of "inferior" as synonymous with westerly; "ad inferiorem partem insulæ quæ est propius solis occasum," c. 28.

[4] *B. G.*, V. c. 2. So too Strabo. *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. vi.

[5] Boulogne, under the later name of *Gesoriacum*, was clearly a harbour of importance

A favourable opportunity for crossing having offered itself, Cæsar loosed 'about the third watch';[1] *i.e.*, soon after midnight, the cavalry being sent to the further harbour with orders to embark there. Astronomical calculations based on Cæsar's statements as to the moon and the seasons fix the night as one of those falling between the 24th and the 27th days of August.[2]

Fleets.

The legions were the 7th and the 10th. According to accepted estimates two legions at full strength would make up 10,000 or 12,000 regular infantry. But we may question if legions after an arduous summer of fighting and campaigning could be at their full strength. Cæsar himself on another occasion speaks of two legions as barely making up 7,000 men.[3] A writer of the fourth century refers to Cæsar's legions in Gaul as having averaged 4,000 men:[4] 8,000 ought therefore to be a liberal estimate for the present occasion. The cavalry for whom the eighteen ships were prepared have been estimated at 450 men;[5] but they never crossed the Channel.

The Army.

About the fourth hour, *i.e.* ten o'clock in the morning, Cæsar with the leading vessels found himself off the harbour for which his pilots were making. The port is described as a narrow inlet running in between heights, the latter crowded with armed men, whose missiles entirely commanded both harbour and beach.

The Crossing.

Here we cannot fail to recognise Dover, especially when we are told

in Roman times; more so than Wissant or Calais. The distance from Boulogne to Ambleteuse, walking along the cliffs is just eight Roman miles; Ambleteuse could hardly have been the principal port; and the distance from thence to Wissant would be more than nine Roman miles. By many Portus Itius has been identified with Wissant (see C. H. Pearson, *History of England*, I. 25), in which case the upper harbour would have to be formed at Sangatte or Calais. But the distance from Wissant to Sangatte is six miles, to Calais eleven miles. Again the length of the crossing given by Cæsar from Portus Itius, about thirty Roman miles, or 27½ English miles, agrees better with the distance from Boulogne to Dover than with the distances from Wissant either to Dover or Deal. Lastly the supposed Roman fortifications at Wissant are a delusion, while the site of the camp of Labienus of the following summer is still marked out by the square ramparts of the Upper Town of Boulogne. See *Hist. Jules César*, II. 166–171. T. Lewin, *Invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar*, 18–21. Cape Grinez seems to be called Ἴκιον ἄκρον by Ptolemy; perhaps Portus Itius ought to be rendered the 'Itian harbour'; Itium was an old name for the coast of the Morini; the Gaelic name for the Channel being *muir-n'-Icht*, as already mentioned.

[1] "Tertia fere vigilia solvit."

[2] 24–25 August, *Histoire de J. César*, II. 156, 174. Lewin, *sup.*, p. 27. See also below.

[3] *B. G.*, V. c. 49. The 13th legion which Cæsar had at Ariminum at the outbreak of the civil war (Cæsar, *de Bello Civili*, I. 7) apparently mustered 5,000 men. *Plut. Cæs.*, 32; *Pomp.*, 60.

[4] Sextus Rufus Festus, *M. H. B.*, lxxi.

[5] *Hist de César.*, II. 156. The writers estimate the total of the legions at 10,000 men; Professor Airy and Mr. Lewin estimate it at 8,000 or 8,400 men.

that in those days the harbour ran much further in than it does at present, and that in fact it covered great part of the existing town.[1]

Cæsar prudently refused to enter such a trap, and brought his squadron to an anchor till the rest of the fleet had come up. 'At the ninth hour' (3 to 3.30 p.m., having got wind and tide to suit, he weighed, and, making a further advance[2] of seven miles along the coast, brought up off 'a smooth and open shore;[3] as we may suppose, between Walmer and Deal.[4] "Even here it was not easy to land," the natives having followed Cæsar's movements step by step, chariots and horsemen leading the way. The transports drew too much water to be run ashore, and the legionaries hesitated to wade in "under fire" to attack an enemy standing above them on dry land. Cæsar sent the lighter rowing galleys inshore to hurl missiles on the enemy's flanks; then the Standard-Bearer of the Tenth Legion set an example by plunging into the sea with his Eagle; the men, ashamed to be left behind, followed him; small boats were also brought into use. Inch by inch the Romans fought their way to shallow water, and then, getting into formation, carried the beach with a rush. Pursuit was out of the question, the Romans being destitute of cavalry.

Landing at Deal.

Disconcerted by this check, the Britons fell back on diplomacy. They released Commios, who had been imprisoned as a spy, and gave hostages for peace. Cæsar had the assurance, as he himself informs us, to deliver to the Britons a suitable rebuke for their unprovoked and treacherous attack upon him. On the fourth day, however, their spirit of resistance revived when they saw the cavalry-transports dispersed and driven off

[1] See *Histoire de J. César*, II. 157, and *Atlas*, plate 16. The site of old St. Martin's church appears to mark one side of the harbour of Cæsar's time. Almost all writers agree that Dover was the place to which Cæsar first came.

[2] "Progressus": the word distinctly implies a continued advance in one direction and not a change of direction. According to astronomical tables the tide ought to have turned West at 3 p.m. on the 27th August. Lewin therefore contends that Cæsar turned with it, and landed at Lympne or Limne near Hythe, supposed at that time to have been at the head of an inlet (pp. 35–44). But changes in the configuration of the coast-lines and sea-bed might well account for alterations in the times of the tides. If the Goodwin Sands had been joined to the mainland, even by a mere spit of sand, the tide at Dover would have begun by flowing North. Dr. Cardwell points out even now that the tides at Dover are anomalous; and that the inshore tide differs materially from the mid-channel tide, which is the tide of the astronomical tables. *Archæol. Cantiana*, III. 14–17. See also Guest, *Archæological Journal*, XXI. 239; Pearson, I. 25. The compilers of the *Histoire de J. César* get over the difficulty by suggesting that he sailed on the 25th August, six days before the full moon, and not four days before it, as he seems to say, II. 174, etc. Cæsar might speak of the full moon in a loose way so as to include a day or two before the climax. Apart from the question of the tide everything falls in with Deal.

[3] "Aperto ac plano littore," *B. G.*, IV. cap. 23.

[4] Dion Cassius understood that Cæsar after leaving Dover doubled a promontory, that would just be the South Foreland.

by a sudden gale from the East. At night came a full moon, and the high tide and surf between them did considerable damage to the Roman shipping, of which part was at anchor, part hauled up on the beach.[1]

A Storm.

Cæsar now had enough to do to refit his fleet, and get in daily supplies without attempting any further advance. The foraging, however, was brought to an abrupt conclusion by a sudden attack made by the Britons on the men of the 7th Legion while busy reaping corn. Cæsar succeeded in rescuing his men; but from that day he was practically beleaguered in his camp. A storming assault on his entrenchments, however, was repelled with ease.

The equinoctical season drawing near, Cæsar judged that it was time to get away from Britain; and, the fleet having been made fit for sea, on the first fine night embarked his men, and brought them back in safety to the Continent.[2]

Return to Gaul.

The expedition was a distinct failure, but the Senate, "estimating the attempt by its boldness rather than by its success," ordered a thanksgiving of twenty days.[3]

Cæsar himself was so little satisfied with the result that he gave immediate orders for the preparation of an armament for the following spring. He ordered modifications in the build of the vessels, directing them to be constructed with a lower freeboard, to facilitate loading and unloading; and with a broader and flatter floor, for the transport of horses;[4] thus in fact making them barges rather than ships. He also directed them to be fitted with oars. The soldiers were employed on this work during the winter, and with such success that by the summer (54 B.C.) 600 transports of the new type were turned out besides 28 triremes.[5] The whole were ordered to "*Portus Itius*," which had been found so convenient a starting point in the previous summer. All reached the port in safety, except forty vessels built in the district of the *Meldi* (*i.e.* Meaux on the Marne), and these never left the Seine.

Fresh Preparations.

The troops under Cæsar's command now numbered eight legions and 4,000 Gaulish horse; the latter including leading natives from every part of the country, hostages in all but the name. Three legions and half the cavalry were assigned to Titus Labienus, who was to

The Forces.

[1] *B. G.*, IV. 28, 29. Eight vessels had eventually to be broken up. The moon reached the full at 3 a.m. on the 31st August. *Histoire de César*, II. 175. But Cæsar may not have written with astronomical precision.

[2] *B. G.*, IV. 30–36. The compilers of the *Histoire de César* calculate that he probably returned to Gaul about the 12th Sept., II. 180. For a summary of the expedition compiled some 300 years later see *Dion Cassius*, XXXIX. s. 50, ed. 1750, extracted *M. H. B.* li.

[3] Pearson, I. 25. *B. G.*, IV. c. 38.

[4] "Paulo facit humiliores . . . et paulo latiores," etc., *B. G.*, V. c. 1.

[5] *Id.*, 1, 2. Some of the fittings (qy. cordage?) had to be brought from Spain.

keep his headquarters at *Portus Itius*,[1] so as to arrange for the transmission of supplies; whilst Cæsar took with him five legions and the rest of the cavalry, 20,000 men, more or less; a force that would leave him nothing to contend with except the difficulties of commissariat and transport.

The reader may be informed that Edward III. in all his glory never shipped 10,000 fighting men across the Channel; Henry V. and Edward IV. may have reached that number, but then only after months, in fact years, of strenuous exertion.[2]

When all was ready a North-West[3] wind set in, precluding exit from the harbour, and Cæsar had to wait no less than five-and-twenty days for a favourable opportunity. At last the wind turned to south-west,

The Crossing.

and the flotilla got under way one evening about sunset.[4] No date is recorded, but probable estimates bring the day to one falling between the 18th July and the 20th July.[5] The fleet was accompanied by a number of vessels, chartered by individuals on private account, bringing up the grand total to some 800 sail.

About midnight the wind failed; and when the day broke Cæsar found that he had been carried by the tide past his destination, Britain lying to his left-hand. When the tide turned the fleet drifted back again; and then the men, taking to their oars, with much labour brought the ships, about noon, to the landing place of the previous year. Not a native was to be seen, the Britons, as Cæsar afterwards learned, having been utterly scared by the portentous scale of his armament.

Cæsar's first care was to fortify a camp, to guard his ships and keep up communications with the Continent. Ten cohorts and 300 horse were told off to guard the camp.[6] Preliminaries having been arranged, and the position of the Britons ascertained, the army began its march into the interior, starting by night. Twelve Roman miles brought them

Advance inland.

within sight of the Britons, established on rising ground on the farther side of a river, and prepared to defend the passage.[7] Measured from Deal, the distance would correspond with that either to Littlebourn, or to Barham, both on the Little Stour.[8]

[1] As already mentioned, the square ramparts of the Upper Town of Boulogne are supposed to mark the camp of Labienus, *Histoire de César*, II. 171.

[2] See *Lancaster and York*, II. 407. [3] "Corus."

[4] *B. G.*, V. 5, 7, 8. "Leni Africo provectus."

[5] See *Lewin*, 77-79, 84. *Histoire de César*, II. 185.

[6] *B. G.*, V. 8, 9. Ten cohorts made a legion; but it is suggested that Cæsar took two cohorts from each legion to keep up the organisation of his force. *Hist. de César*, II. 186. [7] *B. G.*, V. 9.

[8] *Hist. de César*, *sup.* At either place wooded heights would be found on the farther side of the river. Supposing Cæsar to have landed near Hythe, the twelve miles would bring him to Wye on the Stour; Mr. Lewin would post the Britons in Challock wood, a mile to the North, p. 87.

Driven from the river by the Roman cavalry, the natives retired to a stronghold in a wood, fortified with *abattis* of fallen timber. The Seventh Legion cut their way into the wood after a regular siege,[1] and then the enemy vanished. Next day Cæsar was recalled to the coast by reports of another storm, and of damage again done to the shipping.

Loss of Ships on the Coast.

Forty vessels had been destroyed. Ten days were spent in hauling up the remaining vessels out of reach of the waves; and then, to protect them from the natives, they were surrounded with earthworks, connecting them with the camp.[2] Having thus secured his retreat in case of need, Cæsar rejoined his men in the advanced camp. The numbers of the Britons had greatly increased, an extensive coalition having been formed under the leadership of Cassivelaunos, a prince, whose territory, Cæsar tells us, lay to the North of the Thames, at a distance of about 80 Roman miles from the sea.[3] This distance (73 English miles) would fairly correspond to that from the South Coast, either to the point where Cæsar crossed the Thames, or to Verlamion, or Verulam, by St. Albans, mentioned by Ptolemy as the capital of the Catyeuchlani or Catuvellauni, of whom Cassivelaunos was probably King.[4]

Of this man, and his character and position, Cæsar was not ignorant, as he had in his retinue a British refugee, Mandubratios, whose father, Imanuentios, formerly King of the Trinovantes,[5] had been dethroned and killed by Cassivelaunos. Mandubratios had gone over to Gaul to invoke Cæsar's aid,[6] and so, in a manner, Cæsar had crossed the Channel on purpose to make war on Cassivelaunos.

Cæsar's plan was to attack the enemy in his own country; and with this end he was making for the nearest available ford across the Thames. On the first day of the renewed advance the Britons kept up a series of harassing attacks on the marching columns, the Romans, however, driving them steadily before them, with little loss except where the pursuit was pushed too far. The Romans, however, fought under great difficulties, the legionaries being too heavily armed to be able to leave their ranks;[7] while the cavalry suffered from

The Advance Resumed.

[1] "Testudine facta et aggere ad munitiones adjecto," etc., *B. G.*, 9.

[2] "Cum Castris una munitione conjungi," etc. [3] *B. G.*, 10, 11.

[4] *M. H. B.*, xiv.; Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 15, etc. For the name Cassivelaunos, see *Id.*, 281. The tribe-name "*Catuvellauni*" is not found in *Cæsar*, but in *Dion Cassius*, LX., s. 20, "κατουελλανοι": It is, however, fully confirmed by the fragmentary inscription found on the Roman wall, near Lanercost, "CIVITATE CATUVELLANORUM," where, apparently, the work done by a British contingent is recorded, *C. I. L.*, VII. No. 863.

[5] The Trinovantes occupied the modern County of Essex and part of Middlesex, between the Lea, the Stour, and the Thames. [6] *B. G.*, V. 22.

[7] "Propter gravitatem armaturæ quod neque insequi cedentes possent, neque ab signis discedere auderent." *B. G.*, V. 16.

the British practice of dismounting for hand to hand encounters. Again, the Britons fought in very open order, the parties in front being relieved at short intervals of time. At night, when the Romans set to work to entrench their camp, a bold rush was made upon them from a wood; and two picked cohorts posted on guard were driven in. A military tribune, Quintus Liberius Durus, was among the losses of the day. Next day the Britons kept at safer distance along the hills, apparently the Surrey Downs, till mid-day, when Cæsar sent out three legions and all his cavalry to forage. The enemy then came down in clouds, attacking even the supports round the Standards.[1] The Romans, however, faced them boldly, charging home, while the cavalry, profiting by the experience of the previous day, kept up a continuous advance, giving the chariot-men no time to alight. A severe lesson was inflicted; the British contingents from a distance went home, and no general encounter was again risked by them.[2]

Dispersion of the Britons.

From this point Cæsar takes us at a stride to the banks of the Thames, without noticing a single place or river passed on the way. Presumably he marched along the southern slopes of the Surrey hills, through Maidstone and Westerham, and so on to Gatton or Dorking; thence striking northwards to Walton-on-Thames, where abiding tradition points out the site of the historic ford of Coway Stakes.[3]

On reaching the place, Cæsar found the enemy posted in strength on the opposite bank, their side of the river being protected by a strong palisade, while stakes had also been driven into the bed of the river, under water. He ordered a general assault, the cavalry leading. The legionaries in places had to wade up to their necks;[4] but the enemy made a poor resistance: a way was cleared, and the whole army crossed in safety.[5]

The Thames Crossed.

Cassivelaunos adhered to his defensive tactics; clearing the country along the line of the Roman advance, and besetting every lane and by-way with chariots to cut off foraging parties. Had all the Britons been as staunch, Cæsar might have been reduced to straits; but the Trinovantes, perhaps more anxious to get rid of Cassivelaunos than of the Romans, set

[1] "Sic uti ab signis legionibusque non absisterent," c. 17. [2] *Ib.*

[3] The Thames has changed its bed. In Cæsar's time it probably flowed through the Broad Water, under the bank of Oatlands Park, rejoining its present channel just below Walton Bridge. The primitive road probably passed to the west of Walton village, and the site of Coway Ford is to be sought on dry land, in the meadow about 200 yards above the bridge on the south side of the existing stream; Lyson's *Environs of London*, "Shepperton." The ford was pointed out in Bæda's time, the stakes being visible, thick as a man's thigh, and shod with lead. *Hist. Eccl.*, I. 2; see Lewin, 103, etc. The Ordnance Survey map places Coway Stakes about 560 yards above the bridge on the existing stream.

[4] "Cum capite solo ex aqua exstarent."

[5] *B.C.*, V. 18.

a prudent example of submission. Cæsar dealt gently with them, merely requiring hostages and a supply of corn, together with the restitution of Mandubratios. The cessation of ravages in the territory of the Trinovantes induced other communities to follow their example; among these Cæsar names the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi.[1] These men led him to the last stronghold of Cassivelaunos, a fastness amid wood and marsh, crowded with men and cattle.[2] Cæsar attacked the hold on two sides, and then again the natives escaped at the rear.[3]

Submission of Trinovantes.

Storming of Verlamion.

As a last effort Cassivelaunos conceived the brilliant idea of burning the Roman ships, and so imprisoning his enemy in the island. Four kings of Kent[4] who were acting in concert with him, were directed to make the attempt.[5] But the legion on guard sallied on them, and drove them off, capturing a noble leader, Lugotorix by name. Beaten and deserted, Cassivelaunos now condescended to go through a form of submission, and Cæsar who was anxious to be off, the equinox drawing near, insisted upon nothing but hostages; a nominal tribute, however, was imposed, and strict injunctions given not to meddle with Mandubratios or the Trinovantes.[6]

Cassivelaunos Submits.

Cæsar returned to his ships, which were found safe and sound; but his numbers had been so much swelled with captives carried off for the market that the return voyage had to be made in two trips. Towards the end of September Cæsar left Britain never to return, having on this occasion spent some two months in the island.[7] Cicero, who had exchanged letters with his brother Quintus and Cæsar during the expedition, admits that if the army had run few risks

Return to Gaul.

[1] If the Cenimagni were the same as the later Eceni, they would occupy the modern Suffolk and Norfolk; the Segontiaci are connected by an inscription with the Silchester Calleva, on the borders of Berks and Hants. Of the Ancalites nothing is known (yet Conf. Ancaster in Oxfordshire, Pearson); but the Bibroci have been identified with "Berroc," whence the modern name of the county of Berks, and "Bibracte" Bray. (conf. the Gaulish Bibracte, Mont Bouvray; and Bibrax Vieux-Laon). As for the Cassi, Mr. Rhys would identify them with the Catti, whose coins have been found in Gloucestershire. Mr. Lewin suggests the Hundred of Cassio in Herts, p. 114. See Rhys' *Celtic Britain*, 28, 29, 283.

[2] The site should be placed at Gorhambury, 1½ miles to the west of St. Albans. The Roman camp of later days was placed on the banks of the Ver, between Gorhambury and St. Albans.

[3] *B.G.*, V. 19–21. [4] Cantium.

[5] Cæsar gives their names as Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax.

[6] *B.G.*, V. 22. Cicero, *Epp. ad Atticum*, IV. 17. *M.H.B.*, lxxxviii.

[7] *B.G.*, V. 23. Cicero received a letter from his brother Quintus from the British coast dated "a.d. VI. Kal. Oct." *supra*: that would be the 26th Sept: but the Roman calendar at the time was in confusion. Mr. Lewin, assuming that it must have been high tide when Cæsar reached Boulogne, fixes on the morning of the 22nd Sept. for his landing there (123, 124). The passage took about eight hours.

it had gathered as few laurels, and little booty. 'I hear,' he says, 'that there is neither gold nor silver to be found in Britain. . . . nothing but slaves.'[1] British pearls, however, were found in sufficient quantity for a votive stomacher to Venus, the patroness of the Julian House.[2]

Many spots in Southern Britain have been glorified by a connexion with Cæsar's name; but no traces of any works that can be recognised as his doing, have been made out.[3] On the other hand, we have within the limits of Holwood Park, adjoining Hayes Common, near Bromley, triple earthworks enclosing part of a British camp; and again we have at St. Georges' Hill, near Walton-on-Thames, an undoubted British fastness, with the usual concentric ramparts and ditches. It is quite possible that from this point the natives may have watched Cæsar's advance from the Surrey Downs. At any rate these fortifications cannot be ascribed to any period later than the Claudian conquest (A.D. 43–47).

Another non-Roman work may be seen in the so-called Cæsar's Camp on Wimbledon Common. Whenever executed, this entrenchment must have been intended to resist an advance from the South, as its defensive strength points wholly in that direction. Had it been intended to face an enemy coming from the North, it must have been placed at the other end of the plateau, at the top of Putney Hill. But as it is girt only by one rampart and one ditch it ought probably to be referred to a post-Roman date.

[1] Ad Familiares, VII. 7. Ad. Attic., *sup.* See *M.H.B.*, *sup.*

[2] C. J. Solinus, *Polyhist.*, c. 53. *M.H.B.*, x.

[3] See Mr. George Payne's Archæological Map of Kent, *Archæologia*, li, 447.

CHAPTER IV

B.C. 54–A.D. 78

Last Native Kings in Britain—Roman Invasion—Conquests of Aulus Plautius, Vespasian, Ostorius Scapula, Suetonius Paullinus, and Petilius Cerialis—Reduction of Britain to the line of the Humber, perhaps of the Tyne.

DURING nearly a hundred years Britain, though occasionally threatened, was left unmolested by Rome. Augustus talked of invasion, but refrained from it in fact. Tiberius declared himself bound by the policy of his predecessor.[1] But with the subjugation of Gaul, Roman influences made their way across the Channel. Thus we find the old uninscribed currency of Greek origin giving place to inscribed coins, and coins of Roman type. From these some scraps of British history have been recovered.

Commios, Cæsar's friend, broke with the Romans, and, eventually flying from their hateful presence, disappeared from Gaul about the year 51 B.C.[2]

British Kings.

It would seem that he retired to his possessions in Britain,[3] where he bequeathed three principalities to his sons, Tincommios, Verica,[4] and Eppillos; who ruled, the first in Hampshire and Sussex; the second in Surrey and Sussex; the third in Kent.[5] Another Kentish prince was Dubnovelaunos who, whether as conqueror or refugee, seems in his latter days to have passed over into Essex. He may be identified as one of the two British kings who, to avert threatened invasion, made a formal submission of the island to Augustus.[6]

Commios.

Dubnovelaunos.

Further north we find a king whose name appears in Latin as Tascio-

[1] "Consilium id Divus Augustus vocabat; Tiberius præceptum." Tacit., *Agric.*, c. 13.

[2] *De Bell. Gall.*, VIII. 48.

[3] So Frontinus, *M.H.B.*, xci. For a coin with the name of Commios, see Sir J. Evans' *Coins of Ancient Britons*, 157. Julius Frontinus served in Britain A.D. 75–78.

[4] For the name Verica, conf. "Ard-verikie," in Perthshire: 'The Hill of Verika.'

[5] Evans, 151–155 and Supplement, 509; Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 22, etc. Eppilos seems to have survived Verica, as on some coins he styles himself "REX CALLE." This looks like Calleva, which is generally identified with Silchester, but "there seems to have been another Calleva situated at Haslemere in Surrey," Rhys, 24. (Some of Verica's coins are thought to have been struck in Gaul, as if he had some dominion there also. Evans, *sup.*).

[6] See Evans, 198, etc., and his reading of the Ancyra Tablet commemorating the deeds of Augustus, *M.H.B.*, cvi.; Rhys, 25–27. The other prince may have been Tincommios,—"TIM," is all that appears. For the attitude of Augustus and Tiberius towards British conquest see Hübner's *Exercitus Britannicus*, Hermes, XV. 517.

vanus, or Tasciovans. He must have been a successor of Cassivelaunos, as his capital was Verlamion, where most of his coins were struck. The number of these, and the variety of their types, suggest that he was a ruler of considerable importance. His influence would seem to have extended at any rate over the districts represented by Herts, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Hunts, Northants, Beds, Bucks, Oxon, Berks, and Kent.[1] Besides Verlamion, his coins appear to claim for him two other cities, indicated as SEGO and RICONI, neither of which have been satisfactorily identified.[2] His coins give evidence that he was living after the year 13 B.C. It has been conjectured that he may have reigned from about 30 B.C. to A.D. 5.[3]

Tasciovans.

Tasciovans left two sons; and again a partition took place. Cunobelinos, the Cymbeline of romance, succeeding to the bulk of his father's dominions, with his capital at Camulodunon by Colchester; while Epaticcos inherited or conquered a smaller principality in Western Surrey and East Wilts.[4]

Cunobelinos.

Epaticcos.

It has been suggested that Cunobelinos may have become the ruler of the Trinovantes in his father's lifetime, as the conqueror of Dubnovelaunos;[5] and that having been established at Camulodunon he preferred to remain there. After his father's death it is clear that he was the most important personage in Britain. The "finds" of his coins indicate that his authority extended to the districts represented by Norfolk and Suffolk in addition to those under the sway of his father. The "number and variety" of his coins prove that his reign "must have extended over many years."[6] His accession has been conjecturally placed about the year 5 A.D.: the date of his death can be fixed with greater certainty, as it falls under the light of external history. His last years were clouded with troubles ominous for the future. About the year 39 A.D. he had to banish a troublesome son, called Adminius by Suetonius. This son repairing to the court of the Emperor Caligula, who was then in Gaul, made a "cheap surrender" of his father's kingdom. Caligula reported the important cession to the Senate, and prepared an army to assert his rights. According to unfriendly writers he led his legions down to the seashore, reviewed them from a trireme, and then dismissed them to gather shells as 'the spoils of the ocean.'[7]

Sway of Cunobelinos.

Next year Caligula was assassinated, and Claudius became Emperor.

[1] These are the counties in which his coins have been found. Middlesex also may be safely assumed to have been under his rule.

[2] Sego or Segontium has been identified with Silchester on the strength of an inscription found there: DEO HER[CULI] SAEGON, Rhys, 49. But the place is too far south, and it is not clear that SAEGON is a local designation. Evans, 283.

[3] See Evans, 220–275.

[4] Evans, 276–280. For the final "o" in Camulodunon, see p. 337: so too of Verlamion.

[5] Evans 287. [6] *Id.*, 288.

[7] A.D. 40: Suetonius, *Caligula*, 43, 44, 46; Dion., LIX. 21, 25; conf. Tacit., *Agric.*,

Of Adminius nothing more is heard: but another refugee turns up in the person of one Bericos, again to invite foreign intervention in the affairs of Britain.

The Romans called in. The Britains could neither rule themselves nor defend themselves, and their hour was come.

Claudius entered into the scheme of a conquest of Britain.[1] Born at *Lugdunum* (Lyons) he took a deep interest in Gaulish affairs; and he doubtless regarded Britain as an unsubdued outwork of Celtic nationality. He also wished "to earn a title and a triumph, like his ancestors before him, on the field of battle." The organisation of the expedition, however, and the opening of the campaign were delegated to a tried soldier, who held a high command in Gaul at the time, and was perhaps a connexion of the Emperor, Aulus Plautius.[2] Among his subordinates was a man for whom fate had great things in store, TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS.[3]

The Legions selected for the expedition were the 2nd, "*Augusta*"; 9th, "*Hispana*"; 14th "*Gemina*"; and 20th, "*Valeria Victrix*"; four in all, with the "*vexillarii*" of the 8th Legion, making up from 20,000 to 25,000 regulars, besides auxiliaries.[4] Presumably the army was brought to Boulogne, now styled *Gesoriacum*, the port from which Claudius himself sailed later in the year. The prospect of relegation to an unknown and inhospitable isle was not grateful to the soldiery, and they broke into open revolt, refusing to sail. Narcissus, the Emperor's freedman, came down to reason with them. At first they greeted him with derisive cries. But Narcissus must have had some effective arguments at command, as in the next sentence we are told, without one word to account for the change, that the Legionaries returned to their duty, and submitted to orders.[5]

Aulus Plautius.

The army was taken over in three detachments to facilitate landing. The crossing was effected not without hindrance from weather and tides, but without opposition from the natives; who had been lulled into security by the reported disaffection of the Roman troops.[6]

Landing.

13; *Germ.*, 37; *M. H. B.*, xlix. liii.; Merivale, V. 457. Caligula built a lighthouse at Gesoriacum now Boulogne. It is stated that relics of this building were still traceable a century ago. *Histoire de César*, II. 167. Boulogne therefore probably was the scene of his demonstration.

[1] See Merivale, VI. 2–15; Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, V. 155–158.

[2] Merivale, 18. Hübner suggests that Plautius may have been brother of the Empress Plautia Urgulanilla, and legatus of the army of Upper Germany (*exercitus Germaniæ superioris*), *Römische Heer in Britannien*, Hermes, XVI. 519.

[3] He was *legatus* of the 2nd Legion. Hübner, 525.

[4] Hübner makes the auxiliaries equal to the regulars, making 50,000 or 60,000 fighting men: *sup.*, 523, 526. Mommsen takes a total of 40,000: V. 160. Either number seems immense.

[5] So Dion., lx. 19. The writer apparently follows the lost Tenth Book of the *Annals of Tacitus*: Hübner, 518.

[6] Dion., *sup.*

No indication is given of the place where Aulus landed, but we may fairly assume that it was somewhere on the Kentish coast. Cunobelinos was no more, having died within the last two or three years. At his death apparently the usual partition had taken place between his sons Togodumnos and Caratocos, better known as Caractacus.[1] Following the tactics of Cassivelaunos against Cæsar, the Britons kept on the defensive; and Plautius had much ado to get at them, in their woods and swamps, as they fell back from one position to another. The reduction of their first line of defence was rewarded by the submission of part of the *Boduni*,[2] apparently a western tribe under the supremacy of the Catuvelauni. As the Romans now meant to remain in Britain a garrison was left among the new subjects. The next advance brought Plautius to a river, too deep to be forded, with the enemy posted on the opposite bank. From its evident connexion with the Thames the river must be identified with the Medway.[3] The Britons thought themselves safe, but the Gaulish auxiliaries were made to swim the river on one flank, while on the other flank Vespasian was sent up the stream to make his way across as best he could. Attacked on two sides the Britons made a very creditable resistance; renewing the struggle on the morrow, and nearly capturing the *legatus* of one of the Legions. But in the end they were thoroughly beaten, and driven to the Thames, here described as a tidal river. The Britons had means of crossing; and the Roman advance was checked. But the Gaulish horse again swam the river in places, while other detachments crossed by a bridge higher up. It does not seem far fetched to regard this as the first notice of our great historic thoroughfare—London Bridge.[4]

Togodumnos and Caratocos.

London Bridge.

Skirmishing operations ensued in which the Britons suffered severely, the Romans losing a few men in the marshes, a well-known feature of the Thames to this day.[5] Togodumnos had now fallen; and Plautius, judging that the time for the Imperial intervention had come, sent word to Claudius, who sailing from Ostia to Marseilles, and thence making his way, partly by land and partly by river to Gesoriacum,[6] joined the camp on the banks of the Thames. A general advance across the river was then made to Camulodunon: the

The Emperor Claudius.

[1] Dion., *sup.* Evans, 294. Rhys, 76. A coin has been found with the legend "CARA" or "CARAT." This may fairly be ascribed to Caratocos, though Mr. Evans thinks the type rather early for him. *Supplement*, 552.

[2] "*μέρος τι τῶν Βοδούνων.*" The name Boduni looks very like the Dobunni of Ptolemy, but these are placed between the two Avons and the Severn. According to our idea of the campaign Dion's Boduni could not be placed further west than Sussex.

[3] So too Pearson, I. 30, and Mommsen, V. 160, *note.*

[4] The bridge may have been constructed by Tasciovanus or Cunobelinos as a military work, to keep up the connexion between Verlamion and Kent, by "the Old Kent Road."

[5] Dion., s. 20. [6] Suetonius, *Claudius*, c. 17; *M. H. B.*, xlix.

stockades were stormed and Catuvelauni and Trinovantes surrendered their independence. But Caratocos, scorning to submit, retired like the Ambrosius Aurelianus of a later day, to keep up the hopeless struggle in the West.

After sixteen days in Britain Claudius returned to Rome "to enjoy a triumph and the surname of Britannicus."[1]

Aulus Plautius remained in Britain, as proprietor and legate with consular authoritity,[2] to carry on the work. The brunt of the fighting was borne by Vespasian. In the course of four years' time he is given credit for having fought thirty actions, taken twenty towns, and conquered two 'nations' (*gentes*) and the Isle of Wight. As these deeds are said to have been done partly under Aulus, and partly under Claudius himself, the whole of the conquests of the first four years seem to be here ascribed to Vespasian.[3] The one 'nation' therefore would be the Trinovantes-Catuvelauni; the other perhaps the Belgæ.[4] A pig of Roman lead has been found in the Mendip hills with the date for the year 49, only two years after the recall of Plautius.[5] This seems to warrant the belief that the conquest had been pushed by him to the banks of the Bristol Channel, possibly to the line of the Exe.[6]

Vespasian.

The Roman road from London to Bath (*Aquæ Sulis*), with the great camp at Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*); and minor posts at Speen (*Spinæ*), Mildenhall (*Cunetio*), and Sandy Lane (*Verlucio*) would represent the *limes* or military frontier at this time.[7]

The Romans were always ready to make terms with native princes willing to accept positions of friendly dependence. Such a man was Cogidubnus, king of *Regnum* (Chichester) or the "Regni," who was allowed to assume the Imperial name, "Tiberius Claudius"; and to style himself 'Legate of Augustus.' Hemmed in on all sides

The Regni.

[1] Dion., s. 23; Suetonius, *sup.* Pearson. Claudius was absent from Rome about six months in all.

[2] "Legatus consularis," Sueton., *Vesp.*, 4. On the inscriptions the regular designation of the Governors for 200 years to come is "LEG. AUG. PR. PR" = *Legatus Augusti pro-prætore.*

[3] "Partim Claudii ipsius ductu." Suetonius, *sup.* Tacitus, *Agricol.*, 13, 14; *Hist.* III. 44: "Monstratus fatis Vespasianus." The statement in Dion. s. 30, that Vespasian's life was saved on one occasion by his son Titus is shown by Merivale to be impossible, as Titus was a mere child at the time. *Romans under Empire*, VII. 50; correcting VI. 28.

[4] The towns of the Belgæ given by Ptolemy are Ichalis = Ilchester; 'Hot Springs' = Bath; Venta = Winchester.

[5] Hübner, *sup.*, 531.

[6] Numerous coins of Claudius have been found at Exeter (*Isca Damnoniorum*). This suggests an early occupation. Merivale, 28, citing Shortt, *Silva Iscana.*

[7] See the Antonine Itinerary *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. xxii., and Mr. Hughes' map. The camp at Silchester encloses an area of 120 acres; Wright, *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, 178. For recent excavations there see Papers in *Archæol.* XL., XLVII., and L.

he might well remain 'faithful.'[1] An alliance on more equal terms had also apparently been formed with the Iceni or Icii,[2] neighbours and enemies of the Trinovantes.

The Iceni.

In 47 Aulus Plautius was recalled to enjoy his well-earned triumph: "the last Roman subject to whom that distinction was conceded."[3] His successor was Publius Ostorius Scapula, who however did not make his appearance in Britain till the year 50.[4] The Province having been left for three years without a head, affairs were found to be in great confusion.[5] The independent natives were making war freely on the friendly allies, and endeavouring to arrange for combined action; while the Roman captains again showed too much disposition to act independently of each other. Scapula showed extraordinary promptitude and vigour. Although winter had set in, he hurried his men from one point to another, crushing all resistance. His next step was to fortify a frontier by establishing a chain of outposts from the Nen, presumably along the line of the Warwickshire Avon, to the Severn.[6] Lastly he began to disarm all natives within those limits. But the Iceni refused to be disarmed. They had joined the Romans of their own free will, and their resources were unimpaired by war. Under their leadership a confederate army was mustered in one of the usual strongholds, a place inaccessible to cavalry and fortified with earthworks.[7]

Ostorius Scapula.

The Nen-Severn Line.

Scapula's force consisted mainly if not wholly of auxiliaries,[8] but he did

[1] Tacit., *Agric.*, 14; Hübner, *sup.*, 528. An inscription has been found at Chichester which is read: "Claudius [Co]gidubnus rex legatus Augusti." *C.I.L.*, VII. No. 11.

[2] This people occupied our Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, etc. For their coins, some of them with the legend ECEN, see Evans, 379, etc. Their well-known town, *Venta Icenorum*, Caistor, apppears in the Geographer of Ravenna as *Venta Cenomum*. This seems to supply a link with the Cenimagni of Cæsar. It seems impossible not to connect the name with the "Icks," so thickly scattered over East Anglia, such as Ickborough (Norf.); Iken, Exning, Ickworth (Suff.); Ickwell (Beds.); Ickford (Bucks); Ickenham (Mddx.); the Icknield Way, etc. The Antonine Itinerary has an "Icianos," either in Cambridgeshire or Hunts, on the road from London to Lincoln (*Lindum*).

[3] Dion., s. 30; Tacit., *Ann.*, XII. 32; Mommsen, V. 161; Merivale, VI. 29.

[4] Tacit., *Ann.*, XII. 25, 31.

[5] "Turbidæ res excepere.

[6] "Cunctaque castris [ad] Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat." Most geographers take the Antona as the Nen. Mr. H. Bradley (*Academy*, 28th April, and 19th May, 1883, and 2nd April, 1892) would read, "*cunctaque eis Trisantonam et Sabrinam*," etc., making the *Trisantona*=the Trent. But this would place the boundary too far north, with a long winding line; nor do we find there the chain of Roman stations that can be traced from the Nen to the Warwickshire Avon. For these see Appendix to this chapter.

[7] "His auctoribus circumjectæ nationes locum pugnæ delegere," etc. Borough Hill, near Daventry, has been suggested as the place. There is a well-marked Celtic camp there.

[8] "Sociales copias sine robore legionum."

not hesitate to join issue with the tribes. The earthworks were stormed and the natives driven out with heavy loss.[1]

The Southern Midlands having been awed into "sullen submission," Scapula seized the opportunity to push an advance in a north-westerly direction, leading his men into the new territory of the *Cangi*. Pigs of Roman lead found with the mark DE CEANGI connect the name with our Staffordshire and Cheshire.[2] Of course this line of advance would coincide with the celebrated arterial road, the Watling Street, which thus presumably may be said to date from this epoch. We are told that the advance was pushed to the neighbourhood of the Irish Sea.[3] As the next recorded move brought the Romans within the limits of our Yorkshire, we may further conjecture that Chester as a Roman station dates from this expedition.

The Watling Street.

From the neighbourhood of the coast the Legate was induced to turn inland by reports of movements among the *Brigantes*, the most powerful of British nations, who apparently ruled all the country from the Mersey and the Humber to the Cheviots; in fact the later *Bernicia*, a name clearly connected with "*Brigantes*."[4]

The Brigantes.

Scapula was too prompt for the Brigantes, who were evidently not prepared for war, and peace was made at the expense of a few restless spirits who were sacrificed.[5] The attack on the *Brigantes* was clearly intended to leave the Legate free for the great work he had at heart, the reduction of our Wales, and especially of South Wales, where Caratocos still found men to follow him. Scapula's hands had been strengthened for this undertaking by the establishment of a colony of veterans, the first in Britain, at Camulodunon, "*Colonia Victrix*"; whereby the Legion previously quartered there, probably the 14th, would be available for service elsewhere.[6]

[1] Tacit., *sup.*, c. 31. The legate's son Marcus earned a civic crown for saving a comrade's life.

[2] *C.I.L.*, VII. Nos. 1,204, 1,205, 1,206. Ptolemy gives the name of "Γαγγανῶν ἄκρον," the "Cape of the Gangani," to the chief promontory of N. Wales, Bachy Pult Point, in Carnarvonshire. *M. H. B.*, xii. Mr. Rhys reads the inscription on the Cheshire pigs, "DECEANGL," and identifies the name with Tegeingl, "the name of a district embracing the coast from Cheshire to the river Cluyd": *Academy*, 21st October, 1891. But Scapula clearly did not attack Wales till later.

[3] "Haud procul mari quod Hiberniam aspectat." Tacitus, *sup.*

[4] Rhys derives Bernicia and Bernicii "from the Anglo-Saxon Bærnicas, which appears to have been the English pronunciation . . . of Brëennych or Brenneich," the "Welsh equivalent" of Brigantes. *C. B.*, III.

[5] "Brigantes . . . paucis interfectis . . . resedere. Tacit., *sup.*, 32.

[6] Tacitus, *sup.*, Hübner, *sup.*, 533, 534. The colony is represented by Colchester, where the Roman walls may yet be seen. The British Camulodunon must have stood somewhere near, as the name was transferred to the Roman town, perhaps in Lexden Park, a site protected by a deep ravine, with earthworks and a tumulus still remaining. To the W. and S. of these three parallel lines of earthworks are visible, arranged *en échelon*

The Silures occupied the Eastern half of South Wales, apparently between the lower course of the Severn and the Bay of Caermarthen, districts known in later times as Morganwg, otherwise Glamorgan and Gwent. Tacitus distinguishes these men from the other Britons by their swarthy complexions and curly hair,[1] a type which to his mind suggested a Spanish origin. Modern writers regard them as Gael with a large infusion of pre-Celtic blood.[2] Less civilized than the other Britons, their history proved them an intrepid and indomitable race.[3]

The Silures.

Ostorius probably made his advance from *Glevum*, Gloucester, where perhaps the second legion may have had its headquarters;[4] but this is not recorded. At his approach Caratocos withdrew into the hills of the Ordovices, another powerful community who occupied Middle and North Wales.[5] Driven to bay, he took his stand on a range of hills, in a position fortified with ramparts of loose stones, and protected by a river.[6] We are told that the Legate hesitated, but that the soldiers refused to be kept back. A way across the river having been found, the ramparts were attacked and undermined by men working under cover of mantlets.[7] The Britons then retired along the hill tops, the Romans pressing them on all sides. The rout was complete: the wife and daughter of Caratocos were taken; his brothers surrendered their arms.[8] He himself escaped to the Brigantes to be ultimately given up by their queen Cartismandua (A.D. 51).[9] He was sent to Rome and exhibited in a martial spectacle. Nine years of resistance had made his name great, even at Rome. His manly bearing justified the interest already excited by his career. He was allowed to live in honourable custody with his family. "They were enrolled perhaps among the clients of the Claudian house; and indulgence may be

The Ordovices.

Defeat of Caratocos.

so as to cover the whole space between the Colne, near Lexden Park, and the Roman River at Baymill. These must be considered Roman works. Three British roads are believed to have radiated from Lexden: one to Chelmsford; one to Verulam; and one to Cambridge. *Quarterly Review*, vol. 97, p. 77.

[1] "Colorati vultus et torti plerumque crines." *Agricola*, c. 11.

[2] Rhys, *C. B.*, 80.

[3] "Validam et pugnacem gentem." Tacitus, *Agricola*, c. 17.

[4] Hübner, *sup.*, 531.

[5] The name may perhaps be traced in *Cantref Orddwyf* (for *Orddwy*), formerly given to "the district between the Dovey and Gwynedd." Rhys, *C. B.*, 299, citing Iolo MS., 86, 477. Mr. Rhys would confine the Ordovices to Mid-Wales, but with Tacitus they clearly cover the country from the border of the Silures to the Menai Straits: so too with Ptolemy.

[6] "Præfluebat amnis vado incerto."

[7] "Testudine facta."

[8] Tacitus, *sup.*, 33-35. For the various places suggested for the battle, see Merivale, 37. The most likely perhaps is Cefn Carnedd, west of the Severn, near Llanidloes; Hartshorne, *Salop. Antiq.*, 63.

[9] "Traditus est novo post anno quam bellum in Britannia cæptum." *Tacit.*, 36.

challenged for the pleasing conjecture, that *Claudia the foreigner, Claudia the offspring of the painted Britons*, whose charms and genius are celebrated by Martial was actually the child of the hero Caractacus."[1]

Claudia.

Ostorius failed to retain his hold on the country of the Silures. The outposts that he attempted to fortify were overwhelmed with heavy losses; on one occasion a camp prefect and eight centurions were killed; on another two auxiliary cohorts were cut off. Worn out by the interminable struggle Ostorius died.[2] A successor was promptly sent out in the person of Aulus Didius Gallus. An elderly man, the new proprætor was content to work through others, dividing his attentions between the Silures on the one hand, and the Brigantes on the other. The Silures were stubbornly independent. The Brigantes were divided; their Queen, Cartismandua, holding to a Roman alliance; while Venutios, a distinguished warrior whom she had taken as her husband, favoured a more independent policy, and the Romans had to do some fighting to keep the friendly Queen on her throne.[3]

Aulus Didius.

No advance however was made during the six years that Didius lived; nor under his successor Veranius, who, obtaining the command about A.D. 58, died within the year. In 59 the command was given to Suetonius Paullinus, a general reputed second only to Corbulo.[4] Again for two years we are told that he was content to consolidate his dominion.

Suetonius Paullinus.

A good deal however to change the aspect of Britain had been done in the eighteen years since Aulus Plautius landed. London was beginning to take its place as the commercial centre of the island, if not the seat of government.[5] To this period we may ascribe the construction of most of the highways from London to the South Coast; and also of those from London to Gloucester (*Glevum*), to Wroxeter (*Uriconium*) and Chester (*Deva*), this last being the well-known later Watling Street. Possibly the road from Colchester by Godmanchester (*Durolipon*) and Leicester (*Ratæ*) to Chester, which has been called by antiquarians the Via Devana, may date from this period.

Road-making.

In the wake of the Legions came troops of speculators, eager to make

[1] Merivale, VI. 41. Martial, *Epigg.*, V. 48; VI. 58. As Martial's Claudia was the wife of one Pudens, the further question arises whether they should be identified with Pudens and Claudia mentioned by St. Paul (2 Tim. iv. 21). See Alford's note *ad loc.* Another suggestion is that the British lady Claudia was daughter of Claudius Cogidubnus, the king of the Chichester inscription, because Pudens, son of Pudentinus, appears on that inscription as giving the site for a temple. *M.H.B.*, No. 124; Williams' *Quarterly Review*, v. 97, p. 101. *Contra* Hallam, *Archæol.*, xxxiii. p. 322.

[2] Tacit., *Ann.*, XII. 38, 39.

[3] Tacit., *Ann.*, XII. 40.

[4] Tacit., *Agric.*, 14; *Annals*, XIV. 29. The dates are by no means clear.

[5] "Londinium . . . copia negotiatorum et commeatuum maxime celebre." Tacit., *Ann.*, XIV. 33.

money out of the country and its people. Conscription, taxation, and requisitions pressed hard upon men little used to government of any sort. Capitalists—"such as Seneca, moralist and sycophant"—offered fatal facilities to needy chiefs; the administration was bound by no law; in short "tyranny" had been "organised" till it had "become insufferable."[1]

Unconscious, however, of the ferment that was brewing behind him in the East, Suetonius in the year 61[2] undertook the reduction of *Mona*, Anglesey; described as a harbour for refugees; and of course the stronghold of Druidism and Celtic nationality.

Mona (Anglesey).

The disposition of the forces shows where the resistance to the invaders at this time lay. Of the four Legions now quartered in Britain, the second was probably at *Isca Silurum*, Caerleon-upon-Usk; the fourteenth at *Uriconium*, Wroxeter; and the twentieth at *Deva*, Chester.[3] Only the ninth remained to watch the Midlands and the East.

For the transport of his infantry across the Menai Straits Suetonius had prepared flat-bottomed barges; the cavalry being left to ford or swim the Channel.[4] The Britons had mustered all the weapons of their simple repertory to defend their stronghold. Dishevelled women robed in black ran up and down the ranks with flaming torches, while the Druids filled the air with curses and incantations. The legionaries for a moment were overawed by the strange weirdness of the sight; then shaking off superstitious terror they charged home and scattered the natives. The Druids were immolated on their own altars;[5] the sacred groves cut down; and Druidism trampled under foot.[6] From the reeking ashes of Mona Suetonius was recalled by alarming tidings from headquarters. For some years, perhaps from the time of their revolt in the year 50, the Iceni had been ruled, under Roman protection, by one Prasutagos. Possessed of considerable means, he had hoped to secure something for his daughters by naming them joint-heirs with the Emperor. At his death his dispositions were set aside, and his daughters found themselves slaves in their own home. For attempting to assert their rights their mother, Queen Boudicca,[7] was scourged, and they themselves brutally outraged. With a wild

Suppression of Druidism.

Rising of the Iceni.

[1] See Mommsen, V. 161; Merivale, VI. 49; Pearson, I. 32. The reference to Seneca comes from Dion, lxii. s. 1; *M. H. B.*, lvi.

[2] Tacit., *Ann.*, XIV. 29. This is the first distinct date given by him since that of the extradition of Caratocos in 51. [3] Mommsen, 162.

[4] Between Beaumaris and Aber the sands may be crossed on foot at low water, all but a narrow channel on the Anglesey side.

[5] The Romans after all only treated the Druids as the English in the fifteenth century [illegible]ated the *Pucelle*, Joan of Arc.

[6] Tacit., *Ann.*, XIV. 29, 30; Agricola, 14. For the survival of Druidism outside the [illegible] the Roman dominions, see above, chap. i.

[7] [illegible] the name see Rhys, *C. B.*, 278. "Bodicca," "Boudica" and a masculine [illegible]s" are found on inscriptions.

Celtic outburst the Iceni once more flew to arms. They were promptly joined by the Trinovantes who had special grievances of their own. The erection of a temple to the 'Divine Claudius' at Camulodunum had been felt as a national insult; and the military colonists, not content with the lands assigned to them had freely laid their hands on everything. In the absence of Suetonius the colonists appealed to Catus Decianus, the *procurator* or fiscal administrator of the province. Two hundred men were all the reinforcement that he could send them, the soldiery being scattered in outposts.[1] Undefended as yet by walls or ramparts,[2] Camulodunum was stormed and sacked, the regular troops holding out for two days in the temple. Boudicca then led her men to meet the 9th Legion, the only one within reach, who were hurrying to the rescue; and again fairly overwhelmed them in the fury of her rush, the Legate Petilius Cerialis only escaping with his cavalry. The guilty *procurator* who had caused all the mischief, abandoning hope, took ship for Gaul.

Queen Boudicca.

On receiving the alarm Suetonius at once started for London, marching boldly through troubled districts;[3] his steps probably traversing the Watling Street. He took with him the 14th Legion and the "*vexillarii*"[4] of the 20th. The 2nd was ordered to leave its quarters in the country of the Silures and rejoin the *proprætor* in the South. Their camp-præfect, Pænius Postumus, ignored the summons, and kept within his earthworks. On reaching London Suetonius was at first in doubt as to the course he ought to pursue; namely, whether he should remain on the defensive within the precincts of London, or boldly face the enemy in the field. Satisfied of the importance of prompt resistance to the movement he left London to its fate, carrying off all able-bodied men fit for service. Thus abandoned, London fell a prey to the Britons, who laid it in ashes.[5] Verulam had suffered the same fate. Suetonius prudently took up a position to await attack. His numbers all told made up

March of Suetonius.

London burnt.

[1] "Præsidiis et castellis."

[2] "Nullis munimentis sæptam." This seems to imply that the Lexden works had not been constructed. But if they had been the colonists were probably not strong enough to man three miles of earthworks.

[3] "Mira constantia medios inter hostes Londinium perrexit."

[4] The Vexillarii of a legion appear to have been men who having served the proper time of sixteen years, as limited by Augustus, were re-enlisted, under special conditions, and a *vexillum* of their own to serve for a further period of four years to make up the original twenty years of liability of service of Republican days. The vexillarii were excused fatigue duties. Their numbers are estimated at from 500 to 1,000 per legion. See Smith, *Dict. Antiq.*

[5] Excavations in the city have brought to light the traces of two buried Roman cities, with a layer of ashes between them. These ashes are supposed to mark the conflagration of the year 61. Meriv., 57.

10,000 men, a very substantial force of disciplined soldiers, when properly led. He selected a position with a narrow front backed by a wood where he could not be outflanked; and placed his men in extra deep formation, to withstand the first wild rush, the dangerous point of a Celtic attack. The Britons, flushed with success and laden with spoil, came on in countless bands; Boudicca riding in a chariot with her daughters. The Romans allowed the natives to begin the attack, keeping to their vantage ground, and plying them with the *pilum*; when their onset began to flag, the Romans formed a wedge, charged home, and all was over. The escape of the vanquished was much impeded by their own waggons and the presence of their wives and children. No mercy was shown to age or sex. The Romans, however, admitted a loss of 400 killed in the action. Boudicca destroyed herself with poison. Pænius Postumus, the camp-præfect on hearing of the victory threw himself on his own sword.[1]

Victory of Suetonius.

The Britons were now crushed, but Suetonius showed no disposition to be merciful. Famine ensued, the natives being driven from their fields. The newly appointed *procurator*, Julius Classicianus, openly condemned the severity of the legate. Polycletus, a freedman of the Court, was sent out to report on the state of affairs in Britain. Unable to establish harmony between the two chiefs, he requested Paullinus to surrender his authority to a successor, Petronius Turpilianus (A.D. 62).[2] Under his gentle rule the land began to recover from its wounds (62–65?).

Petronius Turpilianus.

The like gentleness, contemptible in the eyes of the martial historian, characterised the rule of his successor Trebellius Maximus, whose policy is described as 'the very urbanity of administration.'[3] The struggles that followed the death of Nero led to no civil strife in the British dominion,[4] the partizans of the different factions leaving the Island to join the continental armies and fight abroad. Trebellius declared for Vitellius; but while caressing the natives he had lost the confidence of his own soldiers; and so he had to join his master all alone, nobody following him.[5] Vettius Bolanus was appointed to succeed him in Britain in the Vitellian interest (A.D. 69). But he too found the cause of Vespasian too strong

Trebellius Maximus.

Vettius Bolanus.

[1] Tacitus, *Ann.*, XIV. 31–37; *Agricola*, 15, 16. The narrative of Dion, LXII. s. 1–4, except where he follows Tacitus, is of little account. As for the site of the battle, we need not suppose that Suetonius moved far from the basin of the Thames; all that he wanted was elbow room.

[2] Tacit., *Ann.*, *sup.*, 38, 39; *Agric.*, 16.

[3] "Petronius . . . honestum pacis nomen segni otio imposuit." Trebellius, "segnior . . . comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit." Mr. Petrie places the appointment of Trebellius *circa* A.D. 65, *M. H. B.*, Chron. Abstract, but the evidence is not clear.

[4] Tacit., *Hist.*, I. 9.

[5] *Id.*, 59, 60; II. 65. *Agricola*, *sup.*

for him, through the influence of the 2nd and 14th Legions. The 2nd was Vespasian's old Legion. The 14th had been summoned from Britain by Nero; had sided with Otho against Vitellius; was again relegated by Vitellius to Britain, and was therefore ready to support his enemy.[1] Under these circumstances Vettius found an excuse in the state of Britain for evading the call of Vitellius to join him in Italy;[2] and so Vespasian allowed him to remain at his post for some months longer.

In fact the attitude of the Brigantes was disquieting. The dissensions between Cartismandua and Venutios had never ceased; and she, finally discarding him, took a new protector in his armour-bearer Vellocatus. In 69, when Britain was drained of troops Venutios and his party saw an opportunity for shaking off Roman influence, and Cartismandua was only saved by the intervention of some cohorts; but Venutios remained lord of the Brigantes.[3]

For eighteen years the Roman dominion in Britain had seemed to "mark time"; probably, however, a good deal of unrecorded progress had been made. For instance their establishment at Lindum, Lincoln, may be ascribed to this period;[4] marking a third stage in the Roman progress. This acquisition may be regarded as won from the *Parisii*, a tribe noticed by Ptolemy[5] and usually placed north of the Humber. But their proper seat seems fixed by the fact that as late as the thirteenth century "Paris" was still the name of the district round Horncastle to which we owe our great chronicler, Matthew Paris.[6] But with the accession of Vespasian a fresh period of marked advance was inaugurated. In 70 Bolanus was relieved by Petilius Cerealis, a thorough-going partisan of the Flavian House, who had effaced the memory of his defeat at the hands of Boudicca by crushing the revolt of Civilis and winning Gaul for the cause of Vespasian.[7] War was promptly declared

Petilius Cerealis.

[1] Tacit., *Hist.*, II. 65, 66; III. 44. *Agricola*, 7, 8, 16. The 20th Legion was doubtful; but Agricola was appointed to it by Mucianus (spring of 70), and secured it for Vespasian (*Agric.*, 7). The 14th was then withdrawn from Britain (Tacit., *Hist.*, IV. 68). It is believed that after an interval the 2nd "*adjutrix*" was sent to replace it (Hübner, 539).

[2] Tacit., *Hist.*, II. 97.

[3] Tacit., *Hist.* III. 45.

[4] An inscription by a "veteranus" of the 14th Legion found at Lincoln raises a presumption that the Legion had been at Lindum before it left Britain in 70. *C.I.L.*, VII. 187. The 9th then probably went to Lindum. Hübner, 536. The existing Cathedral stands within the precincts of the Roman camp.

[5] *M.H.B.*, XIV.

[6] See Sir F. Madden's introduction to vol. iii. of M. Paris' *Hist. Minor*. Coins marked PA. have been found at places between York and Chester, and again south of the Wash, but not in Lincolnshire. See the map in Sir John Evans' Supplement. It may be mentioned that in mediæval writers both the city Paris and the district are given in Latin as "Parisius" (*indecl.*).

[7] See Merivale, VI. ch. 58.

against the Brigantes, and at the end of three years, and after much fighting, great part of their territory was subdued. This is all that we are told, the historian being chiefly concerned to record that much of the credit was due to his future father-in-law, Agricola, who was in command of the 20th Legion.

The Brigantes Subdued.

To this period we must attribute the construction of the two military highways, which, starting the one from Lincoln and the other from Chester, the headquarters of two legions, and passing respectively through Doncaster (*Danum*) and Manchester (*Mancunium*) unite at Castleford (*Legeolium* or *Lagecium*) to advance upon York (*Eboracum*). Thirteen miles further on we come to Tadcaster, another name that speaks for itself, and beyond that again at Street Houses, within six miles of the doomed capital of the Brigantes, we have a formidable entrenched camp of fifty acres.[1]

Roads to the North.

In the year 75[2] Sextus Julius Frontinus, the writer on the art of war,[3] assumed the command in Britain; his attention was directed to South Wales and by him the spirited Silures were at last reduced;[4] but to retain the hold gained on them the 2nd Legion had to be kept at *Isca*, Caerleon[5]-upon-Usk.

Frontinus.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

Forts of Ostorius Scapula.

A chain of camps and detached forts seems fairly traceable from the Nen to the Warwickshire Avon and the Severn, though we do not venture to pronounce the whole the work of Ostorius. Beginning at Water Newton (*Durobrivæ*) we have a clear Roman camp on the Ermine Street, with Castor, and perhaps another camp, on the other side of the river. Passing up the Nen and entering Northamptonshire, we have at Barnwell Castle, and again at Titchmarsh, square earthworks, near water, which might have had their origin in small Roman forts. Between Great Addington and Stanwick there is a camp, Cotton Camp, not very well defined, but apparently not Celtic. At Higham Ferrers again, the castle might mark the site of another outpost. The name Irchester speaks for itself, and there, sure enough, we have a well-defined rectangular camp on the road from Higham Ferrers to Wellingborough; the road also being claimed as Roman work.[6] Passing the town of Northampton, and holding westwards across the Watling Street, we have, three-quarters of a mile north of Farthingstone, a small, but well-defined rectangular camp. To the south of this we have Towcester (*Lactodorum*), but our line should run to Arbury Hill, where we have a camp, tolerably well defined,

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[1] See Roy, *Military Antiq.* He gives the internal area of the camp as 600 yards × 400 yards. Of somewhat later date might be the smaller camps on Pickering Moor between York and Whitby, evidently utilised in the reduction of the North Riding. *Id.*, Plate XL.

[2] So Mr. Petrie, *M.H.B.*

[3] For his Strategematicon Libri, see Smith's *Dict. of Biography.*

[4] Tacit., *Agric.*, 8, 17.

[5] *I.e.*, "the city of the Legion."

[6] So Mr. Hughes' map of Roman Britain, in the *M.H.B.*

with a wavy outline, no doubt, but still rectangular in its general plan. West of Arbury Hill and Harbury, we come to Chesterton, and with it to a well-preserved rectangular camp, on the Foss Way, within three or four miles of the Avon. After this, there seems to be no camp short of Gloucester (*Glevum*), but, on the left bank of the Avon, we have at Lower Milcote, opposite Luddington, and again at Holm Castle and the so-called Margaret's camp near Tewkesbury, opposite the fords of the Severn, small rectangular earthworks, which may have had a Roman origin. By whomsoever the "Margaret's camp" may have been constructed, it was assuredly not constructed by Margaret of Anjou, on the eve of the battle of Tewkesbury.[1] At Hoptons Gorse, north of Overbury Park, we have a camp, but as the defences are concentric, we cannot call it Roman. Lastly, on the right bank of the river Avon, we notice, at Lower Fulbrook and Salford Hall, small square moats and earthworks; but these hardly come within our line.

Running south from Water Newton we have another line of posts at Godmanchester (*Durolipons*), Cambridge (*Camboricum*), and Chesterford (near Saffron Walden); the camp at Cambridge (west side of the Cam) being flanked by outposts at Grantchester and Chesterton. These stations must have been intended to keep the Iceni in check, but whether established before or after the first rising of the Iceni we would not say.

[1] See Lancaster and York, II. 377.

CHAPTER V

THE GOVERNORSHIP OF AGRICOLA IN BRITAIN

Final Reduction of the *Ordovices*—Reforms in the Administration—Prosecution of the Conquest; the Roman Dominion carried to the line of the Cheviots, and from thence to the Forth and Clyde—Attack on the Caledonians—Battle of the *Mons Graupius*—Recall of Agricola

IN the year 78 the province changed hands, Frontinus retiring in favour of Cnæus Julius Agricola, who now came back to Britain for the third time.[1]

Summer was waning when the new *Proprætor* appeared, and the soldiers were beginning to think of winter quarters. With most governors a state progress to inaugurate his rule would have been thought enough. But Agricola saw that there was work to be done, and he lost no time in doing it. The *Ordovices* of North Wales were still not only independent but aggressive, and had recently destroyed a wing of horse stationed on their borders. Agricola led his forces against them, wasting their land with fire and sword, till he found himself again on the shores of the Menai. Mona had been left to itself since the time of Paullinus; but Agricola was determined to make an end of independence in the West. The islanders at first, seeing that he had no vessels, thought themselves safe. They were quickly undeceived; the auxiliary cavalry, "probably natives of the low country near the mouth of the Rhine, suddenly plunged into the channel and swam safely across." The natives then begged for peace and surrendered their island.[2]

Agricola.

But Agricola was not only an able general, but also a wise and considerate administrator. He knew what the wants of Britain were. He had seen the trouble caused to his predecessors by the misconduct of subordinates; he sympathised with the subject population in the hardships they had to endure. Thus we are told that the natives being bound to supply corn for the troops might be compelled to buy it from the officials, at prices fixed by them of course;

Administrative Reform.

[1] Agricola had served his noviciate in arms under Suetonius, whose tent he had been allowed to share (A.D. 60). Tacitus, *Agricola*, c. 5. He left Britain before 63 to go through a round of offices. In 70 he was appointed by Vespasian to command the 20th Legion in Britain. In 74 he was set over the Province of Aquitania; in 77 he was elected consul, and in 78 returned to Britain as Legate and Proprætor. (Smith).

[2] *Agricola*, 18. Rhys, *C.B.*, 86.

or again they might be required to deliver the corn, not at the nearest camp, but at some remote spot, where it was not wanted; to force them to pay for leave to deliver it where it was wanted.[1] Agricola endeavoured to check these evils—inherent to proconsular government—by keeping strict order in his own household;[2] by establishing assessments to equalize burdens;[3] and by taking great care in his choice of officials.

But with the return of summer (A.D. 79) Agricola was again in the field,[4] completing the reduction of the Northern parts of modern England. The special reference to 'estuaries' explored by him points to operations on the West Coast; but the future course of events implies the complete subjugation of the country from sea to sea up to the line of the Cheviots. We are told that Agricola took his measures so judiciously and systematically that whole districts (*civitates*) which till then had retained independent positions gave hostages and submitted. The establishment of garrisons and outposts[5] seemed to clench the work.

Subjugation of the Brigantes.

The son-in-law and biographer of Agricola would have us to believe that the work had been done once and for all; but subsequent events proved that his view of the situation was to say the least of it sanguine.

Among the garrisons established may have been *Coccium* (Ribchester on the Ribble); *Longovicum* (Lancaster); *Luguvallium* (Carlisle). To this period probably should also be ascribed the camp at *Vindolana* (Chesterholm) and other fortifications on the well-known strategic line between the Solway and the Tyne, but not forming part and parcel of the celebrated *vallum* and wall, of which we shall shortly hear. If so the expediency of fortifying this line would have been first suggested by Agricola. About this time also the head-quarters of the 9th Legion must have been removed to York, its place at Lincoln being taken by the 2nd *Adjutrix*,[6] a legion sent over to reinforce Agricola. But garrisons and outposts imply military ways; and in that department too the hand of Agricola may be traced to this day. The building of forts at Carlisle and Lancaster involved the formation of a road connecting them with Manchester (*Mancunium*) and Chester (*Deva*). So again by this

Forts and Roads.

[1] "Namque per ludibrium adsidere clausis horreis et emere ultrò frumenta ac ludere pretio cogebantur; devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates a proximis hibernis in remota et avia deferrent, donec quod omnibus impromptu erat paucis lucrosum fieret." *Agric.*, c. 19. For similar practices conf. Cicero, Verres III. 82. Above "horreis" seems to refer to the public granaries: for "ludere" F. C. Wex suggests "luere": the common "vendere" is another conjecture.

[2] "Familia."

[3] "Æqualitate munerum."

[4] The dates must again be given with some reservation.

[5] "Præsidiis et castellis." *Agricola*, c. 20.

[6] On this see Hübner, 549, 540. Josephus speaks of four legions in Britain at this time. *Ib.* and *M. H. B.*, xxxv. After the recall of Agricola the 2nd Adjutrix was probably sent to Pannonia. Mommsen, v. 168.

time the great North road (the Watling Street) must have been pushed on from York (*Eboracum*) through Aldborough (*Isurium*)[1] to Catterick on Swale (*Cataractonum*). At that point the highway forked, one branch continuing northwards to the Cheviots, while the other made westwards over Stainmore to Carlisle. The construction of these extensions with their concomitant camps and forts, many of them traceable to the present day, may be fairly ascribed to this summer. On the western branch we have camps of 18 acres or 19 acres at Rey Cross on Stainmore, and Powis House on Crackenthorpe Common; with *Brocavium* (Brougham Castle), and *Voreda* either at Plumpton Hall or old Penrith, on the way to Carlisle. On the Eastern branch beyond Catterick, we have *Vinovia* (Binchester) *Vindomora* (Ebchester) and *Corstorpitum* (Corbridge or Corchester). Ascending the North Tyne and entering Redesdale we have on the same "Watling Street" a series of camps and works, large and small, at short intervals, leading up to Chew Green on the Border line.[2] As a whole they suggest the advance of an army or armies pushed forward through a difficult country by successive detachments.

Agricola crosses the Cheviots.

Having thus made himself master of Britain south of the Cheviots, Agricola in the summer of the year 80 broke into fresh ground,[3] attacking the country North of the Border. In the course of three years he overran and reduced to some sort of subjection the whole of the country up to the line of the Forth and Clyde. His biographer's account of the operations, the only account that we have, may be given in few words. In the first summer[4] the Legate made his way to an estuary called the "*Tanaus*."[5] For this some would read "*Taus*"; an unfortunate suggestion, as Agricola clearly did not pass the Forth till two summers later. We are told that in the first campaign the Romans had little fighting to do, but that they suffered a good deal from the weather. As Agricola meant to retain what he conquered, we hear that garrisons were established in the country, with supplies to carry them over the winter. The next summer was employed in securing the country previously overrun;[6] and the Roman frontier was pushed up to the line of two remarkable firths, "*Clota*" and "*Bodotria*," of which we are told that, running towards one another from seas far apart, they almost cut off the inhabitants of the rest of the island.[7] Here, without doubt, we

Routes to the North.

[1] Otherwise Isubrigantum. For these and other places see the so-called Antonine Itinerary, Ptolemy, etc., *M. H. B.*, x. xx. etc. Also the very useful Index Geographicus in Mr. C. Pearson's Historical Maps.

[2] See the 6-inch Ordnance maps, the best of existing guides to Roman remains.

[3] "Novas gentes aperuit."

[4] Tacitus, beginning with the year 78, that of the Conquest of Anglesey, reckons 80 as the third year of 'expeditions,' but the first of the expeditions into our Scotland.

[5] So F. C. Wex and the best MSS.

[6] "Quarta æstas obtinendis quæ percurrerat insumpta."

[7] "Summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus."

have the Forth and Clyde, described in words that cannot be mistaken. The isthmus between the two was at once secured by a chain of forts, many of them traceable to the present day.[1] Lastly in the third summer Agricola took ship, and, landing on the coast facing Ireland, reduced the western tribes, but not without a good deal of fighting.[2]

Archæological research may help us to expand this very meagre summary.

For his advance across the Cheviots the *Proprætor* had before him the choice of the two ways: either that by Chew Green or that by Carlisle. Roman roads lead northwards from both. On Pennymuir Rigg, four miles from Chew Green, we have a large camp of 39 acres. From thence the road advances in a pretty straight line to St. Boswell's, at the foot of the Eildon Hills, which must be the *Trimontium* of Ptolemy.[3] Ascending Lauderdale, at Channel Kirk, some five miles beyond Lauder, there was still distinguishable in the last century the outline of a camp of 50 acres.[4] From Channel Kirk the later road continued by Fala and Path Head to Inveresk, an undoubted Roman station, and in their days a seaside place, but now left inland by the retreat of the waters. At the same time it is quite possible that from Fala Agricola may have descended the Tyne water to its mouth, which would be just the Tanaus described as an 'estuary,'[5] not a large estuary certainly, but still to this day a snug land-locked harbour, navigable for two miles, which must have been amply sufficient for Roman shipping. But the brief record of Tacitus does not oblige us to arrest the Roman progress of the years at Tyningham. Having effected a junction with his fleet, the Legate would assuredly take it and his army round to the Forth.

East coast Route.

On the western road between Carlisle and Carstairs we have first at Netherby the well-known station "*Castra Exploratorum*": then, 15 miles on, we have at Birrens the camp of "*Blatum Bulgium*," afterwards the frontier outpost of the Roman empire.[6] Further stages of 7 miles and 12 miles respectively, bring us to large camps of 50 acres each at Torwood Moor near Lockerby, and Tassiesholm, approaching Moffat. At Thankerton a road branches off to Lanark, with

West Coast Route.

[1] "Præsidiis firmabatur." Agricola's forts, as we shall see, were subsequently joined by a continuous *vallum* or rampart running from firth to firth. General Roy has preserved plans of the ten western forts, being about half the original number, namely, Duntocher, Castle Hill, East Kilpatrick, Bemulie, Kirkintilloch, Auchindavy, Bar Hill, Westerwood, Castle Cary, and Rough Castle. They stand on excellent sites at intervals of 1½–5 miles. See Roy and his plans, also given in R. Stuart's *Caledonia Romana*.

[2] Tacit., *Agricola*, 22, 23, 24.

[3] The three peaks of the Eildons are quite unique—there is no other such *trimontium* in all Scotland. For a Roman altar found in the neighbourhood, see Stuart, *sup.*, 50.

[4] Roy, *Military Antiquities*, p. 61 and plate VI.

[5] "Æstuario nomen est."

[6] For "finds" in this neighbourhood, see Stuart, *Caled. Rom.*, 123–130.

a Roman camp and a "Chesterhill" two miles on, and close to the modern railway. At Castledykes, one mile to the South of Carstairs, we have a small camp;[1] and, three miles to the west of that place, a large one on the Mouse river between Cleghorn and Stobbielee.[2] From Castledykes Roman roads struck westward to Glasgow and Paisley; Northwards to Castle Cary; and possibly Eastwards to Cramond, Leith or Inveresk.[3]

Route probably taken.

All this indicates a careful scheme of subjugation. We may be tempted to ask did Agricola in the first instance advance by the Western or by the Eastern route? It has been suggested that he advanced in two columns by both.[4]

In answer to this we may point out in the first place that the biographer's narrative suggests nothing of the sort, and in the second place that a simultaneous advance along the two lines would imply a force of 20,000 men at least, as the larger camps on each route appear to have been intended for 10,000 men or 11,000 men each.[5] Now Agricola had just four legions to draw upon, with probably an equal force of auxiliaries or 40,000 men, all told.[6] It is impossible to believe that he could denude Britain of half its garrison for this distant expedition. In his great battle with the 'Caledonians' we shall find him in command of 8,000 auxiliary foot, with a force of legionaries to all appearance considerably less, say 12,000 or 13,000 foot in all. For that battle every available man had been brought forward; and the development of the conquest would of itself lead to an increase in the number of men in the field. We may therefore fairly conjecture that Agricola began with 10,000 men to 12,000 men, the major part being auxiliaries; and so that he advanced by one route at a time. The expediency of leaving legionaries rather than auxiliaries to garrison a newly conquered country was illustrated by an occurrence of the year 83, when a

Garrison of Great Britain.

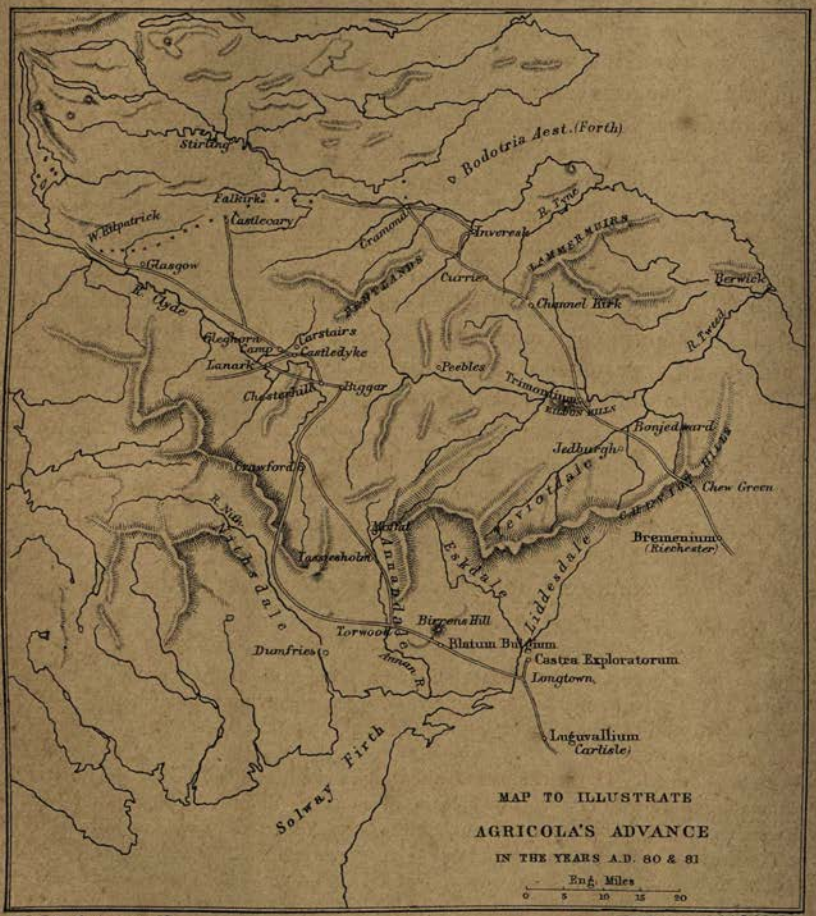
[1] See *Id.*, 139.

[2] See Roy., *sup.*, and plates, also Stuart, *Caledonia Romana* and the Ordnance maps. It is a curious circumstance that on both roads there should be an interval of some 40 miles without a camp, namely, between Pennymuir and Channel Kirk on the East road, and between Tassiesholm and Cleghorn on the West road.

[3] See Stuart, 154, 162. [4] So Roy.

[5] So Roy, 61. Of the camps in Gaul which have been identified as the work of Cæsar, there are three with respect to which he gives us the number of legions for which they were constructed, viz., those at Mauchamp on the Aisne; *Gergovia*; and Mont St. Pierre. The areas of these give either 14½ or 15¼ acres per legion. See *Histoire de César*, Plates, 9, 21, 29 and 30, and II. 328; Cæsar, *B. G.*, II. 16–19; VII. 34, 40; VIII. 5–17. If 45 acres were enough for three of Cæsar's legions at 3,500 men each, 50 acres would be more than enough for two of Agricola's legions at 5,000 men each. But he probably had an extra amount of supplies with him.

[6] The legion of this period is usually estimated at 5,000 men: see Mommsen, V. 173. Hübner places it at 6,000 men, *sup.*, 521. For an elaborate investigation of the auxiliary troops in Britain see Hübner, 556–581. He places the total at about 25,000 men, about the same as his four legions. Mommsen estimates their number after the withdrawal of one legion by Domitian at 15,000 men, equivalent to his three legions, *sup.*



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cohort of *Usipii* just brought over from Germany to Britain, mutinied, killed their Roman officers and then took to the sea in vain hope of making their way back to their fatherland.[1]

From the number of camps on the western road antiquarians have inclined to the view that Agricola made his first advance along that line. But the words of Tacitus suggest a development of conquest by stages from East to West and again by the east route—the route taken by almost all later invaders of Scotland from the South—Agricola would have a much shorter journey to the Forth, which must have been his objective from the first. Lastly, by that route he would bring himself much sooner into communication with his fleet, an auxiliary arm which we are told he was the first to bring into use.[2] We have already pointed out that the Tyne water would answer to the *Tanaus* of the historian. But as we are told that the work of castle-building began that summer, and there seem to be none in our East Lothian, we must suppose that Agricola pushed on at once to Cramond, three miles beyond the site of the modern Edinburgh, perhaps to Bridgeness, also on the Forth, where his line of forts across the isthmus was made to begin.[3]

For the operations of the third summer it is clear that Agricola took the westermost district of all, that in sight of Ireland. Roman camps have been traced near the modern town of Kirkcudbright. This suggests that Agricola crossed the Solway, landed near Kirkcudbright, and then fought his way along the valleys of the Dee and Ken to Ayr, advancing thence to Paisley and Glasgow.[4] The recorded resistance of the tribes[5] would be quite in accordance with the later history of the Galloway Picts, a very fighting race. It would seem that Agricola even established some outposts on the west coast,[6] in view, we are told, of a possible invasion of Hibernia. He did not form a high estimate of the military resources of the sister island. The information that he had gathered led him to express a confident belief that one legion and a moderate force of auxiliaries would suffice to conquer and hold Erin.[7]

Operations of the Third Summer.

Thus by the end of the year 82 Agricola had fairly executed his plan of

[1] Tacit., *Agric.*, 28. [2] *Agricola*, 25.

[3] If "*Tan*" or "Tana" represents a Celtic name for water, it may be that we have in "Tanaus" the earliest form of the well-known later "Scots Water," *i.e.* the Forth, Merivale, VII. 84.

[4] Roy thinks that Agricola sailed down the Clyde to the coasts of our Renfrew and Ayr. Mr. W. F. Skene would take him across the Clyde to Argyllshire; but that would be a useless step, and outside the scope of Agricola's plan, which clearly was to keep to the line of the Forth and Clyde, if possible.

[5] "Crebris simul ac prosperis prœliis domuit." *Agric*, 24.

[6] "Eamque partem Britanniæ quæ Hiberniam aspicit copiis instruxit," etc. *Ib.*

[7] "Sæpe ex eo audivi legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse." *Ib.*

extension. He had pushed the limits of the Roman Empire to the scientific frontier of the Forth and Clyde. But like other conquerors he found it difficult to stop. All the elements of resistance were gathered on the Northern hills, ready to fall on his scientific frontier; and the frontier might require a costly army to defend it. The Legate, therefore, resolved to push a further series of inroads to weaken and terrify the hostile natives; another defensive operation to be conducted by offensive means.

A Scientific Frontier.

With the summer of 83, and his sixth year of office, Agricola drew the sword against the tribes on the further side of the Forth,[1] exploring their coasts and harbours, with the aid of his fleet. The fleet always made a great impression on the natives. The naval and military forces worked so well together that one camp often served for both. This points unmistakably to operations round the coast of our Fife, where we have a series of ports and landing-places, from North Queen's Ferry to Abernethy.[2] Having, as we may suppose, reached he banks of the Tay, the army began to be disquieted by rumours of attacks on their base of operations by the tribes from the North, 'the men of *Caledonia*.'[3] Agricola was urged to withdraw behind the Forth, and apparently started to do so, marching in three columns. The result was that the natives made a night attack on the camp of the 9th Legion, the weakest part of his force. The outer lines of defence were overpowered, and the assailants had actually penetrated the camp, when Agricola hastened up at daybreak and rescued his men. The soldiers now were all for a march into *Caledonia*.[4] Their leader gave in to the plan, but apparently deferred its execution till the next season, returning for winter quarters to Lothian.[5]

Fife Circumnavigated.

Return to the Forth.

[1] "Æstate quâ sextum officii annum inchoabat amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas," etc.

[2] Roman remains are scarce in Fife, as Agricola did not intend to annex it; but one strong *castellum* existed at Lochore, two miles to the south of Loch Leven, in the heart of the country. Camps at Carnoch and Tulliebole have been spoken of. Stuart, 216, 241.

[3] "Caledoniam habitantes populi." *Agric.*, 25. *Caledonia* "was probably a word like Britannia, made by the Romans, while the native term may be supposed to have been Calido, genitive Calidinos, whence 'Caildenn' in 'Dunchailden' or Dunkeld. In early Brythonic (British), the word would be Calido, genitive Calidonos, now Celyddon as in *Coed Celyddon*, the Caledonian Forest." Rhys, *C. B.*, 279. Ptolemy agrees with Tacitus in placing this forest North of the Forth; but the Silva Caledonia of Pliny, which had been revealed for thirty years by the Roman arms, must be placed further south, as he died in 79. *M. H. B.*, viii. So also must the Coed Celyddon of Nennius, the Welsh writer of the 9th century. In later ages the one and only great Forest of Scotland known either to native records or the outer world was the Forest of Ettrick Selkirk and Teviotdale, but the name, as implying woodlands, would be applicable to almost any part of our Scotland in old times.

[4] "Penetrandum Caledoniam." The words imply that the army had not yet penetrated that region.

[5] Agricola, 25, 26, 27. Tacitus has no break here, and no mention of winter quarters;

To the year 84 therefore we must refer the attack on the country North of the Ochils; and the construction of the roads and camps in Strathallan, Strathearn, and the basin of the Tay which have attracted so much attention. Every available man must have been brought into the field, including British auxiliaries;[1] while the fleet was sent on to await the arrival of the legions, as we believe, at Perth, the highest point on the Tay reached by the tide.[2]

Campaign of 84.

The work of road-making was probably begun early in the season, if not in the previous year. From the frontier line near Falkirk, we have a military way (in places obliterated) crossing the river Forth, near Stirling; and then advancing through Ardoch (*Lindum*), Strageath, Gask, Dupplin, and Cherrybank into Perth. The latter part of the road is still in use. After Perth it disappears for a bit; but it is believed to have followed the right bank of the Tay up to the confluence of the Almond, where it crossed the Tay by a ford, continuing thence along the left bank to Lintrose and Coupar Angus.[3] The extension of the road beyond Coupar Angus may be ascribed to a later period.

From the frontier line to Coupar Angus the road is studded with Roman stations, large and small. At Ardoch, 20 miles from the frontier, we have three distinct works: first a huge camp of 121 acres; this may be left to be noticed hereafter in connection with a series of camps of similar dimensions leading into Aberdeenshire; a district never penetrated by Agricola. Secondly at Ardoch we have a camp of 50 acres similar to those we have already noticed; and thirdly an impregnable fastness or *castellum* of 4 acres girt by as many as five and six concentric rows of ramparts and ditches, with an entrenched annex or *procestrium* of 27 acres,[4] probably intended for animals, as the

Works at Ardoch. "Lindum."

but as he makes Agricola refer to the ensuing campaign as falling in the eighth year; and to the attack on the 9th Legion as having happened in the preceding year (anno proximo), cc. 33, 34, I agree with Mr, Skene that a new year must begin with chapter 29. *Celtic Scotland*, I. 51. But I think that the words "præmissa classe" negative his view that Agricola wintered near Perth. How could the fleet be sent on in advance if the army was there before it? and when would the works in Strathallan and Strathearn have been executed if Agricola never made an advance along that route?

[1] "Ex Britannis fortissimos." *Agric.*, 29.

[2] Perth has not been generally held a Roman post; but the whole plan of the central part of the city stamps it as such. It would have no attractions as a site for a Celtic fort, being situated in a plain. If Agricola had his magazines there, it should be the Orrea of Ptolemy. Not a vestige of Roman work has ever been discovered at Bertha at the junction of the Almond and Tay, the place usually identified with Orrea.

[3] See the 6-inch ordnance map for the track of the road. The mistaken notion that the road avoided Perth, and made for Bertha at the mouth of the Almond, may be due to the spurious Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester, a forgery of the last century, which has taken in Roy, Stuart, and others. The road evidently came down from Cherrybank with a sweep straight into South Street, Perth. See Roy's MS. map of Scotland in the British Museum.

[4] See the plans in Roy copied by Stuart. Pl. V. The *castellum* was intended for a

ground even at this day is swampy. The second and perhaps the third of these works may be attributed to Agricola.

At Comrie, some eight miles to the West of Ardoch, but without any traceable Roman road to connect them, there are, or rather used to be, a pair of linked camps, together containing about 22 acres.[1] Between Ardoch and Perth (20 miles) the stations are of a minor character; but the nucleus of Perth would suggest a camp of 41 acres.[2] Beyond Perth we have at "Grassy Walls" (properly Gray's Wells), near Scone Palace, a camp of the larger series; but a little further on, at Lintrose and Coupar Angus, 12 and 13 miles from Perth, we come to adjacent camps of 50 and 34 acres; while lastly, crossing the Isla, and ascending the left bank of the Tay, towards Dunkeld, we have at Delvine, some seven miles to the North, a camp of 52 acres, to say nothing of more doubtful relics at Meikleour, between Coupar and Delvine.[3] It is clear that we have here indications of important operations which must be connected either with Agricola or Septimius Severus. But the operations of Septimius seem distinctly to connect themselves with the series of larger camps to which we have referred; the minor series, therefore, ought to be ascribed to Agricola. Our view is that in this year he advanced from Ardoch to Perth, from Perth to Coupar Angus, and from Coupar Angus to Delvine.

Perth.

Coupar-Angus.

Delvine.

The Picts had been preparing for two years at least; and Agricola was pressing forward to challenge them to action. We are told that he found them at last, gathered in their thousands, under the leadership of one Galgacus, or Calgacos,[4] on the slopes of a hill, to which Tacitus apparently gives the name of *Mons Graupius*, transformed by editors into *Grampius*.[5] The name cannot be identified; but as we are told that after the battle Agricola turned homewards without attempting any further advance, it is clear that the battlefield must be placed

Mons Graupius.

permanent station, and a monument to a Spanish auxiliary has been found there. The ramparts and ditches alternate in size on a very scientific plan, and in places are 60 yards wide in section.

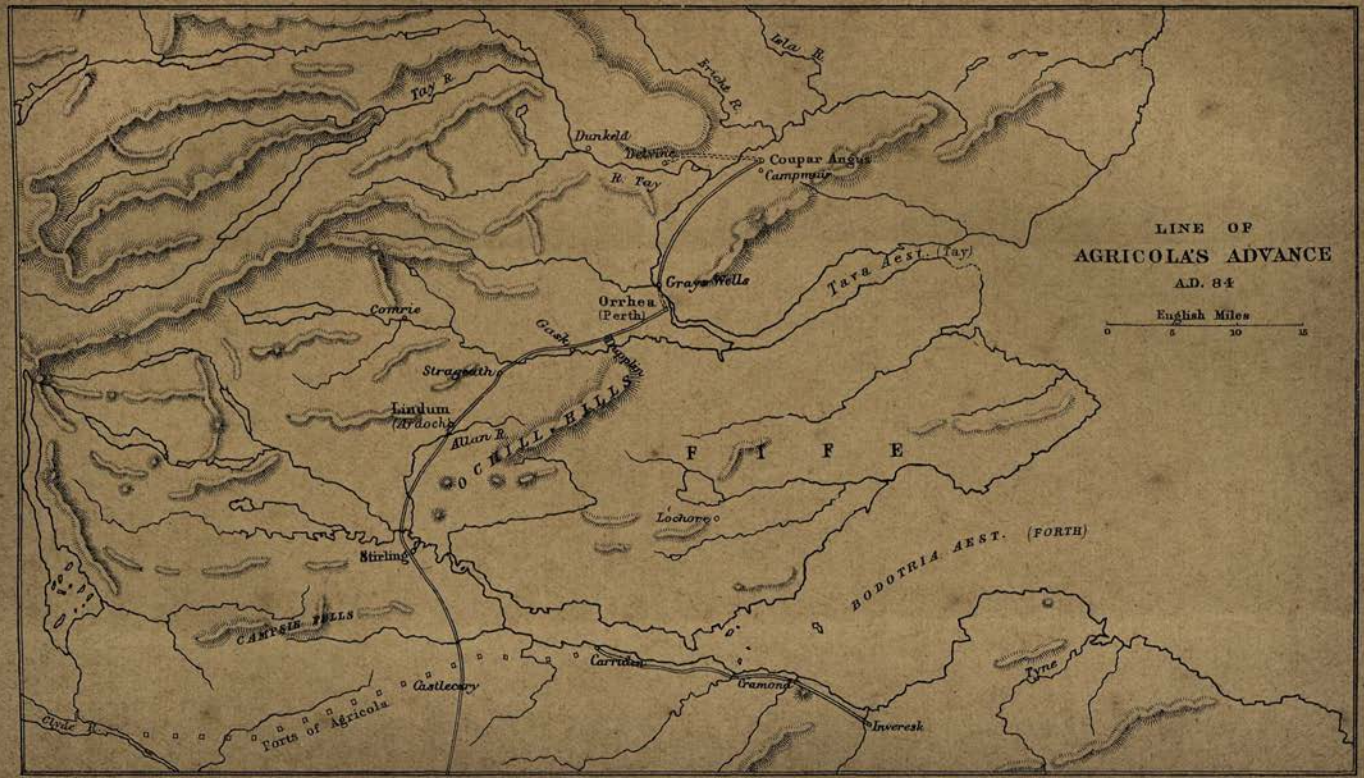
[1] These linked camps are noticeable at other places within the sphere of Agricola's operations, as on Pickering Moor, and at High Rochester. Roy notices a curious resemblance between the traverses of the gates in the Pickering and Comrie camps, p. 65. The former must belong to the days of Agricola's military career, if not of his governorship.

[2] I take the dimensions of the town as it was in 1750, surrounded with watercourses, and comprised within Canal St., Methven St., and Mill St., about 500 yds. by 400 yds. See General Roy's MS. map of Scotland in the British Museum. Perth is perhaps the best preserved Roman camp in Britain.

[3] See the plates in Roy; also Stuart, 196, 200, 207.

[4] See Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 279.

[5] See the edition of the Agricola by F. C. Wex, Brunswick, 1852. The name "Grampian" is unknown to native literature and records; its modern use is a mere classical reimportation from the pages of Tacitus. We may take it however that the name was that of a group of hills rather than that of one single elevation.



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at the farthest point to which his works seem to extend, namely, Delvine.[1] As a trysting-place for a gathering of Highland clans on a large scale, no spot could be more suitable than Dunkeld; and a short advance from Dunkeld would bring the tribes to the slopes of a group of little hills, the natural outworks of the position at Dunkeld, with spurs coming down close to Agricola's camp at Delvine.[2]

Dunkeld.

By following the left bank of the Tay round by Coupar Angus, instead of marching direct from Perth to Dunkeld, Agricola had obviated the risk of crossing the Tay in front of the enemy. His camp at Delvine was placed on a remarkable site, a bluff or plateau, rising abruptly on all sides to a height of 40 feet to 60 feet above the surrounding plain. The Tay flows along the south side of it, and at one time must have encircled it with an arm, of which detached portions still remain. To the North the arena is enclosed by sloping hills.[3]

Delvine Battlefield.

In honour of the great battle that ensued, Tacitus has composed speeches for the two leaders. These addresses, besides enriching the literature of the world with some immortal phrases,[4] have handed down some facts of historical interest. Chief of these is another enumeration of the burdens entailed upon natives by the Roman occupation, namely, for the young men conscription for service in distant lands; for those who stayed at home heavy taxation in money and kind, and forced labour on camps, and roads, and mines.[5]

Speeches.

The Picts, estimated at the large figure of 30,000 men, were marshalled on the slopes of the hills, the front rank occupying level ground at the foot, the rear ranks rising in tiers, one behind another; an imposing sight; while chariots and horsemen scoured the plain.

Positions of the Armies.

According to our theory the bold spur of the Redgole Braes was the central point of the native position, lower ground running backwards on either side, a circumstance which will be found to fit in singularly with the description of the action. Agricola placed his auxiliary infantry, evidently the larger part of his force and given as 8,000 strong, in the front line;

[1] This consideration seems to exclude the Ardoch and Comrie sites for which Chalmers and Gordon contended. Roy, taking the series of larger camps as the work of Agricola, placed the field near Stonehaven, though the series extends beyond that point. To Mr. W. F. Skene is due the credit of having called attention to the claims of the neighbourhood of Blairgowrie, already suggested in the Old Statistical Account of the parish of Bendochy. *Celtic Scotland*, I. 53, 54.

[2] I reject Mr. Skene's theory of the battle as fought between Meikleour and Blairgowrie on account of the Lunan Burn, and the chain of lakes cutting off access between these two points. The action as described by Tacitus could not possibly have been fought on that ground. The name Dunkeld, earlier Duncaildenn, Dunchailden, seems to give the Gaelic form of the root of Caledonii. Rhys, *C. B.*, 279.

[3] See map. The west side, and part of the east side of the camp appear not to have been finished,—as if the work had been interrupted by some sudden emergency.

[4] *E. g.* "Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant," *c.* 30. [5] *Agricola*, 31, 32.

with 3,000 horse on the wings; the legionaries being drawn up as a reserve force in front of the entrenched camp;[1] a fact which limits us in our search for a battlefield to a site in the neighbourhood of some camp. Advancing to give battle Agricola found himself in danger of being outflanked, and was obliged to extend his front at the risk of weakening it. The auxiliaries called out for the legionaries to be brought into line. But Agricola was resolved to shed no drop of Roman blood that he could help; and so, keeping the legionaries still in reserve on the high ground in his rear, took his own place on foot in the front line with the standards.[2]

The Action.

On this occasion we hear of no headlong Celtic rush, but we are told that the natives did well enough as long as they were allowed to keep at arm's length, with room to wield their broadswords and "dodge" the *pilum* with their targets[3] and the help of their own bodily activity. Agricola then ordered his Batavian and Tungrian cohorts, being probably on the right or upper flank, to charge in line, pushing the enemy bodily backwards with their wall of locked shields. In this trial of strength the Romans could stab at the enemies' faces with their short dagger-swords, while the natives could make little use of their long pointless weapons. The movement was successful, and, the rest of the Roman line joining in, the Picts were driven back to the fort of the higher ground. Their rear divisions now judging it time to intervene, began to pour down the hill, as we suppose on the Roman right, to take them in flank and rear. But Agricola was prepared for this, and immediately charged them with 1,200 horse that he had kept in hand for an emergency.[4] The enemy having been turned and put to flight, the cavalry were taken round to the other side, and the operation repeated on the other flank, which had now in some measure become the enemy's rear.[5] But why should the cavalry be brought round by a circuitous route from one flank to the other, instead of being allowed to wheel round and take the enemy in his proper rear? Our site explains the manœuvre. The jutting promontory of the Redgole Braes made it impossible for cavalry to wheel round the rear of the enemy's position.

The rout became general; but an indiscriminate pursuit might have involved the victors in ultimate disaster, as the Picts rallied in bands in the woods and thickets that skirted the battlefield. The careful

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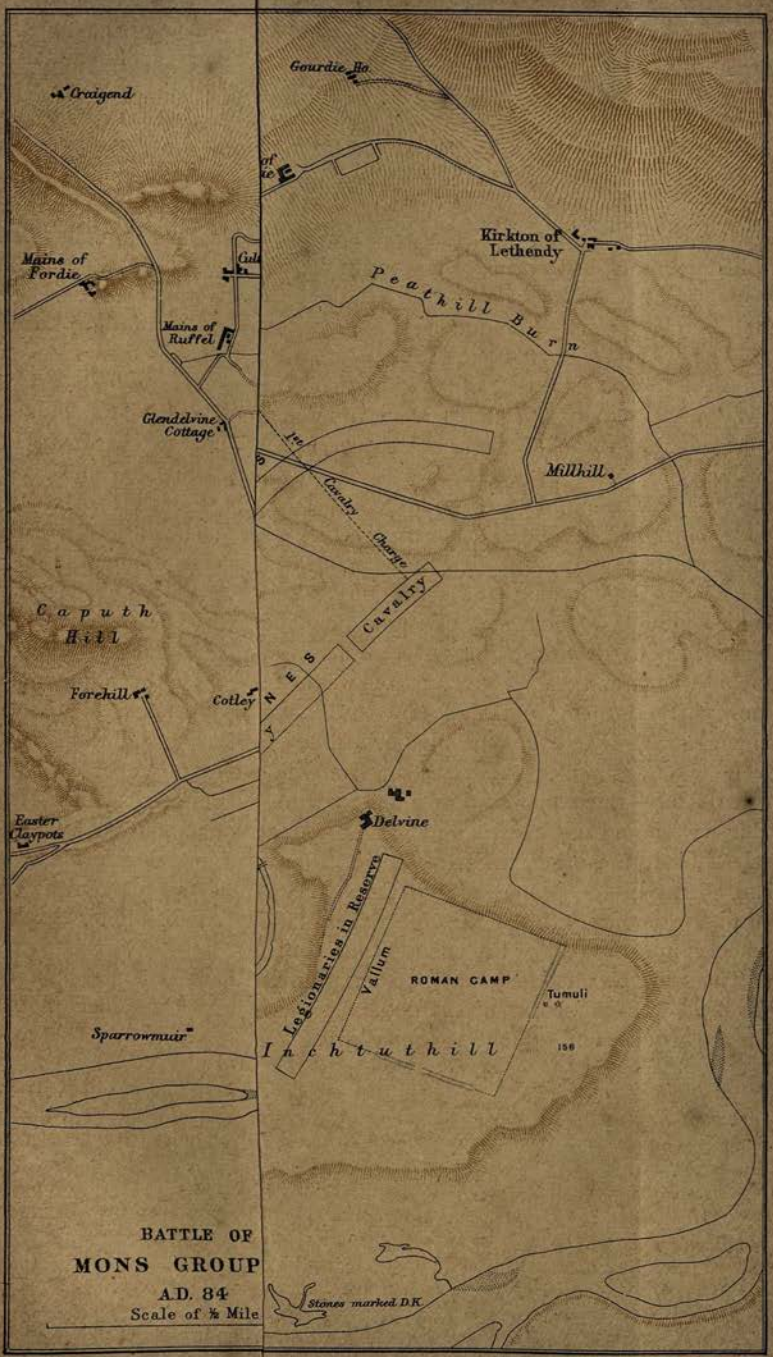

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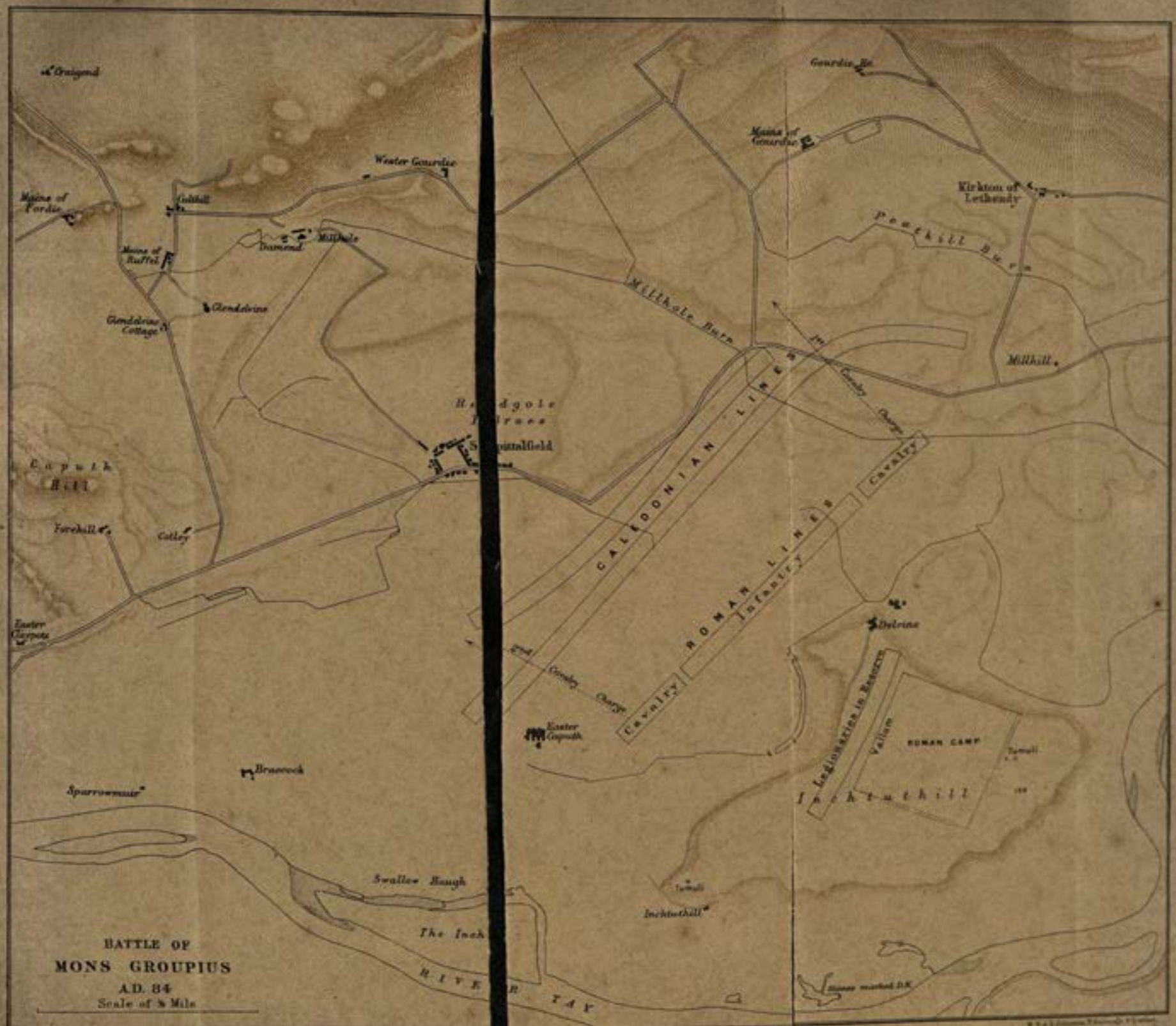

Craigend
Wester Gourdie
Manse of Fordie
Gallhill
Manse of Ruffel
Drumend
Millhole
Glenddrine
Glenddrine Cottage
Redgole Fortress
Caputh Hill
Forehill
Cutley
Easter Carpow
Braeroch
Sparrowmuir
Swallow Bough
The Inch
RIVER TAY
BATTLE OF
MONS GROUPIUS
A.D. 84
Scale of ¼ Mile
Vol. I to face page 74
Gourdie Bg.
Manse of Gourdie
Kirkton of Lethendy
Powkhill Burn
Millhole Burn
Millhill
CALEDONIAN LINES
ROMAN LINES
Cavalry
Infantry
Delvine
Inchtuthill
ROMAN CAMP
Vallum
Tumuli
Manse marked D.K.

Legate, however, kept his men well in hand, scouring every thicket with horse and foot. Night put an end to the pursuit.

Defeat of the Picts.

The Roman loss was stated at 360 men killed; that of the enemy they were pleased to put at 10,000.[1] From the numbers engaged, if not from the results, the battle was one of importance. Agricola must have had 12,000 or 13,000 foot and 3,000 horse.[2] The estimate of the native force as double this seems quite borne out by the facts of the action.

When the morrow came silence reigned on hill and dale. Not a native could be found; while columns of smoke showed where they had fired their huts and villages in their retreat. Discarding all idea of pursuing an impalpable enemy, Agricola turned homewards towards winter quarters, marching by easy stages. To utilise the opportunity he led his army through the county of the *Boresti*, exacting hostages.[3]

The "Boresti" attacked.

No indication is given us of the situation of the country inhabited by these people, beyond the fact that it must have lain somewhere not far from the line of the homeward march. Some would identify the land of the Boresti with the later Fothreve, *i.e.* Kinross. Others connect the Boresti with the later Verturiones, the men of Fortrenn or Strathearn. In that case the linked Comrie camps would be memorials of this expedition. The question is a very open one.[4] If Agricola wished to explore fresh regions a peep into Strathearn would present more novelty than a march through Fife, which must have been already penetrated.

Circumnavigation of Great Britain.

The achievements of the year were wound up by the circumnavigation of Britain by the fleet, which, sailing northwards from the Forth or Tay, doubled the Northern capes, and then rounding the Western and Southern coasts, completed the circuit by returning to its winter station, apparently in the Humber.[5] The Orkneys too were considered to have been discovered on this trip.

Agricola probably held that a conquest to be profitable must be complete; and that the entire subjugation of Britain, possibly of Ireland too, would in the end prove economical of men and money. If so his views

[1] *Ib.*

[2] Hübner would give Agricola 15,000 legionaries and 26,000 men in all, p. 546, half the entire garrison of Britain, on his own estimate. Is this quite credible?

[3] *Agricola*, c. 38.

[4] Fife and Fothreve made up the district between the Tay, the Ochils, and the Forth. *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 136 (Skene). Bor-esti would stand to Fothreve as Bod-otria to Forth. The usual "Horesti" seems like "Grampius," an early editorial conjecture. Mr. Skene adheres to "Horesti," but takes Agricola through Fife all the same. Mr. Rhys would identify "Boresti" with the *Verturiones*, *Celtic Britain*, 277, 308; *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 460.

[5] *Agricola*, 10, 38. "Portum Trucculensem tenuit unde redierat." The credit of having first doubled Cape Wrath however belonged to the mutinous Usipii as pointed out by Dion, *M.H.B.*, lix.

were not adopted by the Imperial Government; with whom from this time non-extension of the frontier in Britain became a settled rule of policy.[1] The withdrawal of one of the four legions (the 2nd *Adjutrix*[2]) gave clear proof of this.

While Agricola held rule in Britain two emperors passed away; namely, Vespasian, and his elder son Titus. The "timid inhuman Domitian" now held sway; he had no personal *prestige* of his own to set against that of his Legate; and the crowning victory over Calgacos stood in painful contrast to his own recent failure on the Danube. In 85 Agricola was recalled, having in fact held office beyond the usual term. The 'triumphal ornaments'[3] and a statue were decreed to him by the Senate; but he found it prudent to sink promptly into the obscurity of private life. He declined an appointment to the government of Asia or Africa; but in spite of all his caution his end was attributed to Imperial jealousy. He died in the year 93 at the age of fifty-five.[4]

In Britain Agricola's attention had not been wholly engrossed with military matters; he had endeavoured to civilize the natives by training them to the use of the Latin tongue, an appreciation of Roman ways, and a Roman sense of comfort. He introduced dwelling-houses of a better class; he set an example by giving public money for the erection of temples and court-houses. "The sons of the chiefs learned to speak Latin, affected the use of the toga and began to accustom themselves to the bath and banquet."[5]

[1] See Mommsen, V. 167, 168, citing Appian, financial officer under Antoninus Pius, who pointed out that although they already held the best part of Britain, it yielded nothing.

[2] See Hübner, 540. The legion was probably withdrawn soon after the recall of Agricola.

[3] "Triumphalia ornamenta." Tacit., *Agric.*, 39, 40; Mommsen, *sup.*

[4] *Agricola*, 43, 44. Dion, LXVI. 20. Merivale, VI. 177. Smith.

[5] *Agric.*, 21. Pearson, I. 36.

CHAPTER VI

A.D. 85–360

Rome on the defensive in Britain—Visits of Hadrian and Septimius Severus—Fortification of Frontiers—Carausius—Allectus—Constantius Chlorus—Changes in the Civil and Military Organization of the Empire

UNDER Agricola the Roman advance in Britain reached its turning point. The military history of the rest of the occupation is that of struggles to retain what was supposed to have been already won.

During the next five and thirty years the Roman writers find little to boast of in connexion with Britain. We hear of a native chief Arviragus, who must have gained a name by giving trouble; we hear that the *Brigantes* still had strongholds that they could call their own;[1] we are told, in a word, that the Britons could not be kept down.[2] But the most significant fact is one not recorded on the pages of history, namely the disappearance of the 9th Legion, the York Legion; presumably used up in petty warfare, perhaps finally overwhelmed in some sudden catastrophe.[3]

Disappearance of the 9th Legion.

Under these circumstances the Emperor Hadrian, not long after his accession, found it desirable to visit the island in person.[4] To replace the 9th Legion he brought with him the 6th *Victrix*; if it had not been sent over already; also Reserve-detachments (*vexillarii*) from three other Legions, namely the 7th "*Gemina*," the 8th "Augusta," and the 22nd "Primigenia."[5] Yet with all this strength the Emperor thought contraction of territory the right policy. His stay in the Province was distinguished by the construction of the first continuous frontier fortification[6] on the well-known line of the Tyne and Solway, the

Visit of Hadrian.

[1] See Juvenal, *Sat.*, IV. 126, XIV. 196; *M.H.B.*, xci. Juvenal "*floruit circa* A.D. 90."

[2] "Britanni teneri sub Romana ditione non poterant." Œlius Spartianus, *De Hadriano*, c. 5. *M.H.B.*, lxiv., "floruit Spartianus exeunte sæculo tertio." Conf. the *dictum* of Tacitus, "perdomita Britannia et statim missa." *Hist.*, I. 2.

[3] See Hubner, *sup.*, 536, 583; Mommsen, V. 171.

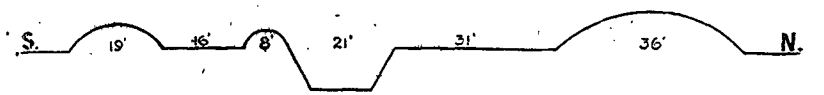
[4] Œlius Spartianus, c. 11; *M.H.B.*, lxv. Hadrian succeeded Trajan in 117; he passed over to Britain in 119; Meriv., VII. 420: "Publius Œlius Hadrianus." He was cousin to Trajan and married to his niece. Meriv., VII. 412.

[5] See Hubner, 546, 583. The 6th Legion was sent at once to York; the 2nd was still at Caerleon, and the 20th at Chester.

[6] "Murum per octoginta millia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque

line of the Forth and Clyde being apparently abandoned. The works on the Southern isthmus as still traceable consist of a *vallum* or series of earthen ramparts, and of a stone wall with a concomitant foss or ditch. Ramparts and wall run on practically parallel lines, but they are of different lengths, and irregular in their relations to one another. Archæologists have differed and still differ widely in their views as to the dates, authorship, and mutual relations of the two works, but we hold to the theory that the *vallum* was the work of Hadrian, and that the stone wall must be referred to the later period of the Emperor Septimius Severus. The *vallum* extended from *Pons Ælii* (Newcastle) to Burgh-upon-Sands, a distance of sixty miles English.[1] The work consisted of three parallel banks of earth (*aggeres*) and a central ditch separated by

His "Vallum."



level intervals. Two of the banks ran along the South side and one along the North side of the ditch. This latter seems to have been "flat-bottomed, with sloping sides (angle of 30°) 15 feet wide at the bottom, 30 feet wide at the top and 8 feet deep."[2] The *aggeres* were made of the earth dug out of the ditch. The usual width of the work is given as 41 yards;[3] but in places it widens out to 70 yards, and for a short distance between Birdoswald and Wall Bowers it takes on an extra rampart and ditch on the north side, thereby extending its borders to the width of 100 yards or thereabouts.

The stone wall was 13 miles longer, beginning at Walls' End (*Segedunum*), and running past Burgh-upon-Sands to Bowness (*Glaunibanta*[4] or *Gabrosentum*[5]), both on the Solway. The two works for the most part

divideret." Spartianus, *sup.* He uses the same word *murum* of the work ascribed by him to Septimius; but as there was certainly only one wall, the other *murus* must have been a *vallum*. We shall find the two works perpetually confounded. The length of eighty Roman miles however (=73½ English miles) given above corresponds with that of the stone wall not of the *vallum*. On the other hand Julius Capitolinus, a writer of the same epoch as Spartianus, speaking of the *vallum* executed in the time of Antoninus Pius on the line of Agricola's forts, says: "Alio muro cespiticio submotis barbaris." The use of the word "alio" implies that the pre-existing murus, that of Hadrian, was also "cespiticius," *i.e.* earthen. *M.H.B.*

[1] The Roman name of the station at Burgh has not been clearly fixed. Horsley in his *Britannia*, and Mr. Petrie in the *M.H.B.*, identify it with the Axelodunum of the *Notitia Utriusque Imperii*. The 6-inch Ordnance Survey identifies it with Gabrosentum.

[2] See *Transactions Cumberland, etc., Antiquarian Society*, 1894, p. 457.

[3] See the *Survey of the Roman Wall* and the accompanying Memoir executed in 1852–1854 by Mr. H. MacLauchlan for the Duke of Northumberland; also Dr. J. C. Bruce's *Roman Wall*, and the Ordnance Maps.

[4] Ordnance Map. [5] Horsley.

keep at a distance of 70 or 100 yards apart, but in places they diverge as much as half a mile; while again in some places they come into actual contact, and there the wall seems to override and cut through the *vallum*, as notably at Wall Bowers where the wall distinctly cuts through the extra ditch and rampart above referred to.[1] Even if this fact were less clear than it seems to us to be still those who hold the *vallum* to have been constructed either concurrently with or subsequently to the Wall would have to explain why the constructors of the *vallum* should in those places have run it up against the wall in such a way as to interfere with the symmetry and utility of their own plan.[2]

The Later Wall.

Question of Authorship.

In their choice of sites the wall follows the highest and most defensible ground, the *vallum* having to be taken along lower ground, where a greater depth of soil for banking up would be found. History distinctly asserts that one line of fortification, be it wall or *vallum*, was executed by Hadrian, and another by Septimius Severus. Taking our *vallum* and wall to be the two works in question, as they certainly appear to be, we must hold that the *vallum* was the earlier work, and therefore the work of Hadrian; because it seems clear that no men with a stone wall to protect them would seek to pile up useless earthworks behind it; while men who had only an earthen rampart to defend them might well seek to supplement its protection by a bulwark of a stronger kind. As a matter of fact the *vallum* cannot have had any value as a military work. Though planned as if to resist attack either from the North or South, with the foss in the middle it could easily be stormed from either side. Some go so far as to suggest that it was really intended for a mere elaborate *limes* or boundary line, to impress the Barbarians with a sense of the majesty of the Roman Empire.[3]

Lastly, in all contemporary records, we find the whole collective fortification, *vallum*, wall, and adjuncts, spoken of as the *vallum*;[4] a further indication that the *vallum* was the original work.[5] Technically the whole fortification was styled a *Prætentura*; but of this more anon.

[1] In this I have the support of Mr. T. McK. Hughes, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, VI. 360. [2] See Append. to this chapter.

[3] So Prof. Mommsen.

[4] So the Antonine Itinerary and the *Notitia Utriusque Imperii*, *M.H.B.*, xx., xxiv.; and the inscriptions "*rebus trans vallum prospere gestis*"; and *Genio valli*, *C.I.L.*, VII. Nos. 886, 940.

[5] As to the date and authorship of the two works, the Rev. J. Hodgson and Dr. J. C. Bruce hold that the whole was of one plan, and ascribe the whole to Hadrian, leaving nothing but repairs or additions for Septimius. See Hodgson, *Northumberland*, pt. ii., vol. iii. 277; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, and *The Roman Wall and Who Built It*, *passim*. The strong point in their favour is that no inscriptions to Septimius have been found either on wall or *vallum*, while inscriptions to Hadrian have been found on both. See Hübner, *C.I.L.*, VII. Nos. 506, 660–663, 713, etc. But the inscriptions say nothing of the character of the work they commemorate; and the stones may easily have been moved

Nothing more is heard of Britain under Hadrian; but with the accession of Titus Antoninus Pius a more active policy was resumed. We are told that he deprived the *Brigantes* of great part of their territory for attacks upon 'the parts of the *Genuni*,' friendly tributaries not heard of elsewhere.[1] At any rate it was under Antoninus that the Legate Quintus Lollius Urbicus reasserted and strengthened the frontier of Agricola by running another *vallum*,[2] or earthen rampart and ditch, along the line of Agricola's forts, from the old coast margin at Bridgeness on the Forth to West Kilpatrick on the Clyde, a distance of nearly thirty-seven English or forty Roman miles. The rampart and ditch seem to have covered a width of 25 to 30 yards; the ditch being deeper and broader than that of Hadrian's *vallum*.[3]

Titus Antoninus Pius.

The Northern Vallum.

Besides the nineteen stations already mentioned the work included small watch towers at short intervals; also a military way running along the back of the *vallum*.[4] The fortification followed a well-chosen line of high ground, with lower ground in front of it from sea to sea.

But the weak point of all such works was the numbers of men needed to guard them. Six thousand men would not have been too much to hold such a frontier. But the entire force in Britain probably did not exceed 30,000 men.[5]

The amount of control exercised by the Romans over this district between the walls is difficult to estimate. The region is not entered in the surveys of the Empire. On the other hand we shall find clear proofs that, eventually, the language and customs of Rome extended to the Clyde. Bæda with his usual accuracy seems to solve the difficulty by

from their original sites. Mr. MacLauchlan's final conclusion is that the wall was later than the *vallum* Memoir, pp. 89–92. Horsley, Roy, and Lingard agree that the *vallum* was the work of Hadrian, the wall of Septimius. Merivale, without ascribing the wall to Septimius, rejects the theory that the two works were of one date; *Quarterly Review*, vol. 107, p. 127.

[1] "Τὴν Γενουνίαν μοῖραν"; Pausanias, *Græciæ Descript.*, VIII. c. 43; *M.H.B.*, L. Pausanius wrote 170–180. Rhys suggests that μοῖρα may represent the Gaelic "*dál*" *C.B.*, 90. Might it not represent the Pictish equivalent *Pet*?

[2] "Alio cespititio muro ducto," etc. C. Julius Capitolinus; *De Antonino Pio*, c. 5; *M.H.B.*, lxv. "Floruit Capitolinus sæculo tertio exeunte."

[3] The ditch has been estimated to have been 20 feet deep, and the *agger* 20 ft. high above the level, 40 ft. in all, but this seems excessive. Stuart, 278. Perhaps 20 feet may have been the height from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the mound.

[4] See Stuart, *Caledonia Romana*, 269; and the plans there taken from Roy; also the 6-inch Ordnance Map, and Appendix B to this chapter. The numerous inscriptions found show the work to have been done by detachments from the 2nd, 6th, and 20th Legions. In later ages the work, like other similar works, was attributed to supernatural agency, and so called "*Grame's Dyke*" (Devil's Dyke). The name is still localised near Bridgeness.

[5] Mommsen, V. 173.

stating that the control beyond the southern *vallum* was merely political (*jure dominandi possidebant*), as contrasted with the administrative occupation to the South of it (*habitabant*).[1]

Britain, however, seems to have given no more trouble under Antoninus Pius. The accession of his associated successors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (A.D. 161)[2] was the signal for an outbreak that was quelled by the proprætor-legate Calpurnius Agricola.[3] Marcus Aurelius having survived his brother-emperor died in 180; and was succeeded by his son Commodus, when a fresh era of disturbance was inaugurated. The Northern tribes burst across the *vallum* of Antoninus,[4] and committed great depredations, finally overwhelming a Roman commander and his army. The war is described as the most serious of the reign.

Northern Rising.

Ulpius Marcellus, a stern, strict soldier, was then sent out; and he eventually expelled the invaders, and gained for his master the surname of Britannicus, himself to be disgraced and recalled.[5] The next governor mentioned, one Perennis, proved unsuccessful; at any rate in the management of his own troops, who apparently sent a body of 1,500 mutineers to Rome to petition against him; and then, taking the law into their own hands, murdered him.[6]

Mutinous Troops.

With respect to the difficulty of managing Legions, the reader will bear in mind that owing to the cost of transport they were seldom moved; the recruits that were sent to them went practically to settle for life: thus the Legions became military settlements with strong local connexions and interests. The reader will have noticed that the legionaries were reserved as much as possible for garrison duty; the rough work being laid on the auxiliary cohorts. Order was eventually restored by P. Helvius Pertinax, a distinguished commander, afterwards for three months Emperor of Rome. But in Britain he had to fight to establish his authority over his own men, and on one occasion, we are told, was left for dead on the field.[7]

Helvius Pertinax.

The next governor on record, and the last appointed by Commodus,

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, I. c. 11.

[2] Antoninus died in March, 161. Meriv., VII. 518.

[3] Capitolinus, *De Marco Antonino*, *M.H.B.*, lxv.; also *C.I.L.*, VII. Nos. 225, 758. Calpurnius appears to have been legate A.D. 162–169, Hübner. It is said that a prefect, Statius Priscus, had been offered the Purple by the British legions; a first attempt at independent action; Meriv., VII. 568.

[4] "τὸ τεῖχος τὸ διορίζον αὐτούς τε καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδα." Dion. *apud* Xiphil., LXXII. s. 8; *M.H.B.*, lix., A.D. 181. The Northern rampart must be the one referred to.

[5] Dion. *ap.* Ziphil., *sup.* For coins of Commodus with the inscription *Britannicus*, see *M. H. B.*, Pl. III. 4–7.

[6] Dion., *sup.*, s. 9; Capitolinus, *De Pertinace*, c. 3; Ælius Lampridius, *De Commodo*, c. 6; *M. H. B.*, lx., lxv., lxvi. "Floruit Lampridius exeunte sæculo tertio."

[7] Dion, *ap.* Xiphil., *sup.*, V. 9; LXXIII. 4; Capitolinus, *sup.*, c. 2, 3, 4.

was Clodius Albinus, and he succeeded only too well in gaining the affections of his men. Commodus, alarmed at the reports of his attitude, sent to supersede him, but died before the order could be executed.[1] Two ephemeral emperors—Pertinax and Didius Julianus—were successively set up and deposed by the Prætorian Guards, and then three serious candidates were announced as in the field; namely, Septimius Severus in Pannonia, Pescennius Niger in Syria, and Clodius Albinus in Britain, each supported by his own Legions. Septimius deeming Pescennius the more formidable opponent, temporised with Albinus, offering him a share of the empire, with the secondary title of Cæsar. The offer was accepted,[2] and Albinus remained peaceably within his province till Septimius, having disposed of Pescennius, declared war against the British Cæsar. Albinus then, perhaps rashly, took his forces across the Channel to meet Septimius in Gaul; and there he was defeated and killed near Lyons.[3]

Clodius Albinus.

A British "Cæsar."

The attempt of Albinus led to an important change in the administration of Britain. Septimius divided the province into two,[4] an Upper or Northern, and a Lower or Southern Britain. As we are told that the 2nd and 20th Legions, quartered at Caerleon and Chester, belonged to the Southern province; while the 6th Legion, quartered at York, belonged to the Northern province,[5] it is clear that the dividing line must have been drawn from the Mersey to the Humber. This subdivision, which was dictated by political and imperial considerations, left the governor of the Northern province very weak to resist the Caledonians, although the bulk of the auxiliaries were assigned to his share. Accordingly we hear of the Proprætor Virius Lupus being reduced to the miserable expedient of buying peace from the tribes; and of course we are told in the same breath that the tribes soon found excuses for breaking their treaty engagements.[6]

Division of Britain.

It was under these circumstances, apparently, that the provincial authorities resolved to strengthen their inner frontier by adding a stone wall to the *vallum* of Hadrian, which had proved quite insufficient to keep out incursions.

This implies that the northern rampart, the *vallum* of Antoninus and

[1] Capitolinus, *De Clodio Albino*, c. 13, 14. Commodus died in 192.

[2] A.D. 193. Dion-Xiph., LXXIII. 14, 15; Herodian, *Hist.*, II. 48. Conf. Spartianus, *De Severo*, 6; *M. H. B.*, lx., lxii., lxx.

[3] A.D. 197. Herodian, III. 16, 18–24. *M. H. B.*, lxii.

[4] Herodian, *sup.*, 24.

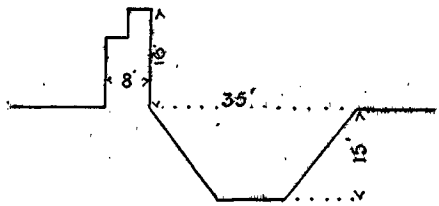
[5] Mommsen, V. 173, citing Dion. The style of the governors does not seem to have been changed. On the inscriptions they still appear as "leg. aug. pr. pr." (*legatus Augusti pro prætore*). So down to the time of Valerianus and Gallienus at any rate, A.D. 254–260.

[6] Dion-Xiphil., LXXV., s. 5. *M. H. B.*, lx.

Lollius Urbicus, had already been more or less abandoned. Probably the intermediate districts formed a Debatable Land, over which the tide of domination ebbed and flowed.

The Stone Wall.

With respect to the date of the stone wall, inscriptions on the faces of old Roman quarries in its immediate neighbourhood show that quarrying on a large scale was going on in the year 207, and again in the year 210.[1]



PROFILE OF THE WALL (RESTORED) SCALE $\frac{1}{32}$ IN. TO THE FOOT.

This celebrated wall was held one of the chief glories of the reign of Septimius. As already mentioned, it ran from sea to sea,[2] a distance of 73½ miles, or 13 miles longer than the contiguous *vallum* which is ascribed by all to Hadrian. The wall was about eight feet thick, and twelve feet high without the parapet, which was four feet higher;[3] it was made of concrete, faced with small square blocks of stone, like paving stones. On

[1] Hübner, *C. I. L.*, VII. Nos. 871, 912; conf. 269, also of the time of Septimius. If we suppose the work to have been begun in 207 we get over the difficulty felt as to its having been undertaken by Septimius when he was prosecuting active hostilities beyond the Northern Border. It is worthy of note that both Jerome and Cassiodorus give the year 207 as that of the construction of the *vallum*, as they call it, of Severus; though, no doubt, they seem to take that as the year of his coming to Britain. *M. H. B.*, lxxxi. and lxxxii.

[2] "Britanniam quod maximum ejus [sc. Severi] imperii decus est muro per transversam insulam ducto utriusque ad finem oceani munivit." Spartianus, *De Severo*, 18; *M. H. B.*, lxv. As already noticed he gives the length of the *murus* which he ascribes to Hadrian as being 80 (Roman) miles. That agrees with the length of the stone wall, not with that of the *vallum*; but again the statement that the *murus* of Severus extended from sea to sea is true of the stone wall and not of the *vallum*. That an important fortification, whether wall or *vallum*, running from sea to sea, was executed by Severus is also stated by Aurelius Victor, *M.H.B.*, lxxi.; but he gives the length as 32 miles, not the length even of the *vallum* of Antoninus. So too Orosius, who notices the towers (*turres*) which belong to the wall, not to the *vallum*, but expands the length to 132 miles. *Id.*, lxxix.; his words are copied by Eusebius, Jerome, and Cassiodorus. The name of Severus again appears in the Epitome to Gildas, *M. H. B.*, 5; Nennius, *Id.*, 60: Bæda, *Id.*, 112. Gildas himself would have us to believe that both *vallum* and wall were built by the Britons, with some little help from the Romans, after they had abandoned Britain; *Id.*, 10, 11.

[3] Gildas, *Epitome*, *M. H. B.*, 5; Bæda, *Hist. E.*, I. 12. Bæda gives the height of

the North side it had a ditch, which seems to have been ten to fifteen feet deep, while a well-made road, twenty-two feet wide, ran along the southern side.[1] Connected with it were some eighteen permanent stations, or walled camps,[2] of three to five acres each, with "mile-castles" and watch-turrets between; thus closely resembling the Forth-Clyde *vallum* of Antoninus. For necessary freedom of communication apertures or gaps were left in the wall at every station and mile-castle.

But with all their fortifications the provincial authorities reported the situation as intolerable: either the army of occupation must be permanently strengthened, or a grand effort made to crush the Northern tribes. Though past threescore years of age and crippled with gout, Septimius chose the latter alternative. Travelling in a litter he left Rome with "his two sons, his whole court, and a formidable army" (A.D. 208). Rejecting all offers of negotiation, he declared war against the Caledonians and the *Mæatæ*, the two leading Northern confederacies, in which all other tribes at this time were merged.

Septimius Severus in Britain.

The *Mæatæ* are described as living 'on the frontier wall'[3]; *i.e.* the *vallum* of Antoninus; the Caledonians are described as living beyond them. The *Mæatæ* therefore *prima facie* would be the inhabitants of the districts of Strathearn and Strathallan; possibly also of Strathmore and the Mearns, otherwise Kincardineshire.[4]

The raising of troops and other preparations must have taken considerable time, as the actual expedition seems to have fallen in the year 210. The younger son Geta was left in command in the province, the elder and more troublesome son, Antoninus, otherwise "Caracalla," being kept under his father's eye. Crossing the Northern *vallum*[5] Septimius plunged into the wilds beyond, and with enormous labour worked his way 'almost to the end of the island'; that is to say to the southern shores of the Moray Firth.

Expedition against Caledonians.

the wall as 12 feet. Camden and other writers of the 16th century give the height as 15, 16, and 21 feet. Bruce, *Roman Wall*, 48.

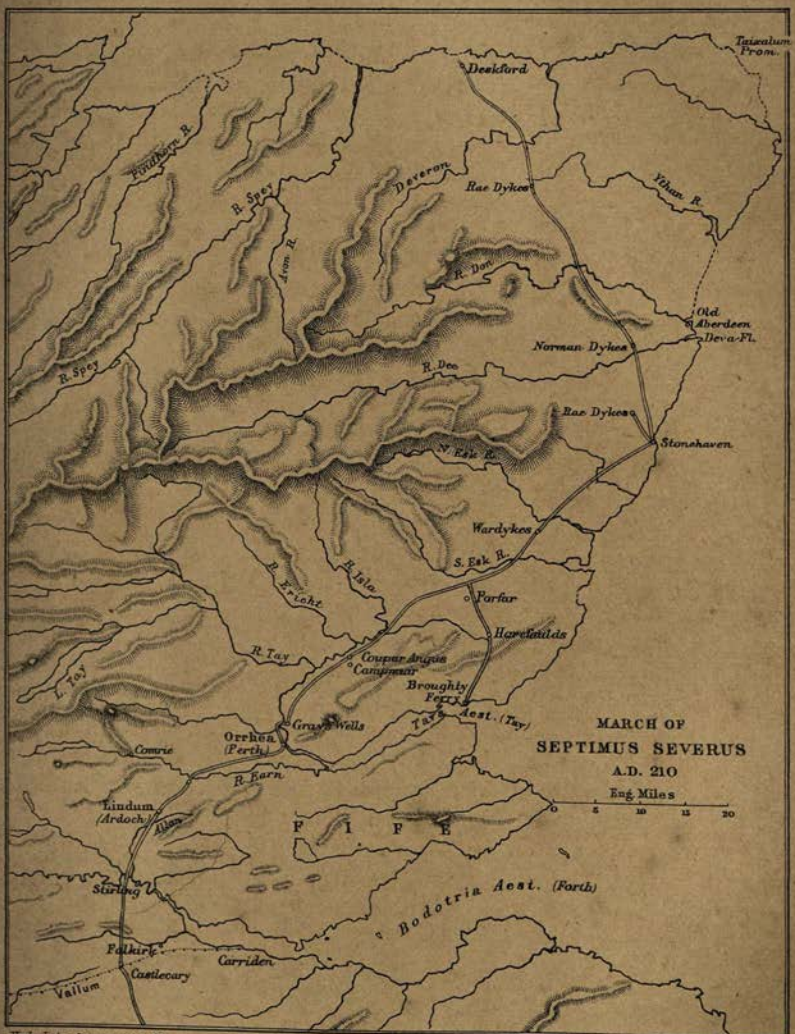
[1] Bruce, 56. *Transactions Cumberland Antiquarian Society, sup.*, 459, 461.

[2] For a list of these, with details of the troops quartered there, see the Notitia, *M. H. B.*, xxiv. Bruce estimates these, all auxiliaries, at 12,000 men. Three of the stations—Vindolana, Magna, and Petriana lie to the South of the *vallum* of Hadrian, and must originally have been connected with it.

[3] "*πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ διατειχίσματι*" (Dion-Xiphil).

[4] This might be inferred from the line of Severus' march, but the name Mæatæ seems fairly identified with the Miati or Miathi of Adamnan, the biographer of St. Columba; and they are connected with Magh Circinn, the later Mearns or Kincardineshire. Rhys, *C. B.*, 155, 159, 297. The name Mæatæ, however, must not be connected etymologically with Magh Circinn.

[5] "*τὰ προβεβλημένα ῥεύματά τε καὶ χώματα*" (Herodian). The combination of rivers and earthworks clearly points to the northern rampart.



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The historians claim for the Emperor the credit of having imposed a treaty on the clans; but neither in coming or going did he once behold an enemy in battle array. His achievements were utterly incommensurate with his losses which were terrible. The army was worn out with the toil of incessant road-making and bush-fighting, while having to endure wet, cold, and privations of all sorts.[1]

The footprints of the Imperial march may yet be traced with a fair degree of certitude. The army would need no fortified camps till it entered hostile territory, beyond the Northern rampart; and accordingly to the South of that no camp has been found exceeding the dimensions of the 50 acre camps which we attributed to Agricola. But at Ardoch, 20 miles from the frontier, we find the first of the series of larger camps to which we have already referred; and which must be ascribed to Septimius. The great camp at Ardoch encloses about 121 acres of ground, an area equalled by only a few of the camps in Southern Britain, such as those at Silchester and Wroxeter. On the Polybian system this would afford accommodation for 25,000 or 30,000 men. Another camp of the same size is found at Gray's Wells[2] near Scone, about 3 miles beyond Perth, and 24 miles by the Roman road from Ardoch. Some 10 to 12 miles from Gray's Wells we have the two smaller camps at Lintrose and Coupar-Angus already noticed; 6 miles further we have traces of a camp at Cardean, at the confluence of the Dean and Isla; and thus advancing 13 miles by Ruthven, Lindertis, and Kirriemuir we come to "Battle Dykes," a camp of 124 acres near Oathlaw in Forfarshire, being at a distance of 30 or 31 miles from Gray's Wells.[3] Some 14 miles further East we have a smaller camp of 50 acres, "War Dykes," Keithock. The next stage would probably be to Stonehaven (24 miles), where traces of a fort are found.[4] From Stonehaven an attempt was apparently made to plunge into the heart of the country, as some four miles inland we have a camp of about 87 acres, "Rae Dykes." But as even at the present day there is no road beyond, we may suppose that the army fell back to Stonehaven, and then, taking a line a little more to the East, made an advance of 9 miles to a ford on the Dee, seven miles above Aberdeen, where on the North bank of the river we have

The Route.

Ardoch.

Gray's Wells.

Battle Dykes.

War Dykes.

Rae Dykes.

Norman Dykes.

[1] Dion-Xiphil, LXXVI. ss. 11–16; Herodian, II. cc. 46–51; *M. H. B.*, lx., lxiii. The loss of 50,000 men given by Dion is absurd; it is most unlikely that Severus had as many as 50,000 men with him in all.

[2] This the proper name as found on the old maps is now usually given as "Grassy Walls."

[3] Traces of a Roman road are marked at West Muir between Lindertis and Kirriemuir.

[4] Coins of Severus have also been found near Stonehaven; Stuart, *Caledonia Romana*, 248.

another large camp of 108 acres, "Norman Dykes."[1] Dropping down the river to Aberdeen Septimius must have made a final advance from that city, as 30 miles on the road to Banff we have our last stepping-stone in the shape of one more large camp, another "Rae Dykes," one mile to the East of Wells of Ythan.[2] Having fairly traced him so far we cannot doubt that the Emperor finally reached the shores of the Moray Firth.

Rae Dykes II.

Septimius returned to York to die there. He passed away on the 4th February, 211. His last moments were embittered by the consciousness that his efforts had been all in vain, both Caledonians and *Mœatæ* being again in full revolt. His dying injunctions to his sons were to exterminate them without mercy.[3] But the sons had their own succession to attend to: they renewed the peace, and left the province to its own resources.[4]

Death of Septimius.

For the next 65 years nothing has been handed down concerning Britain except the names of a few rulers. If the island had no history we may indulge in the belief that it was comparatively tranquil and prosperous. It certainly appears to have escaped the troubles that distracted the rest of the Empire during the unfortunate reigns of Valerian and his son Gallienus (A.D. 254–268). But inscriptions prove that Britain uniformly followed the lead of Gaul, and accepted the rule of the successive Gallic pretenders Postumus, Victorinus, and Tetricus.[5] So again things went in 276 when Proculus and Bonosus endeavoured to form a Celtic Empire to include Spain, Gaul, and Britain. The Emperor Probus however defeated these rivals, and then sent over masses of Germans, as forced settlers, to keep the Britons quiet.[6]

Connexion with Gaul.

With the accession of Diocletian (A.D. 285) the shaken Empire entered

[1] 1½ miles to the S.W. of Culter House.

[2] See Roy, *Military Antiquities*, 66, and Plates, and the 6-inch Ordnance Map. Another well-defined camp with a small *procestrium*, together enclosing 58½ acres, is found at Harefaulds, Kirkbuddo, about half way from the Oathlaw camp to Broughty Ferry, near Dundee. This may have been used by a wing marching independently, as it lies quite off the road from Perth to Stonehaven, or it may have been used for bringing up supplies from the mouth of the Tay.

[3] Dion-Xiphil and Herodian, *sup.* Spartianus, *De Severo*, c. 19.

[4] Dion-Xiphil, lxxvii. c. 1. Herodian, *sup.*; according to the latter Caracalla signed a peace on receiving hostages; according to the former, he evacuated fortresses "τὰ φρούρια ἐξέλιπε," that suggests the abandonment of the northern *vallum*. If the *Antonine Itinerary* belongs to the time of Caracalla the fact cannot be doubted, as with it the Southern *vallum* is the frontier.

[5] See the inscriptions. *C. I. L.*, VII. Nos. 1150, 1151, 1160, 1161. Postumus apparently ruled from 259 to 268; Victorinus in 269 and 270; and Tetricus in 271, 272, or thereabouts. See Mommsen, V. 149–152.

[6] A.D. 276, 277. Vopiscus, *De Probo*, c. 18; Zosimus, *Hist. Nov.*, I. 66. *M. H. B.*, lxvi., lxxv.; Mommsen, V. 152. "Claruit Vospiscus exeunte sæculo tertio, Zosimus ineunte sæculo tertio."

MAP OF
ROMAN BRITAIN
circa A.D. 200.
Eng. Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
Orrhea (Perth)
Lindum
Bodotria Aest.
Vallum of Lollius Urbicus
Watling Str.
Bremenium
Habitancum
Vallum of Hadrian
Pons Ælii
Lagavallium
Voreda
Vertera
Brocovium
Lavatrae
Cataractonium
Isurium
Eboracum
Castleford
Abus Fl.
Ermine Street
Lindum
Manesunum
Deva
Mediolanum
Metaris Aest.
Uriconium
Ratae
Scapula
Ickneld Way
Fosse Way
Watling Street
Fenny Stratford
Akeman St.
Glevum
Durocornovium
Isca Silurum
Camulodunum
Verlamion
Spinae
Aquae Sulis
Calleva
Sabrina Fl.
Rutupiae
Dubrae
Portus Lemanus
Bodum
Venta
Regnum
Anderida
Vectis I.
Portus Magnus
Isca
Iscalis
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on a period of reorganisation and rehabilitation. But even under Diocletian and his colleague Maximian, surnamed Herculius,[1] the looseness of the bonds by which Britain was bound to the Empire was very apparent.[2] If a weak man was appointed to command, the province fell into confusion; if a strong man was appointed, he revolted on his own account. Thus for ten years under Diocletian Britain became an independent kingdom.

Diocletian Emperor.

For thirty years before the accession of Diocletian the Franks had been harassing the Empire along the frontier of the Rhine.[3] Driven back by Probus they took to the sea, ravaging the Channel coasts, in concert with the Saxons, another Teutonic people, now heard of for the first time. Carausius, a Menapian (Fleming) and an able naval officer, was given the command of the Roman fleet, with his headquarters at Boulogne,[4] to keep down these attacks. Being suspected of malversation, if not of direct complicity with the rovers, an order for his execution was issued by Maximian: whereupon Carausius threw off his allegiance, retired to Britain, and assumed the Purple (A.D. 287).[5] It is interesting to note that for some years he retained his hold upon Boulogne: thus anticipating the position of England in the 14th and 15th centuries with its footing at Calais. Unprovided with shipping, always a weak point with the Romans, the Emperors had to accept the position of Carausius; and for some eight years he ruled Britain with success, as indicated by the extraordinary number of his coins found. On some of these he represents himself as joint Emperor with Diocletian and Maximian.[6] On others we have a female figure, welcoming a soldier, with the legend EXPECTATE VENI;[7] an inscription not found on earlier coins, nor on later ones, till it was revived in Scotland in the year 1745 in honour of "Prince Charlie."

The Saxons.

Carausius Emperor in Britain.

We may conjecture that Carausius, while ruling by the swords of Frankish mercenaries, had the dexterity to pose as the champion of British aspirations after Home Rule.

In 292 Constantius Chlorus and Galerius, nicknamed "*Armentarius*,"

[1] Diocletian was proclaimed Emperor in 285; he associated Maximian in 286; Gibbon, II. 64 (ed. 1854).

[2] "Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum" was the remark of St. Jerome, *Adv. Jovianum*, II. iv. 6; *M. H. B.*, xcix.

[3] The Franks, perhaps new opponents only in name, are first heard of as pushing forwards towards the lower Rhine in 253. Mommsen, V. 149. Three years earlier the Goths were attacking the line of the Danube.

[4] "Gesoriacum," Eumenius; "Bononia," Eutropius.

[5] Aurelius Victor, *De Cæsaribus*, c. 39; Eutropius, *Breviar.*, ix. cc. 21, 22. Orosius, *Hist.*, c. 25. Eusebius Pamphilus, *Chron.*, II. *M. H. B.*, lxxi., lxxii., lxxix., lxxxi.

[6] *M. H. B.*, Pl. x. 1. The coins of Carausius are supposed to have been mostly struck in London or Colchester.

[7] *Id.*, Pl. v. 13.

were associated by Diocletian as Cæsars (1 March).[1] Constantius at once signalised his accession by ousting Carausius from his continental footing at Boulogne.[2] Two years later Carausius fell a victim to assassination, the fate of so many rulers in those days of military rule; he fell by the hand of his follower Allectus, who usurped his authority.[3]

Constantius Chlorus Cæsar.

War was promptly declared against the new 'pirate.' The operations were conducted by the Cæsar Constantius Chlorus in person. A fleet having at last been raised he himself sailed from Boulogne, part of the armament sailing from the mouth of the Seine. Favoured by a fog they accomplished the crossing without attracting the attention of the British fleet, which was stationed off the Isle of Wight. The landing must have been effected in different places, as we are told that Allectus was defeated and killed by one wing, under the command of Asclepiodotus, prefect of the Prætorians; while the last of the fugitive Franks were cut to pieces in the streets of London by another wing that had sailed up the Thames.[4]

Allectus Emperor in Britain.

In the year 305 both Diocletian and Maximian abdicated (1st May): whereupon the two Cæsars were proclaimed Emperors; Galerius to rule in the East, and Constantius Chlorus in the West; two new Cæsars being named in the persons of Daza-Maximinus and Valerius Severus. Constantine, the son of Constantius, for whom no place had been found in these arrangements, was at the time in the hands of Galerius at Nicomedia. Dissatisfied with his position he made a hasty escape, and joined his father at Boulogne, just as he was preparing to sail to Britain. The two having established their position in the Island signalised their accession by an expedition against the Caledonians and other Picts.

Constantius Chlorus Emperor of the West.

The war over, Constantius, like Septimius, returned to York to die (25th July 306); when Constantine was at once proclaimed.[5]

[1] Gibbon, II. 67.

[2] Claudius Mamertinus, *Panegyr. Maxim.*, cc. 11, 12: Eumenius, *Pro Instaurandis Scholis*, cc. 18, 21. *Id.*, *Panegyr. Constantino*, c. 5. *M.H.B.*, lxvi. lxix. According to Nennius, the Welsh writer, Carausius repaired the "murus" and "agger" of Severus, adding new "turres." Nennius took the Northern *vallum* to be the work of Severus (c. 19 *M. H. B.*), but "turres" would be inapplicable to the Northern work as there was no wall there.

[3] Aurelius Victor; Eutropius; Orosius, *sup.*, A.D. 294, Petrie.

[4] Eumenius, *Panegyric Const.*, cc. 9–19; *M.H.B.*, lxvii. Aurelius Victor; Eutropius; Orosius, *sup.* For the coins of Allectus see *M.H.B.*, Pl. XV., XVI., XVII. Naval emblems are again common.

[5] Eumenius, *Panegyr. Constantino*, 7, 8; Aurelius Victor, *De Cæsaribus*, c. 40, and Epitome 41; Zosimus, *Hist. Nov.*, II. 8; Eutropius, X. 1, 2; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Addenda*; Socrates, *Schol. Hist. Eccl.*, I. 2; *M. H. B.*, lxix., lxxi., lxxv., lxxxi. Constantine the Great may have been born in Britain, but the point is doubtful; the allegation that his mother, the Sainted Helena, was of British extraction is a mere legend. See Gibbon, II. 109, note.

Under Constantine the Great and his sons Constantine II., Constantius II., and Constans, Britain again enjoyed more than fifty years of tranquillity.[1] In 312 the province had to supply its contingents for the great struggle against Maxentius.[2] At the death of Constantine (A.D. 337) the Empire was divided among his sons, and Britain fell to the share of the eldest, Constantine II. At his death Britain came into the hands of his brother Constans (A.D. 340). For his reign the only bit of civil history that we have is an indirect notice, the original narrative being lost, of a hasty visit paid by the Emperor to Britain in winter time; the August presence apparently being called for by hostile inroads of some sort.[3] But of such inroads we hear no more for nearly twenty years.

Constantine the Great proclaimed at York.

Constantine II.

Constans.

In 350 Constans fell a victim to the successful rising of Magnentius, commander of the Household troops in Gaul. Magnentius, being of British extraction on the father's side, received some support from Britain, and notably from 'Count' Gratian, at that time holding office in the province.[4] After the fall of Magnentius (353) we hear of searching inquisitions in Britain, instituted by one Paulus, an Imperial commissioner, in opposition to the wishes of the provincial authorities. The struggle culminated in a personal collision between Paulus and the Vicar Martinus, in which the latter lost his life.[5] The importance attached to this occurrence implies a dearth of greater events: but the incident in itself shows the jealousy felt towards provincial rulers at headquarters; and the mischievous readiness to interfere with their authority.

Magnentius, a Briton.

Direct testimony to the well-being of the province during this period however is not wanting. Eumenius, the Panegyrist of Constantius, extols the fertility of its soil; the rich produce of its flocks, and herds, and hives.[6] Still more to the point are the records of large shipments of corn to the Rhine for the support of the Roman garrison during the time that Julian (afterwards Emperor) held sway in Gaul as Cæsar.[7]

The reader may have wondered at the new titles of office, 'Count,' and 'Vicar,' above introduced without explanation.

Important modifications in the adminstration of the Empire had been introduced by Diocletian.

Administrative Changes.

After the association of Maximian and the two Cæsars,

[1] A.D. 306–361. [2] Zosimus II., c. 15. *M. H. B.*, lxxvi.

[3] A.D. 340–350, Ammianus Marcell., XX. 1; Julius Fermicus, *De Errore*; *M. H. B.*, lxxiii., xcv. Fermicus lived at the time.

[4] *Zouaras*, XIII. 6; Amm. Marcell., XXX. 7; *M. H. B.*, lxxiv., lxxxvii.

[5] Amm. Marcell., XIV. 5; *M. H. B.*, lxxii.

[6] A.D. 296. *Panegy. Const.*, c. 11; *M. H. B.*, lxvii.

[7] A.D. 355–361. Zosimus III., c. 5; Eunapius Sardianus, *Hist. Byzant.*, p. 15; Amm. Marcell., XVIII. 2; *M. H. B.*, lxxiii., lxxv., lxxvi.; Gibbon, etc.

Galerius and Constantius Chlorus,[1] he had subdivided the Empire into four parts, one for each Augustus and each Cæsar. Constantine the Great retained this arrangement with modifications to suit the case of a sole Emperor, the position to which he ultimately attained.[2]

The Four Prefectures.

The Empire was thrown into four vast Prefectures, each under a Pretorian Prefect (*præfectus prætorio*). The Western or Gallic Prefecture included Western Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain; thus extending from Mount Atlas to the Firth of Forth.[3] For obvious political reasons the civil and military commands were separated; the military commands being again subdivided between Masters of the Cavalry and Infantry. In this system Britain ranked as one of the six 'Dioceses' of the Gallic Prefecture; the civil government being in the hands of a 'Vicar' or Vice-prefect, whose head-quarters were at York, that city, from the military point of view, being of more importance than London. Each 'Diocese' again was sub-divided into 'Provinces.' Under Septimius Severus Britain had been divided into two, a Lower and an Upper Britain; now we have it split into four provinces, Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Flavia Cæsariensis, and Maxima Cæsariensis.[4] The limits of these districts are nowhere laid down; but it is generally agreed that Britannia Prima lay to the South of the Thames valley, answering to the later Wessex; and that Britannia Secunda lay to the West of the Severn, answering to Wales and the Welsh March; Flavia Cæsariensis would extend from the Thames to the Humber—the later Mercia; and Maxima Cæsariensis[5] from the Humber to the Wall, the later Northumbria. The addition of a fifth nominal Province, Valentia, for the districts North of the Wall came later on in the century.[6]

Position of Britain.

Under the Vicar each Province, according to its importance, was administered either by a *Consularis* or a *Preses*. The military commands of the 'Dioceses' rested with *comites*, 'companions' (i.e. *Emperor's Companions*)[7] or 'counts'; and *Duces*, 'Leaders,' or 'Dukes.' The *Duces* were subordinate to the

Civil and Military Officers.

[1] The two Cæsars were associated 1st March, 292; Gibbon, II. 69. The scheme of the new subdivisions was probably settled in or after 297. Mommsen, *Abhand., sup.*

[2] Constantine the Great did not become sole Emperor till 324, after the defeat and death of his last rival Licinius.

[3] See Freeman, *Historical Geography*, Maps, pl. XII.

[4] The oldest authority for these divisions is the Verona MS. printed by Mommsen, *Abhandl. Akadem. Wissensch.*, Berlin, 1862, p. 491; Rhys. This list appears older than the year 342; the next oldest is that of Festus Rufus, circa 370.

[5] The name "Flavia" Cæsariensis clearly points to the House of Constantius whose family name was Flavius. Constantine II. had a daughter Flavia Maxima, but the province "Maxima" Cæsariensis was probably named after the Western Augustus, Maximian.

[6] Valentia is not named either in the Verona MS. or in Rufus Festus.

[7] The title seems to have been originally given to those appointed on the Emperor's retinue in his progresses. It is found from the time of Marcus Aurelius.

Comites, two or three *Duces* being usually under one *Comes*. But in Britain we have two *Comites* and only one *Dux*; namely *Comes Britanniæ*; the *Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britannias*;[1] and the *Dux Britanniarum*.[2]

The *Comes Britanniæ* must have been the commander-in-chief; but for the third century of our era we have no record of the disposition of troops in Britain. At the beginning of the fifth century, when the *Notitia* was compiled, we have them mostly massed in the two quarters exposed to attack; namely, on the Wall in the North, and along the sea-coast in the East and South. The 6th Legion and the Auxiliaries on the Wall were under the command of the *Dux*; and the 2nd Legion, with a further complement of Auxiliaries, were under the command of the *Comes Littoris Saxonici*. The 20th Legion is not named; and the troops under the command of the *Comes Britanniæ* are mostly cavalry. The growing importance of cavalry is one of the features of the Lower Empire, mounted soldiery being most effectual for checking or punishing barbaric raids.[3]

The Garrison.

The troops under the command of the *Comes Littoris Saxonici* were divided between nine seaside stations; namely *Brannodunum*, Brancaster in Norfolk; *Garianonnum*, Burgh Castle on the Yare; *Othona*, Ithanchester in Essex; *Regulbium*, Reculvers in Kent; *Rutupiæ*, Richborough by Sandwich; *Dubris*, Dover; *Lemanis*, Lymne by Hythe in Kent; *Anderida*, Pevensey; and *Portus Adurni*, perhaps Shoreham.[4]

APPENDIX A TO CHAPTER VI.

THE SOUTHERN PRÆTENTURA—RELATIONS OF THE VALLUM AND WALL.

If we follow the lines of the *vallum* and Wall westward from Newcastle we find the two keeping on parallel lines at an average distance of about 100 yards apart till we come to Eppie's Hill, beyond Rudchester (*Vindobala*), where the two converge till they touch. So again between Carr Hill and Halton Shields. At Halton Chesters (*Hunnum*) the camp—a walled camp attached to the Wall—clearly infringes on the *vallum*: the *vallum* does not retain its full width as it passes along the south side of the camp. If there was any need for the *vallum* after the Wall and the walled camp had been built there seems no reason why the *vallum* should not have retained its full width here. At Planetree, just to the East of a Mile Castle, the Wall turns suddenly at an angle, as if to avoid cutting into the *vallum*. At Chesters (*Cilernum*) we have the same circumstances as at Halton Chesters; a walled camp, with the *vallum* apparently passing along the south side of it, but with a very diminished width. Beyond Tower Tay we have a good piece of the Wall 150 or 200 yards in length. At Limestone Corner we have the two fortifications in

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[1] The words *per Britannias* are added to distinguish the Saxon shore of Britain from that on the other side of the Channel, extending from Belgium to Armorica; *Notitia*, II. 106, 108, ed. Bocking, 1839. The occurrence of this second Saxon shore makes it unnecessary to assume the existence of Saxon Settlements in East Anglia at this time.

[2] In the *Notitia* these British officers are described as being under the orders (*sub dispositione*) of the Masters of the Household Cavalry and Infantry: "Magistri Præsentiales Equitum, Peditum."

[3] On this subject, see Mr. C. Oman's *Art of War*.

[4] This last indentification must be considered doubtful, as it depends on the antiquity of the name Adur as applied to the Shoreham river, which is disputed.

juxtaposition, but without any interference on either side, both ditches being cut through basalt to a depth of 9 ft. or 10 ft. But at *Procolitia*, beyond Carrawbrough, we have a walled camp, attached to the Wall, completely overriding the *vallum*, with a ditch of its own that cuts through the *vallum*-ditch. At the Old Quarry, 300 yards before reaching Shield on the Wall (No. 1)[1] the *vallum*, if not infringed upon by the Wall, is jammed up against it; and 700 yards beyond Shield on the Wall seems clearly cut into by it. At Housesteads (*Borgovicus*) we have the best preserved portions of the Wall, but the *vallum*, which apparently passed 100 yards to the south of it, is here completely destroyed, as if for the sake of access to the camp or by traffic to and from it. For some miles from this point the *vallum* runs at a considerable distance from the Wall, and could serve no purpose in connexion with it. At Carvoran (*Magna*), a camp not attached to the Wall, and one which must be referred to an earlier date, the Wall as it issues from Wall Tower Wood again turns at a sharp angle as if to avoid the *vallum*; while the latter makes a bend with two angles, like a bastion, round the N. side of the camp, for its protection; an unnecessary step if the stone Wall was there already. At Gillsland, in the grounds of the vicarage, we have a well-preserved piece of wall, which further on, beyond the river Irthing, reappears as forming the North side of the camp of *Amboglanna* (Birdoswald) and so onwards to the West. From Amboglanna to Wall Bowers the plan of the *vallum* appears to have been changed, a fourth rampart and a second ditch being added on the North side of the normal works. The track of the two ditches is plainly visible from the camp at a distance of 350 yards or 400 yards to the West. Looking back eastwards to the camp from that distance we may judge that originally the extra northern rampart ran straight through the ground afterwards occupied by the camp, the southern rampart having passed over ground now washed away by the river Irthing. At Wall Bowers the Wall cuts off and destroys the extra northern rampart and ditch of the *vallum* which here come to an end. Of the meaning or purpose of this deviation from the regular plan we can offer no explanation. After Abbey-Gill's Wood, both Wall and *vallum* disappear, the track of the Wall and the sites of the Mile Castles, however, being just traceable. So on to Walton and Cambeck Hill; but some indications of the *vallum*, a little to the West of Sandy Sike, suggest that at Walton, Wall and *vallum* coincided. At Newtown the traces seem to show that the Wall and *vallum* must again have come into contact, and the Wall again makes a bend as if to spare the *vallum*. Beyond Newtown, the remains of the *vallum* are more substantial, and the two works run parallel, mostly at what we may call the normal distance of 100 yards as far as a spot one half-mile East of Brunstock House and some two and a quarter miles short of Stanwix, where on the map we have the two fortifications again coming into actual contact, and again diverging,[2] to run into the camp at Stanwix (*Concavata*)[3] one on the North side and one on the South side of the fort. Finally, crossing the Eden, at Davidson's Banks, on the river side just beyond the North British Railway Shed the Wall and *vallum* are shown as running in actual contact for one-third of a mile. The tracks of the wall may still be seen, but the *vallum* at this place has been so completely destroyed that no statement one way or another can be ventured on from personal observation.

Burgh upon Sands (*Gabrosentum*)[4] is usually given as the terminus of the *vallum*, but in fact it is traceable, a mile further, to Dykesfield. The last two camps belonging to the Wall-series are found at Drumburgh (*Tunnocelum*)[5] and Bowness (*Glannibanta*).[6]

[Since the above was in print I have seen the Report of the operations of the Cumberland Excavation Committee in 1896, and it appears that at Carranbrough (Procolitia), the *vallum* is not overridden by the camp, but that on the contrary it makes a bend so as to include the camp. So again at Birdoswald (*Amboglanna*). It follows that these camps, probably with only earthen ramparts in the first instance, were executed either concurrently with or more likely before the *vallum*.]

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[1] There is another place of the same name further West.

[2] The excavation at Brunstack of the Cumberland Committee of 1894 seems to have been made to the West of the point of approximation as may be seen on their plan, p. 436.

[3] So Horsley, *sup.*, and Petrie, *M. H. B.* The Ordnance Map and Mr. McLachlan apply the name *Axelodunum* to Stanwix. There are no inscriptions to fix the names of the Western stations.

[4] So the Ordnance Map. Horsley identifies Axelodunum with Burgh upon Sands.

[5] So Ordnance Map. Horsley makes it = *Gabrosentum*. [6] Ordnance Map.

APPENDIX B TO CHAPTER VI.

THE NORTHERN PRÆTENTURA.

THIS work appears to have begun at Grange, overlooking Bridgeness on the Forth, in Linlithgowshire. An inscription found at Bridgeness commemorates the completion by the 2nd Legion of 4652 Roman yards (*passus*=4 ft. 10 inches) of the work.[1] This portion of the fortification has disappeared, but the given distance brings us along the traditional line past Kinneil House to a small tower at Inneravon, overlooking the Avon, which is held to mark the site of an old Roman post. Traces of a corresponding post are said to be found on the other side of the stream. Crossing the Avon, the *vallum* and ditch become clearly distinguishable, and in fact unmistakeable, as we approach and pass through Polmont Park; continuing more or less distinct through Calendar Park, to the outskirts of Falkirk. West of that town, it again becomes quite distinct in Tentsfield Plantation (Rough Castle), and so along the South bank of the Forth and Clyde Canal. Just beyond Castle Cary Station (fort) it crosses the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, recrossing it just before Easter Dullater, and so to Croyhill, after that crossing and recrossing the Forth and Clyde Canal, between Twechar and Hillhead. The next point is Kirkintillock (fort), and then the Canal is again crossed and recrossed at Glasgow Bridge and Cadder Wood. The *vallum* then runs across the Kelvin at Balmuidy Bridge, turning North for a short distance, and then again going West to New Kilpatrick. A short distance before reaching this place, where the work crosses a stony height, the ditch seems almost as intact as on the day it was dug. The fortification then passes on by Duntocher (fort) and Mount Pleasant, to Old Kilpatrick on the Clyde (fort); but this last portion is no longer distinguishable.

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1 "Perf. M. P. $\overline{\text{IIII}}$ D C L I I."

CHAPTER VII

A.D. 360–411

Renewal of barbaric attacks on Roman Britain—Government of Count Theodosius—Last Roman Emperors holding Rule in Britain—Marcus—Gratian—Constantine III—End of Roman Domination—Their Fiscal System—Results of their Stay in Britain

WITH the year 360 a new era of trouble was inaugurated in Britain, the Northern hordes being reinforced by the Scots, a people now mentioned for the first time.[1] The new comers were Gael from the North of Ireland, the original "*Scotia*," and the only one known for many centuries of our history; "*Scotus*" being in fact simply the Latin name for Gael.[2] We may suppose them to have made their crossings to Loch Ryan, or to the Clyde, on the banks of which river 143 years later they established a permanent settlement.

Fresh Northern Invasions.

The Scots.

The marauders did not in the first instance venture to cross the frontier, their ravages falling presumably on the debatable lands between the two walls.[3] But the province or 'Diocese' as it was now called was greatly alarmed, and a hasty call for succour was forwarded to Julian, then holding his Court as Cæsar in Paris. Afraid to leave Gaul for fear of the Alamanni, Julian deputed the task to Lupicinus, Master of the Horse,[4] who eventually reached London with some auxiliary troops. But Lupicinus did not really enjoy the confidence of the Cæsar, and was either recalled or obliged to return before he could take any effective action.[5] The Emperor Constantius II. then died (361):

Successions in the Empire.

[1] Amm. Marcell., XX. 1. A rather earlier notice of the Scots is found in the Verona MS. printed by Mommsen, *Abhandl.*, *sup.*, p. 492, where "Scoti, Picti, Calidoni," head a list of the barbarous nations of the time. The MS. may be dated between 297 and 342. Eumenius, however, writing in 296, speaks of Britain as "assueta Pictis et Hibernensibus hostibus," *M. H. B.*, lxvii.

[2] Rhys' *C. B.*, 92, 194, 236, 239. The Irish form of the name is "Scuit," but the word is rare. *Ib.* Also Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 137. "Scotia eadem et Hibernia," Isidore, *Origen.*, XIV. c. 6; *M. H. B.*, cii.

[3] "Cum . . . loca limitibus vicina vastarent." Ammianus, *sup.*

[4] Ammianus styles him *magister armorum*, but, as above pointed out, the *magister equitum* was the chief officer in Gaul.

[5] Amm. Marc., *sup.*, conf. the extract from a letter of Julian, *M. H. B.*, lxx., lxxiii.

Julian succeeded him, and his attention was fully engaged with other matters than the relief of Britain up to the time of his death, which occurred in the year 363.[1] Jovian then became Emperor, but died in a year; when Valentinian was proclaimed. Unwilling to undertake the burden of governing the entire Empire he made a final partition with his brother Valens, assigning to him the Eastern Empire, and retaining the Western half for himself.[2]

Valentinian and Valens.

With all these changes of government following in such quick succession Britain's enemies grew and multiplied. The Picts and Scots harried her in the North,[3] while the Channel coasts were infested by Saxons and Franks. Moreover the Northern assailants had been again reinforced by the Atecotti, people dwelling between the Walls who had joined the Picts and Scots in self-defence.[4] In 367 matters reached a climax when Valentinian being on his way from Amiens to Trêves was startled by the intelligence that Britain had been overwhelmed by a combination of barbaric attacks; and that both Nectarides the Count of the Saxon Shore, and Fullofaudes the Duke, had fallen in action; the one as we may suppose in the South, the other in the North.

Two or three officers having been hastily appointed to go over, and then as hastily superseded, a leader equal to the emergency was at last found in Count Theodosius, "the best general of the Empire," father of the future Emperor. He crossed in 368 with a substantial force, which included the 'Jovians' and the 'Victors'; the Heruli and the Batavians, all crack corps.

Count Theodosius.

Having landed at Richborough, the Counts' first business was to clear the neighbourhood of marauders, who were driving before them cattle and slaves for sale. Advancing to London he relieved the panic-stricken city. But the recovery and reorganisation of the Province was a matter of time and trouble. To enable him to effect the work Theodosius begged that men of ability, personally known to himself, should be sent out to fill the posts of 'Duke' and 'Vicar.' The first necessity of the moment, however, was the suppression of the bands of miscellaneous origin who were preying

[1] Julian, however, as Emperor, did not altogether forget Britain, as we are told that he endeavoured to cut down military expenditure there; but that would not strengthen the province against invasion. Libanius, *Oratio Parent.*, in Julianum; *M. H. B.*, xcv. Libanius lived at the time.

[2] 26 February–28 March, 364. See Gibbon, III. 213–236.

[3] "Per diversa vagantes multa populabantur."

[4] See Amm. Marcell., XXII. 3, XXVI. 4, XXVII. 8; *M. H. B.*, lxxiii. For the Atecotti see Rhys' *C. B.*, 92. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 101. Ammianus now divides the Picts into Dicaledonas and Verturiones (not Vecturiones, Rhys, 308). The Verturiones would be the men of Fortriu or Fortrenn=Strathern. Dicaledonæ is clearly the same as Duicalidonios (Δουηκαλιδόνιος), the name given by Ptolemy to the Western, or as he considered it, Northern sea or sea coast of Britain.

on the country.[1] This was mainly effected by the liberal offer of pardon on condition of enlistment in the Roman service.[2]

But Theodosius did not feel strong enough to take the field against the Northern tribes till next year (369), when he marched from London clearing all before him. The Picts and Scots were driven to their homes; the frontier fortifications were restored and remanned; and the districts between the Walls recovered and reunited to the Empire as the Province of Valentia. Here again the turbulent elements were got rid of by the enlistment of Atecotti to serve as auxiliary cohorts on the Continent.[3] The work of the year included the crushing of an attempted rising by one Valentinus, an exile in banishment from Pannonia; and the suppression of the "Arcani," apparently an Intelligence corps on the frontier, found guilty of supplying information to the enemy.

Northern Frontier Restored.

All this and much more accomplished, Theodosius left the Province for which he had done so much, called off to discharge duties of still greater importance elsewhere.[4] His labours however had gained for Britain some years of peace and quiet; a period that might have been considerably prolonged had either the Provincial rulers been loyal to their Emperors; or, if ambitious, content to keep their ambition within reasonable bounds. But Carausius, apparently, was the only man able to conceive the idea of an insular kingdom, perhaps because he was a sailor. To all others Britain seemed a mere fraction, an inarticulate fragment, incapable of independent existence. The idea that all legitimate authority emanated from the Imperial centre, had taken such a hold upon the minds of men that each successive 'tyrant' hastened to justify his position by laying claim to universal Empire, exhausting the resources of the Island in hopeless enterprises.

At the death of Valentinian I. (17th Nov., 375), the Western Empire was subdivided between his two sons Gratian and Valentinian II.; Gratian taking Spain, Gaul, and Britain, and Valentinian II. taking Italy and Illyricum. When Valens fell at Adrianople, defeated and killed by the Goths (9th August, 378), the younger Theodosius, son of the British Count, was named by Gratian

Gratian Emperor over Spain, Gaul, and Britain.

[1] "Variarum gentium plebem."

[2] A.D. 368. Amm. Marcell., XXVII. 9; *M. H. B.*, lxxiii. The use of the word "desertores" suggests that some of the soldiers had turned Free Lances.

[3] Four bodies of Atecotti are given in the *Notitia* among the auxiliaries on the Continent; one in the East, three in the West, vol. I. c. 8, and vol. ii. c. 5, Ed. Bocking. Two of these corps, the "Honoriani," must have been raised later, under Honorius; one or both of the others may have been raised by Count Theodosius. St. Jerome saw some of these "Atticoti," as he spells the name, in Gaul: he taxes them not only with polyandry, but also with cannibalism, which seems hard to believe. *Adv. Jovianum*, c. 2; *M. H. B.*, xcix.

[4] Ammianus Marcell., XXVIII. c. 3, XXX. 7. Pacatus Drepanius, *Panegyr. Theodosio*, c. 5. Zosimus IV. 12; *M. H. B.*, lxix., lxxiv., lxxv.

Emperor of the East.[1] Gratian was not wanting in good qualities, but after seven years' rule he had lost the respect of his subjects by neglecting the duties of his position; devoting himself to the pursuit of the chase; while he offended his troops by surrounding himself with *Alani*—Nomads from the banks of the Don and the Volga; splendid horsemen, but men regarded as barbarians by Germans no less than Romans.[2]

Suddenly news came that one Clemens Maximus had been proclaimed Emperor in Britain by soldiers and people. His previous position there is not clearly defined; but it seems natural to assume that he held some high command, if not the chief command.[3] An Iberian by birth, he had served under the elder Theodosius in Britain, and it was alleged that his ambition had been stirred by the success of his countryman.[4] High character and talents are ascribed to him, and he had clearly gained the goodwill of the Britons.[5] Accepting the nomination with a decent show of reluctance, Clemens led all the forces of the Island across the Channel to attack Gratian in Gaul. Deserted by his men Gratian fled from Paris to Lyons, there to be overtaken and put to death (25th August, 383).[6]

Clemens Maximus proclaimed in Britain.

When this happened, Valentinian II., the Italian Emperor, was still but a boy twelve years old; Theodosius, the Emperor of the East, had no direct concern with the affairs of the West; and Constantinople lay a long way from Gaul. Recognising the position to which Clemens Maximus had attained, he made a treaty with him, recognising him as Emperor beyond the Alps, on condition of his respecting the dominions of Valentinian II.[7]

"The reign of Maximus might have ended in peace and prosperity, could he have contented himself with three ample countries"; corresponding

[1] 19th January, 379. See Gibbon, III. 290, 335, 342. [2] *Id.*, 356.

[3] Gibbon denies his having held office in Britain; but the words of Pacatius, "insulam . . . regali habitu exulem suum illi exules orbis induerent," seem mere rhetoric. *Panegyr. Theodosio*, c. 23; *M. H. B.*, lxx. The words of Zosimus, "οὐδὲ εἰς ἀρχὴν ἔντιμον ἔτυχε προελθών," need not mean more than that he did not consider his position equal to his merits. *Hist. Nov.*, IV. 35. He is said to have kept the Picts and Scots in good order, but it is not clear whether this was before or after he assumed the Purple. Pseudo-Prosper, *M. H. B.*, lxxxii.

[4] Zosimus, *sup.* Count Theodosius was a Spaniard, and his son was born in Spain.

[5] "Vir quidem strenuus et probus, atque Augusto dignus." Orosius, VII. 34; so too Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.*, II. c. 6. *Sacr. Hist.*, II. c. 49, ed. 1709. Conf. Pacatius, *sup.*, c. 28.

[6] See the authorities already cited: also Aurelius Victor, *Epit.*, c. 47; Tiro-Prosper; and Pseudo-Prosper, *M. H. B.*, lxix., lxx., lxxii., lxxvi., lxxx., lxxxii., c. Gibbon, II. 511. "Tiro Prosper, of Aquitaine, a Father of the Gaulish Church, lived from about 400 to 450." He has left a valuable short chronicle of his own times. He is usually cited as Prosper of Aquitaine. Another short chronicle, partly based on his, but of unknown authorship, has usually been cited as Prosper Tyro (so in *M. H. B.*). Mr. Hodgkin suggests "Pseudo-Prosper" as a better name. *Italy*, I. 277.

[7] Gibbon, III. 361.

to three of the principal kingdoms of modern Europe. But within four years he found excuses for breaking his treaty with Theodosius and Valentinian.

Church Questions.

Church questions at that time occupied a position of paramount interest. It was the age of Councils; and the Arian controversy was still warm. Valentinian II. and his mother Justina were Arians; Maximus was rigidly orthodox, the most conspicuous event of his rule in Gaul being the suppression of the Manichæan followers of Priscillian, Bishop of Avila in Spain. It is worthy of note that "the first among Christian princes who shed the blood of his Christian subjects on account of their religious opinions" was a Spaniard. With his convictions Maximus may have regarded an attack on Valentinian II. in the light of a crusade.[1] He crossed the Alps with a powerful army, to which Britain again contributed its quota in men and money (A.D. 387). Valentinian fled to the court of Theodosius, with his mother and his sister Galla. Theodosius, recently left a widower, fell in love with the sister; and, ignoring the theological side of the quarrel, took up the cause of her brother. The armies met on the banks of the Save at Siscia, now Sisżek. Maximus was defeated. Theodosius pushing on with great rapidity, captured his adversary near Aquileia, and put him to death. (June–August, 388).[2]

Fall of Clemens Maximus.

Of the British followers of Clemens Maximus few returned to their homes, the survivors being mostly settled in Armorica. The loss of these men was considered by the British writers one of the proximate causes of the fall of the Roman dominion in Britain.[3]

But the end was not yet. While the great Theodosius lived the fabric of the empire could still resist assaults. After the death of Valentinian II. (392), at any rate after the suppression of the rising of Arbogastes and Eugenius (394),[4] Theodosius became for a short time sole Emperor both of East and West. In 395 he died,[5] and the Empires fell to his two sons Arcadius and Honorius, boys of eighteen and eleven, the elder called to rule in the East the younger in the West.[6]

Arcadius and Honorius.

[1] So apparently Pseudo-Prosper, *sup.*, Maximus, "indignum ducens contra ecclesiæ statum agi": also Sozomen, *Histor. Eccl.*, VII. 13. For the persecution of the Priscillians see Sulpicius Severus, *Hist. Sacr.*, co. 48–51; *Dial.*, III. cc. 11–13; Pseudo-Prosper, *sup.*, Gibbon. According to Sulpicius, St. Martin of Tours, to whom Maximus paid great court, did his utmost to restrain his persecuting zeal.

[2] Gibbon, III. 381–386.

[3] See Gildas, *Hist.*, ss. 13, 14; Nennius, s. 27. Maximus was no hero to these writers. This seems to prove that his position in later Welsh writings was a mere literary creation, evolved from history, and not a genuine popular tradition: so too with Caros = Carausius.

[4] See Gibbon, III. 395–403; Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, I. 155–168.

[5] 17th January; Gibbon, *sup.* February; Hodgkin, *sup.*, 196.

[6] Gibbon, IV. 1.

The change at the centre of the system was soon felt at the extremities. Pict and Scot and Saxon resumed their attacks. In answer to the calls of the Britons, the great Stilicho, who ruled the West in the name of Honorius, was induced, about the year 398, to send over troops, spoken of as a 'legion.' By their exertions the invaders were repelled and the frontier fortifications repaired.[1]

Fresh Attacks on Roman Britain.

The troops sent by Stilicho were recalled about the year 402 for the great struggle with Alaric;[2] who had invaded Italy for the first time. The *Notitia Utriusque Imperii* to which we have referred appears to describe the state of things in Britain after this withdrawal. The two 'Honorian' cohorts of Atecotti must have been raised at this time. A reference to *Equites Honoriani* also proves the survey to have been drawn up after the accession of that Emperor, but before the final catastrophe. Two Legions, the 2nd and the 6th, 17 cohorts, and 16 *numeri* of infantry, with 7 *alæ* or other bodies of cavalry, are specified as quartered in Britain.[3] The posts on the Saxon shore, on the Wall, and in Cumberland, are described as held in strength.[4] How much of the given force was effectual and how much existed only on paper it is impossible to say. The 2nd Legion must have been reduced to a skeleton, as its headquarters were at Richborough, a mere coast station.[5] The number of posts in Cumberland and Westmorland suggests that the Northern invaders already affected the path so often trodden in future "roads," that by Carlisle and Brough into the West Riding.

Reduced as it was, however, the garrison ought to have been sufficient for the defence of the Island. The end was precipitated by the old infatuation.

Not many months after the repulse of Alaric (402–403)[6] Italy had to face another wave of barbaric invasion under the leadership of Radagaisus.

[1] Gildas, *Hist.*, s. 15. Writing from tradition, probably about 560–570, he gives no dates. These must be gathered from the *Panegyrics* of Claudian, who wrote at the time. We hear nothing of Britain in connexion with the 3rd and 4th consulships of Honorius (A.D. 396, 398); but under the year 399 we have "domito quod Saxone Tethys Mitior, aut fracto secura Britannia Picto." *In Eutropium*, I. verse 392; and more explicitly, "Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus inquit Munivit Stilicho . . . illius effectum curis ne tela timerem Scotica." *In Primum Cons. Stilichonis*, II. 250; again III. 148.

[2] "Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis," etc. Claudian, *De Bello Getico*, verse 416. Mr. Hodgkin would refer this to the withdrawal of the 20th legion, which is not named in the *Notitia*; *Italy*, I. 288. But the words seem to refer more naturally to the reinforcements that Stilicho had clearly sent over. The 20th legion might have left Britain with Maximus.

[3] By comparing the *Notitia* with the summary in Hübner, *Römische Heer*, *sup.*, p. 584. fourteen of the cohorts will be found to date from the time of Hadrian and upwards.

[4] See *Notitia*, II., ed. Bocking, *sup.*, and *M. H. B.*, xxiii.

[5] The walls of Richborough enclose "not more than four" acres. Wright, *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, 178.

[6] Namely at Pollentia, A.D. 402, Hodgkin; A.D. 403, Gibbon.

Again the prudent strategy of Stilicho hemmed in and mastered the enemy. Radagaisus fell (405); but the disappearance of the relics of his hosts from Italy was followed by the invasion of Gaul by a horde of Vandals and Alani joined by Suevi, who, crossing the Rhine on the last day of the year, established themselves in the defenceless Province.[1]

Barbaric invasion of Gaul.

Cut off from communication with Italy the Romans in Britain had to act for themselves; and, accordingly, the troops at once proclaimed one Marcus Emperor. Being found unequal to the situation he was assassinated[2]; and another Emperor, Gratian by name, was set up in his stead; but he too, being found wanting, shared the same fate within four months' time.

Ephemeral Emperors in Britain.

Marcus, Gratian.

It may be conjectured that the troops quarrelled with these rulers for adopting an Insular policy, too contracted to please Roman ideas. At any rate their next choice, a third Constantine, as if profiting by experience, immediately took the British army into Gaul.[3]

Constantine III.

Like Maximus, Constantine III. at first achieved remarkable success. The Gauls flocked to his standard; and he inflicted a considerable defeat on the Vandals, driving them across the Rhine. Advancing southward down the Rhone his forces had to encounter Sarus, the Goth, sent against them by Stilicho, who was not prepared to surrender Gaul to Constantine. Sarus defeated Justinian, one of Constantine's generals; and assassinated Neviogastes, another general, at a conference under flag of truce. His next move was to besiege Constantine himself in the town of Valence. After seven days the tables were turned by some mysterious revulsion, and Sarus had to raise the siege and retreat across the Alps with loss of all his baggage.

His Successes.

Gaul.

Gaul, from the Channel to the Pyrenees, now lay at the feet of Constantine III.[4] But, as if that was not enough, he went on to conquer Spain, sending his eldest son Constans to reduce the Peninsula, which was ruled in the Honorian interest by four brothers, members of the Imperial family. Spain must have been denuded of troops, as the brothers could only bring hasty domestic levies into the field. Constans triumphed over these, driving two of the brothers out of the country, and bringing the other two back to Gaul as captives.[5]

Spain.

This expansion of territory ultimately involved Constantine in ruin.

[1] See Gibbon, IV. 36–39, and 46–51. Hodgkin, *Italy*, I. 280–312; Zosimus, VI. 3; *M.H.B.*, lxxviii.

[2] A.D. 406? Olympiodorus, *Hist.*, p. 179 (ed. 1653). *M.H.B.*, lxxv. "Floruit Olympiodorus ineunte sæculo quinto."

[3] A.D. 407. Zosimus, VI., c. 2; Prosper Aquit.; *M.H.B.*, lxxvii., lxxxii.

[4] A.D. 407. Zosimus, VI. 2, 3; Olympiodorus, *sup.*

[5] 408. Gibbon, IV. 55; Zosimus, c. 4, 5; Orosius, VII., c. 40; *M.H.B.*, lxxx.

Negotiations were opened with Honorius, who, being pressed by the second advance of Alaric into Italy, and anxious to save the lives of his relatives, condescended to recognise Constantine, sending him the purple robe. Meanwhile, however, the two captives, Didymius and Verinianus, had been sacrificed; and a real accord with the House of Theodosius made impossible.[1]

For three years more Constantine III. struggled on, the ground gradually slipping from under his feet. During the years 409 and 410 Italy was in the hands of Alaric; and Honorius could take no steps against the usurper beyond urging the Britons to revolt,[2] a suggestion on which we are told that they were not slow to act. Constans was sent by his father to rule in Spain; but unfortunately he attempted to supersede his chief captain, Gerontios, a Briton, who had done the fighting in 408. Gerontios drew the sword against Constans, upset him, put him to death and set up a puppet of his own, one Maximus, and then carrying the war into Gaul, he broke up the government of Constantine. Fresh barbaric hordes at once pressed in from beyond the Rhine.

The drama closed in 411. Alaric was dead; his successor, Ataulphus, left Honorius more free to act. The Emperor's chief minister and general, Count Constantius, was sent across the Alps: he besieged Constantine in Arles, took him prisoner, and carried him off to Ravenna to be beheaded. Gerontios fell a victim to his own unruly soldiers; while the puppet Maximus was allowed to retire into oblivion in Spain.[3]

End of Constantine III.

No attempt was made either to set up a new Emperor within Britain or to assert any Imperial authority over it from without the Island. It was allowed to drift away on its own course, and so the Roman domination came to an end 367 years after the landing of Claudius.

The Greek historian Zosimus represents the Britons at the last as expelling the Roman officials. But in fact 'it was not Britain that gave up Rome, but Rome that gave up Britain.'[4] The Britons were too helpless and dependent to rise against their masters. The Roman system had destroyed in the subject races not only all sense of nationality, but even "the remembrance of past independence."[5] It had destroyed all individuality, and with it all capacity for self-help. "Grinding taxation" had destroyed capital and crushed industry. For lack of life-supporting callings popu-

End of Roman Occupation.

The later Government.

[1] A.D. 408; Autumn?; Zosimus, V. 43; VI. 1, 5.

[2] Zosimus, VI. 10. The letters appear to have been sent while Attalus was ruling as nominee of Alaric, that would be Oct. 409 to July 410?

[3] Zosimus, VI. 5, 6; Prosper Aquit.; Orosius, VII. 42. Maximus was still living when he wrote. See also Hodgkin's *Italy*, I. 350, 406. Spain had now been overrun and occupied by the Vandals.

[4] Mommsen, V. 177.

[5] Sir J. R. Seeley, *Lectures and Essays*, p. 37.

lation dwindled. "Men of property everywhere were, so to speak, chained to the spot where they lived, that the vulture of taxation might prey upon their vitals; the peasantry were in like manner appropriated and enslaved to military service."[1]

Oppressive Taxation.

From the first the Roman government had been irresponsible and irresistible: taxation had always been heavy. The administrative reforms of Diocletian and Constantine, introduced for political reasons, had added greatly to the efficiency of the government: but they also added to the weight of the *incubus* on the land. "The army of officials might be necessary to carry on the government but they ruined the people."[2]

The mere enumeration of the taxes as established from the time of Diocletian will speak for itself. Landowners paid a state-rent or land-tax on their estates (*tributum*); the soil of the conquered provinces being held in theory to have been forfeited to Rome. The amount in early times was a tenth of the annual produce (*decumæ*); but in later times we are told that it might run from one-fifth to one-seventh, paid either in kind or in money, on the estimated value of the land.[3] A tenth or even a fifth would not seem a heavy rent, but it would be a heavy land-tax. In mediæval days the English Parliament thought itself very liberal if it granted from time to time a tenth from the boroughs and a fifteenth from the counties, as an extraordinary 'subsidy,' and lucky was the king who could get it.[4]

Land.

Under the Romans the landowner was also liable to find corn for the troops (*Annona*);[5] he was bound to entertain officials on their journeys;[6] and he had to keep up the roads and bridges.[7]

As the landowner paid on the produce of his land, so traders (*negotiatores*) were taxed on their stock-in-trade.[8] Estates above a certain value were liable to a Succession Duty of 5 per cent. (*vicesima hereditatum*). Handicraftsmen and labourers paid poll-tax (*capitatio*)[9]: artisans were forbidden to change their callings, lest they might evade their poll-tax. It is said that Caligula

Trade.

Labour.

[1] Seeley, *sup.*, 56, 57. The *decuriones*, or men of landed property, who formed the *senatus* of the municipal towns, were responsible for the taxes; they could neither resign their functions, sell their land, nor even absent themselves without leave. See the *Codex Just.*, X. tit. xxxi. and xxxiii.; Guizot, *Civil. France*, Lect. II. p. 67, ed. 1829.

[2] Seeley, *sup.*, 70.

[3] So Hyginus, *De Limitibus*, p. 198, ed. 1674; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, II. 216.

[4] See "Lancaster and York." [5] Marquardt, *sup.*, 224, *passim*.

[6] *Cod. Just.*, X. xlii. 3, ed. Beck.

[7] *Id.*, XI. lxv. 1, lxxv. 4. *Novellæ*, CXXXI. c. 5. Mr. Coote also cites *Tabula Heracleensis*, Blondeau, II. 81.

[8] The amount would seem to have been an eighth, or 12½ per cent. "Omne genus hominum quod commerciis voluerit interesse. . . . octavas more solito consuetas dependat." *Cod. Justin*, IV. lxi. 7.

[9] Marquardt, *sup.*, 227, 231, 258. Two women apparently reckoned as one man: in

had proposed to tax street porters (*geruli*) to the extent of an eighth of their earnings. Caligula was a madman, but the proposal to lay a tax of 12½ per cent. on the roughest kind of manual labour seems astounding.

Customs (*portoria*) were charged on all imports and exports passing in or out of certain fiscal districts, of which Britain must have been one:

Customs. **Market Dues.** 12½ per cent. (*octava*) was the rate in the latter days. One per cent. was paid on all produce sold in the market (*centesima rerum venalium*); 4 per cent. being charged on the price of slaves as an article of luxury.[1] It was to facilitate the collection of these imposts that fairs and markets were instituted,[2] on the principle of the mediæval Staples. We need not again point out how much the weight of these burdens would be aggravated by the fact that the taxes were collected, and the country administered by aliens, irresponsible satraps, armed with irresistible power, and, presumably, anxious to make money and retire. The frequent references to lands at one time under cultivation, but then lying waste, speak forcibly of decay.[3]

It has always been recognised that the Roman occupation of Britain was essentially military. Even the civil officials of the later Empire bore military titles, and their admirable roads, however useful in other respects also, were laid down for military purposes. The inscriptions found in Britain are few compared with those found in other countries;[4] and they give no evidence of any real municipal life. Only four cities can be shewn to have received the higher municipal franchise, that of *Coloniæ*, namely *Camulodunum* (Colchester), *Glevum* (Gloucester), *Lindum* (Lincoln), and *Eboracum* (York).[5] The towns must have been essentially camps or forts—*castra*—down to the time of the Anglo-Saxon settlements.[6] Of 135 places recorded either in the Antonine Itinerary or the *Notitia*, only forty-six lived to become towns of any note. But these no doubt include most of our old borough towns.

Military Character of Roman Occupation.

"The language and manners of Italy must have been even more exotic here than on the continent";[7] yet we are in possession of facts which

course of time the government had to content itself with one payment from three or four souls.

[1] Marquardt, *sup.*, 229–269; and Mr. T. W. Arnold's *Roman Provincial Administration*.

[2] *Codex Just.*, IV. lx. and lxi. 5; Pearson.

[3] *e.g. Id.*, XI. lix.; "Agros domino cessante desertos.'

[4] Compare the 1,400 British inscriptions in Hübner's *C. I. L.* with the 5,000 from Spain, and the 8,000 from Africa.

[5] See *C. I. L.*, VII., Nos. 54, 189, 284, and above for Camulodunum.

[6] The ever recurring A. S. "chester" must have been formed directly from *castra*, and not from the Welsh *caer*. [7] Mommsen, V. 176.

seem to prove that in the later times of the occupation and long afterwards the landed gentry at any rate, spoke Latin, and called themselves by Latin names, up to the banks of the Clyde.[1] On the other hand of native industries we hear nothing beyond agriculture and mining.[2] The remains of public buildings which have been discovered are paltry: villas or private residences of Roman citizens have been found in great numbers along the lines of the roads, especially in the Southern districts. Some of these must have been magnificent; but with respect to the majority of them archæologists are in doubt whether they were not simply built of timber on solid foundations.[3] For trunk lines of communication the system of roads was complete, extending to the utmost corners of Cornwall and Wales:[4] the bridges appear to have served the Anglo-Saxons all their time.[5] Latin, as a spoken language, must have lingered on for an indefinite period; but all culture and civilization speedily disappeared, as is proved by the low ebb to which the arts of making pottery and glass, and the art of making or rather imitating coins at once sank after the departure of the Romans.[6] On the other hand the native Fauna and Flora must have received some valuable additions. Among these we may notice the plane, chestnut, walnut, English elm, lime, and poplar,[7] which are believed to date from Roman times, as do the fallow deer and the rabbit; the cherry and the vine; the radish and the pea.[8] Abiding traces of the Roman occupation may also be found in the customs connected with the tenure and cultivation of the soil, a domain in which use and want exhibit a surprising vitality. Thus along with their roads and bridges and their fortifications the Romans appear to have bequeathed to their successors the principle of making the maintenance of these works a primary burden on land. Lastly the agricultural

Plants and Animals Introduced.

[1] See the Confessions of St. Patrick as given below; and the monumental stone found near the Kirk of Yarrow to the memory of the sons of "Nudi Dumnogeni" a native prince, inscribed in Latin. For Latin in Wales see the bilingual inscription, (in Roman and Ogham letters) from Castell Dwyran, MEMORIA VOTEPORIGIS PROTICTORIS. "Protector" was a complementary title given to native chiefs. F. Haverfield, *Academy*.

[2] For Roman ingots or pigs of metal found, see *C. I. L.*, VII., Nos. 1196, etc.: also Wright's *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, ch. VII. Mines of lead, iron, coal, and jet are mentioned by Bæda; and may be regarded as legacies from Roman times.

[3] See Wright, *sup.*, 188, and the description of the villas at Woodchester in Gloucestershire, and Bognor in Sussex, comparing p. 163.

[4] For Cornish Roads, see Elton, 346. In Wales a Roman road is traceable down to the sea-shore at St. David's. For inscriptions found in Wales, see J. O. Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliæ*.

[5] Wright, *sup.*, 187.

[6] *Id.*, 212, 420, 421, 426, 435.

[7] Nisbet, *British Forest Trees*, citing Loudon, *Arboretum*.

[8] Pearson, I. 56. Cæsar's statement that the beech and fir were unknown (*B.G.*, V. 12) cannot be accepted: the Scotch fir and beech are indigenous, as well as the oak, ash, birch, wych elm, and some sorts of willow, Nisbet, *sup.*

The Colonus or Predial Serf.

serf of later times, attached to the soil and irremovable from it, not a slave nor yet a freeman, a man who had rights and could acquire property, looks very like a survival of the Roman *colonus*.[1]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII.

LIST OF CHIEF ROMAN STATIONS STILL EXISTING AS MODERN TOWNS.

(From the Antonine Itinerary; the Notitia Utriusque Imperii; and the Geography of Ptolemy, as given in the M.H.B. For the identification of the sites, see generally Pearson's Historical Maps of England [1869] Index Geographicus.)

Aliona or Alona	= Ambleside?
Anderida	= Pevensey or Eastbourne.
Aquæ Sulis	= Bath.
Ariconium	= Ross in Herefordshire.
Bannaventum	= Daventry or Weedon.
Blestium	= Monmouth.
Borium	= Beeston.
Burrium	= Usk in Monmouthshire.
Cæsaromagum	= Chelmsford, or Writtle, or Widford in Essex.
Calcaria	= Tadcaster.
Camboricum	= Cambridge.
Camulodunum or Colonia	= Colchester.
Causennæ	= Ancaster.
Clausentum	= Bittern or Old Southampton.
Coccium	= Ribchester in Lancashire.
Corinium or Durocornovium	= Cirencester.
Danum	= Doncaster.
Deva	= Chester.
Dubris	= Dover.
Durnonovaria or Durnovaria	= Dorchester in Dorsetshire.
Durobrivæ (1)	= Rochester.
Durobrivæ (2)	= Water Newton or Caistor on the Nen.
Durocobrivæ	= Fenny Stratford?
Durolipons	= Godmanchester.
Durolitum	= Leyton or Rumford in Essex.
Eboracum	= York.
Glevum	= Gloucester.
Gobannium	= Abergavenny.
Isca Silurum	= Caerleon-upon-Usk.
Isca Damnoniorum	= Exeter.
Ischalis	= Ilchester.
Lactodorum	= Towchester or Stony Stratford.
Lagecium	= Castleford in Yorkshire.
Lemanis Portus	= Lympne or Lymne in Kent.
Lindum	= Lincoln.
Londinium	= London.
Longovicus	= Lancaster.
Luguvallium or Luguvallum	= Carlisle.
Magiovinium or Magiovintum	= Dunstable?
Mancunium	= Manchester.
Maridunum or Muridunum	= Caermarthen.
Orrhea	= Perth (J. H. R.).

[1] For an exhaustive treatise on the Roman *colonus*, see Fustel de Coulanges, *Problèmes d'Histoire*. In Gaul he traces the same land system obtaining after the fall of the Empire as before it, pp. 130, 145.

Pons Œlii.	= Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Pontes	= Staines?
Portus Magnus	= Porchester or Portsmouth.
Ratæ	= Leicester.
Regulbium	= Reculver in Kent.
Salinæ	= Nantwich in Cheshire.
Spinæ	= Speen in Berkshire.
Venta Belgarum	= Winchester.
Venta Icenorum	= Caistor near Norwich.
Venta Silurum	= Caergwent in Monmouthshire.
Verulamium	= St. Albans.
Vindomora	= Ebchester [1] in Northumberland.

[1] So named after St. Ebb ("Æbbe"), who is said to have been established there at one time.

CHAPTER VIII

The British Church—St. Ninian—St. Patrick—Pelagius—Britain from the end of the Roman occupation to the landing of Hengist.

(A.D. 411–450.)

BETWEEN the age of the Antonines and the age of Constantine[1] a great revolution had come over the spiritual life of the Empire.

Religious Movements.

The political languor of the age of the Antonines was not compensated by any intellectual or speculative activity. At the close of the third century we are further than ever from political liberty; yet "we find ourselves in an age when ideas, good and bad, have an overmastering influence, and when, in particular, the sense of religion is more universal and more profound than it had ever been in the world before. Thoughts, reasonings, controversies, which in the age of the Antonines had been but languid in the schools, had now made their way into the world, and lived with an intense life. . . . Under the iron military rule human will and character begin to live again. Violent passions surge again, party divisions reappear, acts of free choice are done, men fight once more for a cause, once more choose leaders and follow them faithfully, and reward them with immortal fame. The trance of human nature is over, men are again busy and at work in spite of tyranny and misery." "The force of Theology" has done this: "an age of faith" has set in. Liberty "expelled from the State" has "reappeared in the church."[2]

From the period we have reached, for centuries onwards, if Britain "can properly be said to have an history at all" it will be only in connexion with the Church.

The Church in Britain.

Throughout the Empire Christianity "had been tolerated, with few intermissions, from the time when Hadrian had found a kindly excuse for the Christians by classing them with the worshippers of his favourite Serapis."[3] Tertullian, writing about the year 208, claims the unruly Britons as subjects of Christ: the claim is reasserted by Origen in 239.[4] At any rate by the year 300 it would seem that there was a Christian Church in Britain.[5] It has been generally held on the

[1] Say A.D. 180–306. [2] Sir J. R. Seeley, *Lectures and Essays*, 79–88.

[3] Elton, *Origins*, 348; and the authorities there given. For inscriptions to Serapis in Britain, see *C. I. L.*, VII. Nos. 240, 298.

[4] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils, etc.*, I. 3.

[5] *Id.*, p. 4, citing Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.*, I. 6.

authority of Gildas, who wrote about the year 560, that the great persecution of Diocletian extended to Britain, and that the British proto-martyr, St. Alban of Verulam, with Aaron and Julius of Caerleon and others suffered at that time.[1] The authority of Gildas as to events anterior to his own time may be estimated by the fact that he represents the *murus* of Septimius, and the *vallum* of Hadrian, if not that of Antoninus also, to have been the work of the Britons after the departure of the Romans. With respect to the persecution his allegations are "conclusively contradicted" by the authorities of the time, who tell us that Constantius gave little effect to the edicts of Diocletian, and that in Gaul and Britain no violence was offered to the persons of the Christians, though the churches were destroyed.[2] But the memory of St. Alban was still fresh in the year 429 when St. Germanus opened his tomb: the fact of his martyrdom therefore can hardly be doubted. We may suppose, either that he fell a victim to some popular outbreak, for which Constantius was not responsible; or that he was put to death in some earlier persecution.[3]

St. Alban.

In the year 314 three British bishops assisted at the council of Arles, namely, Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelfius, whose see is doubtful.[4]

British Bishops.

Throughout the Arian controversy Britain seems to have followed the teaching of St. Athanasius, giving its adhesion to the decisions of the Councils of Nice (A.D. 325), and Sardica (A.D. 347); but with some hesitation about the term Ὁμοούσιος. British bishops were certainly present at the Council of Ariminum (A.D. 359); three of their number being obliged from poverty to accept an allowance from the Emperor.[5]

But the spiritual life of Britain at the close of the Roman dominion comes out most clearly in connexion with the names of three distinguished men all living at the same time. St. Ninian, Pelagius, and St. Patrick; two of them missionaries, the third a heresiarch, between them representing the practical and speculative aspects of religion.

[1] Gildas, *Hist.*, c. VIII.; *M. H. B.*, p. 8.

[2] See Haddan and Stubbs, *sup.*, 4–7, and the extracts there given from Lactantius, Eusebius, and Sozomen. The persecution began with the first edict of Diocletian in February 303. If Alban suffered during that period, it must have been in 304, as the persecution was not extended to laymen "such as Albanus is represented to have been" till the fourth edict, in 304; while the persecution in Britain must have ceased altogether in 305, when Diocletian abdicated.

[3] So apparently the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the *Liber Landavensis*, which date his martyrdom in 286, Haddan and Stubbs, *sup.*

[4] The best MS. reads "De Civitate Colonia Londinensium," for which Haddan and Stubbs would read "Legionensium," = Caerleon-on-Usk, p. 7. Another MS. reads "ex civitate Culnia." I would read "Lindicolensium," or "Lindiculnia" = Lincoln, which was a Colony, and a more likely place for a bishopric than Caerleon.

[5] Haddan and Stubbs, *sup.*, 7–10.

St. Ninian may have been born between the years 360 and 370: he was a native of the South-West of Scotland, probably of Galloway, the seat of his later bishopric. His father is described as a man of considerable position, a chief or prince (*rex*) and a Christian. The son went to Rome; was consecrated Bishop by Pope Siricius—probably a bishop of Valentia—and on his way home visited St. Martin, at Tours, from whom he obtained masons to build him a church of stone and lime, after the Roman fashion, in contradistinction to the churches of the native pattern, "creel" churches, built of wicker-work and mud. Ninian's church was duly built at *Candida Casa*, Whithern in Galloway, a work of great interest, and dedicated to St. Martin, who must therefore have been then dead. His death happened between the years 397 and 401, and that gives us the only fixed point in Ninian's career. Working northwards from his see in Galloway, he carried the Gospel across the Forth, preaching to the 'Southern Picts,' defined by Bæda as the dwellers among and, as presumably we might add, along the southern slopes of the great Northern hills, the range in modern parlance called the Grampians.[1] It would also seem that Ninian founded a church at Cluain Conaire in Leinster, where he was commemorated as "Monenn," *i.e.* Nenn or Ninian with the honorary prefix "Mo" 'My.'[2] His memory has stamped itself on the traditions of the South-West and North-East of Scotland. He must have died before the year 432: he was buried in his own church at Whithern.[3]

St. Ninian.

Church at Whithern.

Pelagius again was probably born about 370. He is generally called a Briton, but one writer of his time (St. Jerome) calls him a Scot. This may suggest a connexion with the south-west of modern Scotland. The name Pelagius used to be regarded as a mere translation of the Welsh name Morgan (*Marigena*, Πελάγιος), but this is now doubted. He went to Rome and lived there apparently from 401 to 409, returning to Africa at the approach of Alaric. A man of high character and a moral reformer, he laid great stress upon conduct: rejecting all predestination he insisted on the freedom of the human will: he denied the doctrine of "original sin," maintaining that infant baptism was to be practised, not for the remission of sin, which the child could not have

Pelagius.

[1] "Australes Pictos qui intra eosdem montes habent sedes." *Hist. Eccl.*, III. c. 4.

[2] Skene, *Celtic S.*, II. 3.

[3] See Bæda, *Hist. Eccl.*, III. c. 4; and Ninian's Life by Ailred of Rievaulx (12th century), in J. Pinkerton's *Vitæ SS. Scotiæ* (ed. W. M. Metcalfe, 1889); Haddan and Stubbs, *sup.*, 14; Dr. Gammack's Article in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*; and Bishop Forbes' *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 421. Old dedications to St. Ninian, otherwise Rinnan, or Ringan, are found in Lothian, Stirling, Ayrshire, Perthshire, Fife, Kincardineshire, etc. In Peebleshire two streams of traditional reminiscences meet; one from the S.W., connected with St. Ninian, the other from the S.E., connected with St. Cuthberht.

committed, "but for the sake of obtaining a higher sanctification through union with Christ." In 412 his follower Celestius was accused before a Synod at Carthage on a charge of denying original sin. He was also taxed with teaching that Adam was created liable to death; that he would have died whether he had sinned or not; and that his sin hurt himself only, and not his descendants.[1] In the opposition to these views leading parts were taken by St. Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo, and St. Jerome, Bishop of Bethlehem. Orosius the Spanish writer was also active against the Pelagians. Their tenets were condemned by a 2nd Synod held at Carthage in 416; by Innocent, the Bishop of Rome, in 417; and again by another Synod at Carthage in 418; the action of the Church being now followed up by edicts of confiscation and banishment against all Pelagians issued by Honorius and Theodosius II. From this time Pelagius disappears from history. He is supposed to have died in Palestine about the age of 70. His teaching had made a deep impression in Italy, Gaul, and Britain; but his views were condemned and are still condemned by Church writers as tending "to revive pagan modes of thought"; and "evacuating Christianity of all its spiritual and supernatural elements."[2]

St. Germanus. The spread of Pelagianism in Britain, under the teaching of one Agricola, son of a Pelagian Bishop Severianus, gained for the island the honour of a visit from St. Germanus the Bishop of Auxerre, to which we shall refer again (A.D. 429). The action of Germanus was prompted we are told by Pope Celestine; his intervention again having been invited by the deacon Palladius, doubtless a Briton, who himself two years later was entrusted by Celestine with an episcopal mission to the Scots, *i.e.* the Irish (A.D. 431).[3] Palladius went to Ireland, but proved unfitted for the work: he made no impression on the Irish. Returning to North Britain he preached with more success to the Picts, and eventually died at Fordun in the Mearns (Kincardineshire).[4]

Palladius.

St. Patrick. Of St. Patrick, "Patricius," or, as the name must have been pronounced, "Patrikius," we have personal records in two compositions at any rate that have come down to us from his pen, namely his *Confession* and the *Epistle to the Christian Subjects of Coroticus*.[5] Both writings are of extreme interest, if only as being the earliest prose that

[1] See the summary given by Prosper of Aquitaine under the year 413. *M. H. B.*, lxxxii.

[2] See Dr. W. Ince's article on Pelagius in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and the authorities there given; also Haddan and Stubbs, *sup.*, 15.

[3] Prosper of Aquitaine, *sup.*; Haddan and Stubbs, I. 15, 16.

[4] *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* (ed. Whitley Stokes, Rolls Series), pp. 272, 332, 419; citing *Irish Nennius*, p. 106 (ed. Todd).

[5] Coroticus is identified with the "Coirthech regem Aloo" of Muirchu, the biographer of St. Patrick. If so he was prince of Dumbarton. W. Stokes, *Trip. Life*, 271, citing Sir Samuel Ferguson. "Aloo" we must take for a corrupt form of Alclyth = Dumbarton.

can be attributed to a native of these islands.[1] The epistle is a remonstrance addressed to Romano-Britons, countrymen of the writer, reproaching them for making war on Christian Irishmen, Patrick's men, carrying off their goods, killing some, and selling others as slaves to unconverted Scots and apostate Picts. The Confession is an *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, addressed to his friends in Britain,[2] and explaining his position with reference to the central event of his life, namely his episcopate and mission and the initial difficulties that he had to contend with.

For Patrick was not one of those men who are called to greatness by the voice of their age. On the contrary, his mission was opposed on all hands, apparently on account of his defective education;[3] and was only carried out by his own indomitable faith and purpose. His Confession therefore is a spiritual autobiography of singular interest.

His Early Life.

The few facts that he records about his birth and parentage are pregnant with information. At the age of sixteen he was carried off from his father's farm at *Bannavem Taberniæ*, and sold into Ireland,[4] 'with thousands of others,' a Celtic hyperbole. *Bannavem* has not been identified; it may have been the mouth of a stream; but it is generally admitted to have been situate in basin of the Clyde.[5] Patrick goes on to say that he was the son of one Calpornius a deacon; who was son of one Potitus; who again was son of Odissus a priest.[6] Elsewhere he adds that his father was a *decurio*, and that he himself forfeited the privileges of his birth (*nobilitatem*) by taking Holy Orders. From this we learn that the Latin language and a Christian Church[7] had been established on the banks of the Clyde for at least three generations before the times of Patrick. We also learn that the British clergy were not restrained from marriage, while the use of the word *decurio* would imply that the Roman municipal system was established in the same district. It certainly proves that Roman custom had supplanted native custom; a fact not to be gathered elsewhere.[8]

[1] Besides these a fine hymn is ascribed to St. Patrick and certain "Dicta Patricii"; *Trip. Life*, 49, 301.

[2] "Opto fratribus et cognatis meis scire qualitatem meam," etc., *Id.*, 359.

[3] "Multi banc legationem prohibebant, . . . Non ut causa malitiæ; sed propter rusticitatem meam," p. 371. Again "Ego peccator rusticissimus," "rusticus profliga," "rusticationem ab Altissimo creatam," etc.

[4] "Hyberione" (*indecl.*); this is the form used throughout by Patrick, a Welsh form, as I am informed by Mr. Rhys.

[5] Cf. the tradition representing Patrick to have been born at Nemthor, otherwise Ail Cluade, otherwise Dunbarton; *Trip. Life*, 413: also the extract, 494.

[6] *Confession*; *Trip. Life*, 357.

[7] See also the reference to the *Sacerdotes*, the ministering clergy of his country, *Ib.*

[8] Patrick's use of the word *decurio* may be taken in a general sense, just as his reference to his own loss of *status* by taking Holy Orders must be taken in a general sense. His father was a *decurio* though a deacon. It would seem that the tonsure "as a mild form of mutilation" was a symbol of servitude, the priest becoming *servus Dei*; a pagan survival, Rhys, *C. B.*, 72.

In Ireland Patrick became the property of a chief, Miliuc by name,[1] who set him to keep his swine[2] on 'the Mountain of Miss,' *i.e.* *Sliab Miss*, now Slemish in Antrim.[3] Six years Patrick served there.

Captivity.

Hitherto Patrick, according to his own account, had led a careless, boyish life. In the loneliness of his captivity the Lord 'opened his eyes of unbelief' (*aperuit sensum incredulitatis*); and he gave himself to fasting and prayer. One night he heard a voice[4] in a dream, 'Thy ship is ready.'

Spiritual Change.

In the life of Patrick, as in those of St. Dunstan, Joan of Arc, and other highly-strung natures, dreams played an important part.

Obedient to the warning, Patrick made his way to the coast, as he seems to say, a distance of 200 miles. Sure enough a ship was there. After some demur the captain took him on board. The crew proved to be heathen, and Patrick tells us that at first he hesitated to fraternize with them.[5] After three (?) days' sail they landed, and then ensued a journey of eight-and-twenty days through desert places.[6] On the way provisions failed; their dogs, one by one, dropped down to die for want of food. Patrick's companions taunted him, 'How now, Christian, where is thy God? where are thy prayers?'[7] 'Nay!' retorted he, 'turn in faith to the Lord, and ye may yet be saved.' Patrick was justified: a herd of swine came across their path, and all feasted and were refreshed. At last they 'came to men,'[8] that is to say, as we suppose, to men akin to the rovers. But poor Patrick again found himself a slave. The second captivity, however, lasted just sixty days, and no more.[9]

Escape.

[1] Muirchu, *Trip. Life*, 275; Tirechan, *Id.*, 302.

[2] Patrick writes "pecora"; but all the Irish traditions agree that the animals that he tended were swine.

[3] "Juxta montem Miss." See the Notes by Muirchu, and the Collections of Tirechan, as preserved in the Book of Armagh, *Trip. Life*, 276, 302. The *Book of Armagh* was transcribed in the year 807. "Muirchu professes to write in obedience to the commands of Bishop Aed of Slethy, who died A.D. 698. . . . Bishop Tirechan is said to have written from the dictation, or copied from a book of bishop Ultan of Ardbraccan, who died A.D. 656." W. Stokes, *Trip. Life*, xci. It may be noted that the *Book of Armagh* suppresses some passages in the Confession thought derogatory to Patrick: these are supplied by other MSS. The Collections of Muirchu and Tirechan, with the Confession and the Epistle, seem the only trustworthy authorities for the life of St. Patrick.

[4] "*Audivi responsum.*" This is the word always used by Patrick for these monitions.

[5] The phrase employed is most primitive, "*Sugere Mammelas eorum.*" *Confession, sup.*, 361, 362. According to Irish tradition, Patrick sailed from the mouth of the Boyne. That would be 100 miles as the crow flies from the place of his captivity in Antrim. Notes on Fiacc's Hymn, *Trip. Life*, 417.

[6] "Per disertum."

[7] "Quid est Christiane? Tu dicis Deus tuus magnus et omnipotens est," etc.

[8] "Pervenimus ad homines."

[9] *Confession*, 362, 363; Muirchu, *sup.*, 269.

Of the nationality of his shipmates, or the lands to which they took him, Patrick tells us not one word; but a journey of eight-and-twenty days through uninhabited country points to the Continent rather than Britain: his own narrative seems to imply the lapse of some years before his return home (*post paucos annos*); and Irish tradition informs us that in fact he wandered for seven years in Gaul and Italy.[1] It may be that during this period he took Holy Orders; because he tells us that on his return to his parents after some years, a long struggle[2] ensued over his declared purpose of returning to Ireland as a missionary. His friends protested; while voices from Ireland kept begging him to come over. The use of the word 'boy,' as applied to himself at this time (*Rogamus te sancte puer ut venias*, etc.), implies that he was still quite a young man; but it is not incompatible with the view that he may have been about thirty years old when he returned home.[3] If so a further period of fifteen years and upwards must have elapsed before he attained to the episcopate.

Missionary Purpose.

His friends eventually sent him to St. Germanus, in Gaul, to obtain a sanction for his mission. He was met by the news that Palladius had been appointed by Celestine to the Irish mission (A.D. 431), and so again his aspirations seemed doomed to be disappointed.[4] It may be, however, that the appointment of Palladius had been brought about by Patrick's agitation for a mission to Ireland. Patrick was still in Gaul, waiting and hoping, when reports of the failure and death of Palladius were received;[5] and then his instances could no longer be withstood. A friend, in fact one whom he describes as his greatest friend (*amicissimus meus*), to whom he had opened his very soul (*cui ego credidi etiam animam*), promised to consecrate him; and did, in fact, 'designate' him as bishop.[6]

Opposition encountered.

[1] *Confession*, 364; Tirechan, *sup.*, 302.

[2] "Deo gratias quia post plurimos annos præstitit illis (sc. the Irish) secundum clamorem eorum," *Conf.*, *sup.*

[3] So the Brussels MS. of Muirchu, *Trip. Life*, 496. Besides the notes above quoted from Tirechan, Muirchu gives a further fact, on the authority of Bishop Ultan, that Patrick was in an island "*quæ dicitur Aralanensis*" (qy. *Arelatensis* = *Arles?*) "*annis xxx.*' If this means that Patrick was thirty years at Arles or anywhere else on the Continent it cannot be reconciled with Patrick's own *data*; but it may mean that he was there in his thirtieth year, p. 302.

[4] Muirchu, 270, 272, 496. The *Confession* gives no hint of this episode, or of anything connected with Palladius. Nothing is said of Patrick in the *Life of Germanus*, by Constantius, of Lyons, written about forty years after the death of Germanus, nor in the metrical rendering of that Life, by Hericus or Hiericus, written 860-870; *Acta SS.*, XXXIX. 213, 234, 31st July. But a supplementary prose *Life of Germanus*, apparently written by the same Hericus, states that Patrick did study with Germanus for eighteen (?) years, and that Germanus had the highest opinion of him. *Id.*, p. 270.

[5] Muirchu, *sup.*

[6] "'Etiam mihi ipse ore suo dixerat,' 'Ecce, dandus es tu ad gradum episcopatus,'" *Confession*, 366.

But the 'rhetoricians'[1] were still hostile; and produced a last and most unkind objection, based on some trespass committed by Patrick thirty years previously, when he was barely fifteen years old, before he had been carried off to Ireland, before his faith had been enlightened by suffering. The transgression had been disclosed by Patrick in confession before taking deacon's orders; and, apparently, to this same 'dearest friend.'[2] By this man we must understand Germanus, though the part ascribed to him does not seem creditable. The offence of poor Patrick had clearly become known through him, in one way or another; and when the objection was raised he allowed it at once.[3]

A cruel objection.

Patrick thought himself lost, once and for ever (*ut caderem hic et in æternum*), when a timely vision finally turned the scale in his favour. He saw a tablet held up before him with a representation of his own face on it, and his name written beneath, but without episcopal title. Then came a Voice, 'The face of the Designate with only his bare name pleases us not.'[4] 'Mark,' says Patrick to his friends, 'he said not "pleases you not," but "pleases Us not," making himself one with me.

A Vision.

How or by whom Patrick was ultimately consecrated bishop remains a complete mystery. Two traditions on the subject were current from an early period. According to the one Germanus sent him to the Pope, given as Celestine, with a personal recommendation entrusted to one Segetius, a presbyter. From Celestine Patrick would have received his mission.[5] But Celestine died in the year 432, before the failure of Palladius could well have been ascertained.

Ordained at last.

According to the other account, Patrick's friends took him to one Amatorex, by whom he was consecrated without further ado.[6] Whoever

[1] "Et vos Domini ignari rethorici audite," etc. *Conf.*, 360.

[2] "Nam post annos triginta invenerunt me et adversus verbum quod confessus fueram ante quod essem diaconus. Propter anxietatem mesto animo insinuavi amicissimo meo quæ in pueritia mea una die gesseram . . . . Nescio, Deus scit, si habebam tunc annos quindecim, etc." On this single reference to the lapse of a period of thirty years' rest all the thirty-year periods—four at last—introduced into Patrick's life, by which it was brought up to the space of 120 years; namely, thirty years of early life, thirty years in Gaul, and twice thirty years in Ireland.

[3] See Patrick's bitter complaint of his friend's change of attitude, "Sed unde venit illi post modum ut coram cunctis bonis et malis in me puplice dehonestaret quod ante sponte at letus indulserat?" *Conf.*, 366.

[4] "Vidi in visu noctis scriptum erat contra faciem meam sine honore, . . . Male vidimus faciem designati nudato nomine," *Ib.*

[5] So Tirechan, 332; and Hericus, *sup.*, p. 270, quoting "Gesta" Patricii. Muirchu also distinctly records a recommendation to the Pope by Germanus, through "Segitius," p. 272, though he goes on to record the alternative story of consecration by Amatorex.

[6] Muirchu, *sup.* Later writers combined the two accounts, making Patrick to have been ordained by Amatorex in the presence of Celestine. Notes on Fiacc's Hymn, *Trip. Life*, 421. The name Amatorex does not inspire confidence. St. Amator was Bishop of Auxerre before Germanus.

consecrated him it is clear that he was helped with friends and assistance from Gaul.[1]

Patrick returned to Ireland never to leave it again. He landed at the mouth of the river Vartry, "Where the town of Wicklow now stands."

Mission to Ireland.

We cannot follow him in his missionary career. It is enough to say that in the course of thirty years and upwards he traversed the whole of Ireland, baptising converts, ordaining clergy, and consecrating monks and nuns. It is clear that although not himself a monk his sympathies were monastic, and that he imparted a monastic character to the Irish Church from the first. To him directly or indirectly we must ascribe the unique form of church government, found only in Ireland and places in North Britain, to which it was carried from Ireland, namely, that of "Government by abbots, with bishops as subordinate officers, discharging episcopal functions, but without jurisdiction."

One more incident may be noticed as showing either the scrupulosity or the tact of the man. Almost his first act on entering Ulster was to seek out his old master, Miliuc, in order to tender double the amount of which he had defrauded him by running away.[3]

From one point of view the Confession is disappointing reading. St. Patrick had wandered far and seen much. He could have given us precious notices of the state of Great Britain, Ireland, or Gaul. But nothing had any interest for Patrick that was not connected with his spiritual life and work, and so of mundane things he tells nothing.

Britain abandoned by the Romans soon found itself in a helpless condition. When the army was withdrawn the existing machinery of government fell to the ground. "The old tribal divisions,

Derelict Britain.

which had never been really extinguished by Roman rule, rose from their hiding-places." Mushroom princes sprang up, with the old never-ending squabbles and dissensions.[5] Men of property must soon have found that for them independence meant the loss of everything they had to lose. If an entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle may be trusted, a final exodus of Roman capital took place in the year

[1] Tirechan, 303. [2] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, I. 143.

[3] Tirechan, 275. For the dates of Patrick's life, the primary *datum* is his own statement, above noticed, to the effect that he was forty-five (thirty and fifteen) years old when his claims to an episcopal mission began to be entertained. That must have been immediately after the death of Palladius, say 432 or 433, and that will bring Patrick's birth to the year 387 or 388. Tirechan, p. 303, asserts that Patrick died 436 years after the Passion of Christ, = A.D. 469. The *Annales Cambriæ* and the annals of Ulster place his death in 457. For further details of Patrick's life see Dr. J. Henthorn Todd's work; Professor G. T. Stokes' *Ireland and the Celtic Church*; and his article in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

[4] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, I. 60. Gildas names Constantinus 'tyrant' of Damnonia, and Vortiporius of the Demetæ; *Epistola*, *M. H. B.*, 16, 17.

[5] So Gildas, "augebantur extraneæ clades domesticis motibus." *Hist.*, c. 16; *M. H. B.*, p. 11.

418, the island having already fallen into utter confusion. 'Here (*i.e.* in this year) the Romans gathered all gold-hoards that on Britain were; and some in [the] earth they hidden so that them nane man sythen finden ne might; and some with them onto Gallia they ledden.'[1] It must be added that the "finds" of coin belonging to this period suggest a hasty flight of the rich under some sudden panic.

Britain was a derelict ship, abandoned of her crew. The question was who would take possession? At first it seemed as if the struggle would lie between the Northern tribes and the sea-rovers, both old enemies. But the Picts and Scots failed to establish any settlements on the old Roman territory, unless perhaps between the walls.[2] The prize was reserved for men of sterner stuff and Teutonic blood.

A glimpse of the state of Britain is given us through the mission of St. Germanus already referred to. The mission had been recommended by Pope Celestine at the suggestion of Palladius, and was sanctioned by a Gallic synod (A.D. 429). Bishop Lupus, of Troyes, accompanied Germanus. The two went over in time of winter (A.D. 429–430?), and did something towards their end of winning back the Britons from Pelagianism. In a public disputation held at Verulam they are said to have utterly refuted their adversaries.[3] But the incident with which we are now concerned is the victory gained by the Britons under the leadership of Germanus over a mixed body of Saxons[4] and Picts. The battle was apparently fought on Easter Day,[5] and local tradition places the site at Maes Germon, near Mold, in Flintshire. Germanus, who was an old soldier and sportsman, and who had been a 'duke' before being a bishop, drew up his men in a valley between hills, with ambush parties on the flanking slopes in front.[6] As the enemy advanced to the attack, at a given signal, a triumphant 'Hallelujah!' was raised. The men in ambush joining in, the hills and woods re-echoed the cry. The enemy, panic-stricken, dispersed in flight.[7] The appearance of Saxons and Picts,

Mission of St. Germanus.

Hallelujah Victory.

[1] See the Chronicle in anno. It may be consulted with translations in the *M. H. B.*, or in Dr. Thorpe's ed., Rolls Series, No. 32, or without translation in Mr. Earle's *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel.*

[2] So apparently Gildas, "Aquilonalem extremamque terræ partem pro indigenis muro tenus capessunt," *i.e.* "Scotorum Pictorumque greges," *Hist.*, c. 15, *M. H. B.*

[3] See Haddan and Stubbs, I. 16–18. It was on this occasion that the tomb of St. Alban was visited by Germanus.

[4] The name occurs twice in the narrative of Constantius, and is given by every MS.; also by the metrical rendering of the work by Hericus, *Acta SS.*, XXXIV. b. iv. c. 1.

[5] The bulk of the Britons are said to have been 'baptised' on the day (*madidus baptismate exercitus*). It has been inferred that they had never been baptised before. We would suggest either that they were re-baptised to purge them from Pelagianism, or that the 'baptism' was a ceremonial washing in honour of the day.

[6] "In insidiis constituti."

[7] See Constantius of Lyons, *De Vita Germani*, *Acta SS.*, xxxiv. (31 July), b. I. c. 6.

acting in concert South of the Mersey in the year 429, is a significant fact.[1]

For sixteen years we have nothing on record, except a dim picture of ever-increasing disorder, until even the tillage of the soil began to fail. In 446 a last piteous appeal for help was addressed to Ætius, the Master General of Valentinian III. 'To Ætius thrice consul the groans of the Britons. The barbarians drive us to the sea; the sea drives us back to the barbarians; we are either slaughtered or drowned.'[2]

The 'Groans of the Britons.'

Ætius had done much to restore the Imperial authority in Gaul, but he could extend no help to Britain. The Britons were left to struggle with their own difficulties.

But with all the gloom of their surroundings, perhaps for that very reason, the Britons were still deeply interested in church questions. In 447 the help of St. Germanus was again invoked to quell the tide of Pelagianism. On this occasion he brought with him Severus, recently appointed Bishop of Upper Germany (Germania Prima), with his seat at Trèves. Little is recorded of this mission, which apparently did not travel far inland, probably on account of the state of the country. Germanus, however, advised the Britons to make short work of the heretics by expelling them from their coasts.[3]

Second visit of Germanus.

Some three years later Hengist and Horsa landed in Kent.[4] The fact is put before us almost as if this was the first occasion on which 'Saxons' had been heard of in British history. Of course, for a century and a half the island had been only too familiar with their predatory attacks. The south-eastern seaboard of Great Britain, as well as the opposite coast of Flanders, were known as 'The Saxon Coasts,' the coasts exposed to Saxon landings; and to guard against Saxon piracy was the distinctive duty of the second military officer in Britain, the 'Count of the Saxon Shore.' But if Teutonic rovers were no new sight to Roman or British eyes we may believe that the traditions of the invading race rightly gave the landing of the Jutish chiefs as marking the beginning

Hengist and Horsa.

Permanent Settlements.

His narrative is embodied by Bæda, *H. E.*, I. 20. Constantius wrote 473–492. It is possible that the 18th chapter of Gildas' History may contain a reference to this victory, but it is placed out of date, after the year 446. For the supposed allusion in Gregory I.'s works, see Haddan and Stubbs, III. 14. The allusion is really to St. Augustine's work.

[1] The year 429 is one of the dates given by Nennius, that is to say the date given by one of the authorities worked up by him, as that of the landing of the Anglo-Saxons.

[2] Gildas, *Hist.*, c. 15–19; Bæda, *H. E.*, I. 13; *M. H. B.*, 11, 94, 119. I give the date, as usually given, that of the 3rd consulship of Ætius; I think it more likely, however, that the letter was sent after his 3rd consulship, say, 446–450.

[3] "Ut pravitatis authores expulsi ab insula sacerdotibus adducantur ad mediterranea diferendi." Constantius, *De Vita Germani*; Haddan and Stubbs, I. 13; also given by Bæda, I. 21; and Nennius, c. 30. As Germanus probably died in 448, the date is fixed.

[4] Bæda, *Hist. Eccl.*, I. c. 15, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 449. See more below.

of a new era, that of permanent conquest. The period of desultory ravages was past, the period of agrarian settlement had begun.

We shall find that the first recorded settlements are all placed on the south coast, the history of the northern settlements being left in darkness. This would seem to leave the question of possible earlier settlements on eastern coasts an open one. But the reader must be informed of a fact which will probably be new to most people, namely, that for the ages with which we are now dealing, and for centuries later, the regular course of navigation from North Germany and Denmark to Britain was down the Frisian and Flemish coasts, say to Cape Gris Nez, and from thence over to the Kentish coast. This was the route taken by the great Cnut in his journeys to and from Denmark; this was the route of the Danish armaments sent against England in the time of the Conqueror. From the Kentish coast the fleets might either turn northwards up the east coast, or westwards along the south coast, but Kent was the first place where, in the ordinary course of things, they would enter a British harbour. Of the course of the invading stream of settlers that flowed westwards we shall have some account; of the stream that flowed northwards to East Anglia and Northumbria nothing has come down to us.

CHAPTER IX

Teutonic Settlement of Great Britain—The Jutes, Angles, and Saxons—Course of Conquests on southern, eastern, and northern coasts—The Heptarchy—Independent Celtic Principalities—Ambrosius Aurelianus—The Arthurian Legend

HOWEVER satisfied we may feel of an extensive survival of Celtic population even in the districts properly called "England," we must nevertheless fully admit that we owe all the dominant elements of our blood, our language, and our institutions to the conquering Teutons; and that in the lands occupied by them the pre-existing races, if not exterminated or expelled, were absorbed and assimilated to a surprising extent. This result must be ascribed to the strength of character, pride of race, and tenacious conservatism of the conquerors. They came as armed settlers with their flocks and their herds,[1] their wives and their little ones. They entered at once into the fruits of other men's labours; they found fenced cities that they had not built; roads and bridges that they had not made; fields and meadows that they had not sown.

Races in Britain.

These invaders belonged to three closely-connected nations: the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons; all sprung from the same Low German or Dutch stock, and all speaking dialects of the same old Low German or Dutch tongue.[2]

The Saxons had been known from the time of Ptolemy, who mentions three 'Islands of the Saxons,'[3] apparently referring to the islands at the mouths of the Elbe or Weser. Apart from this indirect notice, the Saxons are first found as settled in modern Hanover and Oldenburg, between the Lower Elbe and Frisia, their borders perhaps extending into Holstein. Their piratical ravages had made them the terror of Western Europe as early as A.D. 287, as we have seen.

The Saxons.

Probably the tribes, known in earlier history as the *Cherusci*, the *Marsi*, the *Dulgebini*, and the *Chauci* may then have passed as Saxons; just as the tribes previously known as the *Sigambri*, the *Salii*, and the *Ubii* came to be classed as Franks. "Whilst the nations on the Lower Rhine were all becoming Franks, those between the Rhine and the Oder were

[1] The bones of the cattle found in the early Anglo-Saxon burials prove them to have been of breeds different from the British breeds. Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, I. 64.

[2] Anglo-Saxon is said to be an amalgamation of broken-up dialects. "There is no proof that it was ever spoken anywhere out of Britain." G. P. Marsh, *Lectures on English Language.*

[3] "Σαξόνων νῆσοι τρεῖς."

becoming Saxons."[1] By the British Celts the name "Sassenach," Saxons, has always been applied to the whole Anglo-Saxon kin.

Of the three invading peoples we shall find the Saxons occupying Britain south of the Thames, *plus* Essex, but *minus* Kent and the parts of Hampshire taken by the Jutes.

North of the Saxon border lay the home of the Angles, established perhaps in Holstein, certainly in Schleswig, where the name "Engeln" still preserves their memory. Ælfred recognised Haithaby, now Schleswig, as the original headquarters of the 'English.'[2] They furnished the largest proportion of the invading hosts, occupying the eastern half of Britain, from the Thames to the Esk, if not to the Forth, and gave their name to England, "Engla-land." The entire nation appears to have come over in the migration; their name disappearing from Continental history. In the time of Bæda their original territory was still lying waste and untenanted, between the Continental Saxons and the Jutes.[3]

The Angles.

The fatherland of these last, therefore, must be placed still further North, in the peninsula that still bears their name, "Jutland." They only came over in small numbers, occupying Kent, parts of Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight.[4]

The Jutes.

Bands of Frisians and other cognate tribes may also perhaps have come over, but of these no definite account can be given.

According to Bæda, our only real authority on this point, the Jutish chiefs Hengist and Horsa landed in Britain in the first year of the joint reign of the Emperors Marcian and Valentinian III.[5] (25th August 450–

[1] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, I. 41. The 'Old Saxony' of Bæda, Alfred, and other old-English writers extended southwards to the Weser and the basin of the Rhine. Lappenberg's *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, I. 87 (*ed.* Thorpe).

[2] So his Orosius, c. 20. Elton's *Origins*, 370, 371.

[3] "Patria quæ Angulus dicitur ab eo tempore usque hodie manere desertus inter provincias Iutarum et Saxonum perhibetur." Bæda, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, I. c. 15 (English Historical Society). This well-known writer was born about the year 674 and died in 734, having spent his life in the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow. See below.

[4] Bæda, *sup.* Archæological research confirms his statements as to the districts occupied by the different nations. One type of brooch or *fibula* is found mostly in Kent and the Isle of Wight; evidently the Jutish brooch: another is found in the Anglic districts; and a third in some of the west-Saxon districts. Wright, *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, 415–418.

[5] *H.E.*, I. 15. Bæda's words in strictness only imply that the landing took place during the joint reign of the two Emperors, *i.e.* 450–455. But it is pretty clear that he meant the first year of the joint reign, and he gives 449 as that year, which is wrong. The A.S. Chronicle copies him. The date in a general way is confirmed by Gildas, who places the landing not long after the appeal made to Ætius, in or after his third consulship, A.D. 446–450. Nennius gives different dates in different places, according to the different authorities copied. One date is 'forty years after the end of the Roman occupation,' c. 28, and *Epitome*; *M.H.B.*, 50, 62. This tallies exactly with the year 450;

24th August, 451).[1] Tradition had it that three *ceols*, or long galleys, conveyed their force.[2] They landed at "Ypwines Fleot," now Ebbsfleet in Thanet, near Minster on the Stour, which was then a navigable estuary, and a favourite entrance to the Thames from the South. The landing-place was well-chosen, as Thanet being in those days a real island, cut off from the mainland by an arm of the sea, could easily be defended by a moderate force.[3]

Settlement in Kent.

Gildas has it that the strangers had been deliberately called in by the 'tyrant' Guthrigernus, duke (*dux*) of the Britons, to resist Northern enemies, whom the writer supposed to be Picts. Nennius, with more probability, tells us that the strangers were roving 'exiles,' and that the first thing they did was to fortify a camp.[4] It seems hardly necessary to point out that if these men had been imported for service against northern enemies they would not have been quartered in Thanet. It was the habit of Gildas to ascribe everything to British agency: and it may be that he preferred to ascribe a mistaken policy to his countrymen rather than no policy at all: at any rate it is clear that national vanity made a scape-goat of the prince whose name was traditionally associated with the settlement of the English in Kent.

Whatever the circumstances, it would seem that Thanet was yielded without a blow. A footing having been secured, reports of the 'goodness' of the land and the 'naught-ness'[5] of the inhabitants, induced fresh bands

but Nennius himself had no idea when the Roman occupation ended. Another passage seems to point to the year 429, the date of Germanus' first mission. The Pseudo-Prosper gives the year 441 as that of the subjugation of Britain by the Saxons; and this apparently was the date recognised by Alcuin, who, writing in 793, said that Britain had been inhabited by his countrymen "nearly 150 years." *Epp.* No. 9. Haddan and Stubbs, III. 476, 493.

[1] Gibbon, IV. 219.

[2] "Tribus ut lingua ejus exprimitur cyulis, nostra lingua longis navibus," Gildas, *Hist.*, c. 23. The names Hengist and Horsa are given by Bæda, *sup.* Hengist appears in the Geographer of Ravenna as "Anschis," *M.H.B.*, xxiv.

[3] C. J. Solinus, *M.H.B.*, x. Nennius gives Ruichim, or Ruoichim, as the British name of Thanet; but "Adtanatos insula" occurs in Solinus, *sup.*, and "Tanatos" in Bæda.

[4] *Hist.*, cc. 28, 36, *M.H.B.* Gildas, a Romanised Briton, was apparently born about the year 516, and wrote when he was 44 years old. He has left us a Historia de Excidio Britanniæ, and an Epistola, a Lamentation on the state of his country (*M.H.B.*, and English Historical Society, Stevenson). For the Historia Britonum of Nennius, a 9th century compilation, see list of authorities.

[5] "Nahtnesse," Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as it has been usually termed, is really a series of distinct chronicles, with a common basis. The common basis is the chronicle started at Winchester in the reign of Alfred (MS. Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge, clxxiii.) cited as A. It begins with the year B.C. 60, and extends to A.D. 1070; but practically ends in 975. The Abingdon Chronicle (MS. Cott. Tiberius B., I.) extends from the invasion of Julius Cæsar to the year 1066. It will be cited as C. The Worcester Chronicle (MS. Cott. Tiberius B., iv.) extends from the Incarnation to A.D. 1079, and will be cited as D. The Peterborough Chronicle (MS. Bodl. Laud., 636) extends from the Incarnation to A.D. 1154, and will be cited as

to follow. But five years were needed for the conquest of East Kent. The line of the Medway was not reached till the year 455, when "Wyrtgeorne," was defeated at Aylesford. Horsa was killed in the action; but Hengist apparently thought his position such as to justify the assumption of Royal dignity; his son Æsc being associated with him,[1] as if to play the part of Cæsar to the Augustus of East Kent.

Hengist King.

Two years later the invaders entered West Kent, crossing the Darent at Dartford and defeating the Britons at Crayford with great slaughter. We are told that the rout was so complete that the Britons 'forsook Kent and retired to London.'[2]

Nennius, the British writer, records four battles in connexion with the struggle in Kent, all apparently given as creditable to his countrymen. In the first Hengist and his men were driven into Thanet, a most amusing inversion of the apparent fact. The second and third were respectively fought "*super flumen Derevent*"; and "*super vadum . . . Episford*[3] *. . . et ibi cecidit Horsa.*" These two are obviously the actions at Aylesford and Crayford, given in the wrong order. The fourth battle was fought "*juxta Lapidem Tituli qui est super ripam Gallici maris*," *i.e.* Stonar, near Sandwich.[4] At that time it overlooked the sea.

Eight years later we have another great battle in which twelve 'Welsh Ealdermen' fell, and one English 'thane'; from whom the place was named "Wippedes fleot," but the site has not been determined.

Hengist continued to press the Britons 'like fire.' But Kent, situate in a corner between the Thames on one side and the Forest of Anderid on the other side and bisected by the Medway, was never fated to retain the lead in the affairs of Britain. Hengist at his death could only bequeath Kent and nothing more to his son Æsc (A.D. 488).[5]

But before that a fresh attack on the South coast had been made by the Saxons, who, under the leadership of Ælle and his sons, Cymen, Wlencing and Cissa, landed in 477 at 'Cymenes ora.'[6] This place has not been clearly made out, but the name of Cissa seems to be preserved in that of "Cissan-cester," Chichester,[7] the new

Saxon Landings.

Sussex.

E. There are also several other continuations of the original Winchester Chronicle of which the most noteworthy is the Canterbury Chronicle (MS. Cott. Tiberius A., vi. ff. 1–34), which will be cited as B. See Mr. Earle's Introduction to *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (Clarendon Press, 1865).

[1] "Æfter þam Hengest feng to rice and Æsc his sunu," Chron. A.; conf. Nennius, c. 47, *M.H.B.* The flint heap of Horsted is supposed to mark Horsa's grave. Guest's *Early English Settlements*, p. 48; cited Green, *Makers of England*, 46. An inscribed stone stood there in Bæda's time. [2] Chron. A.

[3] "In nostra lingua Sathenegabail" (al. "Rithergabail"). Dr. Guest gives the Welsh, Sydden-y-cenbail, as="House of ferry-boat."

[4] Nennius, cc. 46, 47. [5] Chron. A. [6] Ora=shore, haven.

[7] Earle, *Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, 281. The best suggestion for Cymenesora seems that of Ingram, Shoreham, *quasi Cymeneshoreham*. *Ib.*

name given to the Roman town of *Regnum*. But the land of the *Regni*, cut off from the interior by the Forest of Anderid, extending from Romney Marsh to the borders of our Hampshire, was even less fitted than that of Kent "to serve as a starting-point in any attack on Britain at large." The kingdom of the South Saxons had no future in store for it; and indeed fourteen years elapsed before Ælle and Cissa were able to reduce the border fastness of Anderedescester, now Pevensey.[1] But the slow progress of the conquest proves that in point of numbers the invaders must have been very weak.

A really promising opening was at last secured when the Jutes and Saxons established themselves on Southampton Water, with an open country before them, and Roman roads to lead East, and North, and West into the heart of the interior.

Hampshire.

The record of the facts however is dim, and in some respects open to suspicion. We seem to have two traditions strung together by the chronicler of the house of Wessex, and placed to the credit of his master's ancestors. First we are told that the Ealdermen Cerdic and his son Cynric, the undoubted founders of the dynasty, landed in 495 at a place called "Cerdices Ora," and that day by day they fought the Britons. Then in 501 we have "Port" landing at "Portesmutha," *i.e.* Portsmouth, a place that bore the name of *Portus* in Roman times. Again in 508 Cerdic and Cynric defeat the Britons in a signal engagement, in which the native 'king' "Natan-leod,"[2] *i.e.* 'Prince Nechtan,' fell. Then six years later we have the entry, 'Here came the West Saxons to Britain and fought against the Britons,' as if that was their first appearance.[3] In 519 Cerdic and Cynric 'took the kingdom':[4] in 530 they subdued the Isle of Wight; and captured "Wihtgaræsbyrig," Carisbrook; and in 534 Cerdic died.[5]

Cerdic.

The Isle of Wight.

Here we may notice, first, that Cerdic is made to live and fight for nine and thirty years after he landed with a grown up son; and secondly, that nothing is said of the Jutes, whose establishment in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight rests upon the indisputable authority of Beda.[6] As a conjecture we may suggest that the settlements prior to 514 were those of the Jutes; and that the conquest of the Isle of Wight by Cerdic in 530 was the political subjugation of the insular Jutes or "Wiht-garas." The Jutes

[1] A.D. 491: Chron. A. Bæda ascribes to Ælle a position of predominance on the South coast: probably he was predominant before the West Saxons arose; but there is nothing to show that he encroached even on Kent.

[2] This name seems quite genuine: "leod is identical with clwydd or llwyd=*prince*"; whence the well-known family name *Lloyd*. Nechtan is quite a common Celtic name. Earle, *sup.* 281.

[3] Stuf and Wihtgar are given as the leaders; but Wihtgar seems a mere manufacture from "Wiht," the Isle of Wight, a name older than Roman times.

[4] "Rice onfengun."

[5] Chron. A. [6] *H. E.*, I. 15.

of the mainland appear to have been known as the "Meonwaras,"[1] whose name is preserved in Stoke Meon, and East and West Meon on the Hamble. As for the followers of Cerdic their proper tribe name appears to have been "Gewissas," afterwards merged in the larger name of "West Seaxe."

Again the Chronicle tells us that the country up to "Cerdices ford" was called after Prince Nechtan, "Neatan leaga" or 'Neatan's lea'; and we hear of much fighting at "Cerdices ford." Netley is still an existing name on Southampton water, and Cerdices ford has been identified with Charford on the Hampshire Avon.[2] This river therefore was probably the western boundary of the original kingdom of the Gewissas. Its limits to the North are indicated by the fact that Old Sarum (*Sorbiodunum*, afterwards *Seaxoburg*) at this time was still in British hands, and was not in fact attacked till A.D. 552. Thus we may quite accept the view that Hampshire as a whole represents the West Saxon Kingdom of the year 520.[3]

To the West and North of this principality we may place the territory of Ambrosius Aurelianus, the one British ruler whose memory Gildas could really honour as that of a true representative of old Roman virtues: "*viro modesto, qui solus fuit comis, fidelis, fortis, veraxque.*"[4] The pause in the Saxon advance clearly traceable in the Chronicle coincides with the successful resistance ascribed to Ambrosius by Gildas. This name survives in Amesbury, *Ambrosebyrig*; and the date of his great success, the repulse of the invaders from the siege of the *Mons Badonicus*, is placed in the year 516;[5] while the limitation of the Saxon frontier at the Avon gives every probability to the identification of the *Mons Badonicus* with the triple Celtic earthworks of Badbury Rings in Dorsetshire, between Wimborne and Blandford.[6]

Ambrosius Aurelianus.

To the memory of Ambrosius a tardy tribute is due as it was his misfortune to have his glory transferred to a hero of romance;[7] apparently a pure myth; certainly one of whom history properly so-called knows nothing. The name of Arthur is not to be found in

"Arthur."

[1] Bæda, *H. E.*, IV. 13. In the year 681 they were still politically connected with the Isle of Wight.

[2] Green, *sup.*, 88. [3] Green, *sup.*, 89. [4] *Hist.*, c. 25.

[5] *Annales Cambriæ* (Rolls Series). Gildas gives no date, except that the siege took place in the year of his birth, forty-four years from the time when he was writing, so that the memory of the events was still fresh. For the date 420 see Stevenson, Gildas, ix.

[6] Guest, *Early English Settlements*, 61–62. Green, *sup.*, 89. One MS. of Gildas adds after "Badonici montis" "qui prope Sabrinum ostium habetur." But this must be rejected as an interpolation; Bath could not be attacked 30 years before Salisbury was attacked. Carte suggested Badon Hill in Berkshire, but even that seems too far off.

[7] It has been suggested that Ambrosius may have furnished the historic basis for the tales of Emrys Wledig or Gwledig, *alias* Merðen, *alias* Merlin the Wizard. Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 151.

Gildas,[1] who wrote only forty-four years after the siege of the *Mons Badonicus*. As he gives the names of several native princes it seems clear that there was no leading native of that name known to him. If we search for the oldest historic record of an Arthur we find it among the Gael, in the person of a Dalriad prince, in Latin "Arturius," son of Aidan, killed in battle by the heathen Picts, A.D. 591.[2] We also have an Arthur map Petr, and more clearly a Noe son of Arthur, ruling in Dyfed (Pembrokeshire), 600–660.[3] The name therefore was not unknown in Great Britain. But neither of these men can serve as basis for the legendary Arthur. For him we have to skip on 150 years to the pages of Nennius, who wrote in the ninth century, and there we have the Arthurian legend in full bloom. He is represented not as being a British King, or even a Briton at all, but as a heroic personage who fought for them against the Saxons and led their armies.[4] He fights twelve battles—a suspicious number—and apparently wins them all;[5] the last being that "*in monte Badonis*," the victory of the historic Ambrosius.[6]

Historic Arthurs.

If we turn to the old Bardic poems of Wales, we find in them no allusion to these battles. The name Arthur however does occur in four of the poems, for which a historic character is claimed by Mr. W. F. Skene. But the only one that couples him with a personage that can be identified couples him with Geraint ap Erbin of Dyfnaint;[7] apparently the Geraint who was defeated by Ine of Wessex in 710,[8] two centuries after the time of the Arthur of Nennius. Another poem talks of fighting on the Wall, 'the ancient boundary,' and of the 'loricated legion';[9] thus relegating its Arthur to the times of the Roman dominion.

The theory that commends itself to us is that the Arthurian legend is merely a reissue of Ossianic myths, brought over by the Dalriad Scots,[10] disseminated through the agency of the Columban missionaries (of whom anon), and appropriated and adapted by the Celtic people of Great Britain. This will account for the localisation

Ossianic Origin of "Arthur."

[1] Nor does it occur in Bæda or the A.S. Chronicles.

[2] "In bello Miathorum." Adamnan, *Life of St. Columba*, I. cc. 8, 9 (ed. Reeves). Adamnan lived 623–704.

[3] See H. Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, 283, citing the *Liber Landavensis*, 73, and a Welsh pedigree (Berlin, 1893). Another Dalriad "Artur," son of Conaing, is named in a very late pedigree, *Chron. Picts and Scots* (Skene), 310.

[4] "Tunc Arthur pugnabat contra illos (sc. Saxones) cum regibus Brittorum, sed ipse dux erat bellorum," p. 47, Stevenson. Ambrosius is given the post of King of Kings among the Britons—a clear mixing up of accounts. *Ib.*

[5] For these, see Appendix to this chapter. [6] *M. H. B.*, p. 73; Stevenson, p. 47.

[7] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I. 267; W. F. Skene. [8] Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 232.

[9] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I. 259–261. With respect to these Bards, Taliessin and others are named as such by Nennius, *M. H. B.*, 75.

[10] See A. Nutt, *Academy*, 13th Sept.; and F. York Powell, *Id.*, 20th Sept., 1884. So again the Sir Gawain cycle seems clearly traceable to an Irish source. Whitley Stokes, *Academy*, 23rd April, 1892; A. Nutt, *Id.*, 30th April.

of the legendary Arthur in North Britain;[1] because the North was the chief scene of the labours of the Irish clergy; and the deficiency of Arthurian traditions in Wales will be due to the fact that the Irish missionaries gained no footing there.

To return to the course of West Saxon conquest. Cerdic, as already mentioned, died in 534,[2] his son Cynric succeeding. For eighteen years Cynric seems to have rested within his borders; but in 552 his hands having been strengthened, probably by fresh arrivals of immigrants in want of land, he attacked the Britons in their stronghold at Old Sarum, wresting it from them, and so making himself master of Salisbury Plain, and the "mystic circle" of Stonehenge. The district so acquired became known from its new masters as that of the "*Wil-sætas*," or Settlers on the Wil or Wiley, an affluent of the Avon,[3] their chief town being "Wil-tun" or Wilton. The name Wilsætas indicates that the colonists were a mixed population, not a homogeneous 'folk,' with a tribe name of their own.

Cynric.

Four years later, Cynric made an advance along another of the Roman roads from Winchester, namely that leading N.W. through Mildenhall (*Cunetio*) to Cirencester (*Corinium*). The Britons were defeated at "Beranbyrg," identified with Barbury Camp, between Marlborough and Swindon,[4] "on the very brink of the Downs" (A.D. 556).[5] This victory made Cynric master not only of North Wilts, but also of the right bank of the Thames from Cricklade to Reading.

Conquests in Wilts and Berks.

On the slope of the Downs, where the stream of the Ock flows down to join the Thames, "the traveller still sees, drawn white against the scanty turf, the gigantic form of a horse which gives the Vale of White Horse its name, and which tradition looks on as a work of the conquering Gewissas."[6]

In 560 Cymric was succeeded by Ceawlin, and he carried on the work of reducing the basin of the Thames. In 568 he marched along the North side of the forest of Anderid, and defeated Æthelbirht, the young king of Kent, at "Wibbandun," Wimbledon, and

Ceawlin.

[1] See Stuart Glennie, *Arthurian Localities*. I agree with the writer that if there was a historic Arthur he must be sought in the North and not in the South.

[2] "There was in the time of Edward the Elder a barrow at Stoke, near Hurstbourne (Hants, between Whitchurch and Andover), known as *Ceardices beorg*, the hill or barrow of Cerdic." Earle, *Parall. Chron.*, 282, citing *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, No. 1077. J. Kemble.

[3] Chron. A., Green, *sup.*, 92.

[4] "This is a large camp in excellent preservation. It is nearly circular, and girdled by a double ring of ditch and rampart; the inner very strong, sloping full fifty feet to the bottom of the ditch." Murray's *Handbook Wilts*, cited Earle, *sup.*, 282.

[5] Chron. A., Green, *sup.*, 94.

[6] Green, *sup.* 95. The White Horse, however, may perhaps be a memorial of Alfred's victory over the Danes at Ashdown in 871.

drove him out of modern Surrey 'into Kent.' The so-called Cæsar's camp at Wimbledon may be associated with this campaign.[1]

Being thus lord of the South bank of the Thames, down to the borders of Kent, Ceawlin in 571 sent his brother Cuthwulf to attack the Britons on the North bank. Crossing the river, probably at Wallingford, Cuthwulf drove the enemy as far back as "Bedcanforda," Bedford,[2] and captured four towns, namely, Eynsham, Bensington, Aylesbury, and Lenborough, "the last of these a small hamlet near the present Buckingham." The territory thus acquired may be said to correspond roughly with that of the shires of Oxford, Buckingham, and Bedford.[3] Further advance eastwards was probably arrested by the East-Anglian Works, drawn across the Iknield way, between Royston and Newmarket.[4]

Conquests North of the Thames.

The next move was towards the North-West, where the lower valley of the Severn offered rich prey within easy reach of Winchester. In 577 a decisive battle was fought at Deorham, identified with Dirham, between Gloucester and Bath.[5] According to the Saxon chronicler, three British princes fell; and without doubt three Roman "ceastra" changed hands. The names of the British leaders are given as "Commail" (Conmael?), "Condidan"[6] (Kyndylan?), and "Farinmail" or Farinmael: the captured towns were Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath. The annexed territory would thus include part of Worcestershire, all Gloucestershire, and North Somerset as far as Wells and the river Axe.[7]

And in Western Counties.

By the loss of these towns the Britons of Cornwall, or "West Wales," were for ever cut off from their brethren in South Wales. The territory acquired in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire was occupied by a people who appear under the tribe name of 'Hwiccas.'[8] This would suggest that the conquest was effected by a new immigration, fighting under the banner of Ceawlin. As a matter of fact we shall find them turning against him at the first opportunity.

But the West Saxon advance did not rest even at this point. "If Welsh

[1] Chron. A. The "Cæsar's camp" is circular, and therefore certainly not Roman. Its position at the S.W. corner of the table-land of Wimbledon Common suggests that it was intended to face an enemy advancing from the S.W. But it may perhaps be better attributed to the later Danes.

[2] Florence of Worcester gives the name as "Bedaforda"; Henry of Huntingdon adds, "quæ modo dicitur Bedeforda." Florence, a Worcester monk, died A.D. 1118. Henry of Huntingdon *circa* 1154.

[3] Chron. A., Green, *sup.*, 118, 124. The Saxon settlement seems to have stopped at the borders of Huntingdon and Cambridgeshire. "Bedfordshiremen still speak a Saxon, Huntingdon and Northamptonshire folk speak an Engle dialect."

[4] For these, see below. [5] Earle, *sup.*, 282.

[6] For this name, see below, A.D. 584. [7] Freeman, *Old English Hist.*, 36.

[8] See Green, *sup.*, 129, and note.

legend is to be trusted, their forays reached across the Severn as far as the Wye":[1] and here when we obtain fuller records we find the "Magasætas" occupying our Herefordshire.[2] Again in 584 we find Ceawlin in the field, 'taking many towns and untold booty.'[3] In this campaign, doubtless, Wroxeter (*Uriconium*) fell; and Pengwyrn, now Shrewsbury, was given to the flames. The Welsh bard, Llywarch Hen, laments the burning of the halls of Kyndylan; but the buried ruins of *Uriconium* tell their own tale of "flight and massacre."[4]

Shrewsbury Burnt.

With the burning of Pengwyrn the West Saxon successes in the Severn Valley came to an end. Still thirsting for conquest, Ceawlin pushed into the borders of modern Cheshire, to be defeated by a Welsh chieftain—Brocmael—at "Fethan-leag," a place identified with Faddiley, some three miles to the west of Nantwich. Cutha, brother to Ceawlin, fell in the action. 'Wrathfully Ceawlin returned to his own.'[5]

But worse things were in store for him. Part of his dominion, probably the new settlements in the Severn Valley, revolted and made Ceol or Ceolric, son of Cutha, king: a year or so later Ceawlin was driven from the rest of his kingdom after a bloody fight at "Woddesbeorge" or "Wodnesbeorge," Wamborough, on the Wiltshire Downs, overlooking the Vale of White Horse. Britons, as well as Saxons, fought against him, and two years later he died (A.D. 593).[6]

Ceolric.

The breach between the Houses of Ceawlin and Cutha "broke the strength of Wessex for more than 200 years."[7]

After a hundred years of fighting the West Saxon conquest of Britannia Prima was still incomplete. The legions of Claudius had reduced the whole within four years. But if the Roman conquests were rapid, their effects had been transitory; the impression made by the Teutonic settlers was indelible.

If our insight into the history of the settlement on the south coast is but dim, when we turn our eyes northwards we find ourselves in utter darkness. Yet the colonization of Britain did not stop at the Thames, or the Tweed, or even at the Forth. The fertile plains of Lothian were seized at some time by men who could drive the natives to the Pentlands (*Pechtlands*, i.e. *Pictlands*)

The Midlands and the North.

[1] Green, *sup.*, 129; citing Guest, *Archæol. Journal*, XIX. 195.

[2] "Magesetensium sive Herefordensium," Flor. Worcest., *M. H. B.*, 621.

[3] Chron. A.

[4] Green, *sup.*, 205, referring to Wright's *Uriconicum*. Dr. Guest, *Archæol. Journal*, XIX. 199, identifies the "Tren" of Llywarch with Uriconicum. Kyndylan must be the same name as the Condidan of the chronicle given as killed in 577. According to Llywarch Kyndylan fell in this campaign. Perhaps there were two of the name: if not the Welsh writer here would be the better authority.

[5] Chron. A., Guest, *sup.*

[6] Chron. A. and E., 590–593; W. Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I. 17. Malmesbury, a local writer, gives the place as "Wodnesdic," Florence, as "Wodnesbeorh, id est *mons Wodeni*."

[7] Green, *sup.*, 207.

Nowhere, indeed, has the English tongue been preserved in greater purity than in the district which now calls itself Southern Scotland.[1] Even beyond the Forth, the valley of Strathmore[2] received settlers who could stamp the hills on either side as "Laws."[3] But of the process of all this colonization nothing has been handed down to us. Of the great kingdom of the Northumbrians, the first notice appears under the year 547, when

Ida.

we are told that Ida began to reign,[4] with his capital at Bamborough, 'which at first with a hedge was begirt, and thereafter with walls.'[5] Headquarters at Bamborough on the coast do not seem to imply a territory reaching far inland; yet it appears that Ida united under his sway both divisions of old Northumbria, Deira, and Bernicia, the former extending from the Trent to the Tees (our Yorkshire); the latter stretching northwards from the Tees[6] to the Cheviots.

A dominion so extensive implies the lapse of a considerable period of colonization and consolidation,[7] especially when we consider that Ida's dominions may have included, and probably did include, the East coast of modern Scotland.

But Bernicia and Deira were hard to keep together. We shall find their jealousies the standing difficulty of Northumbria. Ida's sons were

Ælle.

unable to retain their hold on Deira, which, at their father's death (A.D. 560), fell away to Ælle, the leader of a rival house; while they had to content themselves with the northern half, and the duty of carrying on the interminable struggle with the natives of Cumbria, Galloway, and Strathclyde.[8]

If from Northumbria we pass across the Trent southwards into the Roman *Flavia Cæsariensis* we find even less recorded of the early Anglic

Mercia.

settlements. The bulk of this district became in time the kingdom of Mercia (*Mercna-rice*), or the March, as it was

[1] Green, *sup.*, 73. [2] Between Perth and Forfar.

[3] *e.g.*, Catlaw, near Kirriemuir, and the range of Sidlaws (*Süd laws, South Hills*) between Perth and Arbroath. [4] "Feng to rice," the usual formula. [5] Chron. A and E.

[6] "Ida . . . junxit arcem, id est Dingueirin et Gurbirneth, quæ duæ regiones fuerunt in una regione id est Deur et Berneth, Anglice Deira et Bernicia." Nennius, c. 66. *M. H. B.*, 74. Another MS. reads: "Ida uncxit (*leg.* junxit) Dynguayrdi Guuerth-berneich." The separation of "Deur o Birneich" is attributed to one Soemil, several generations earlier. *Ib.*, Flor. Worcest., *M. H. B.*, v. 631. The Welsh *Brëennych* or *Brenneich* (whence Bernicia) comes from the same origin as *Brigantes*. Deira comes from Deivr, "the Welsh name of the district or its old inhabitants." Rhys, *C. B.*, III, 112. Dingueirin or Duiguayrdi is given as = Bamborough, and Guuerth seems another name for Deira.

[7] "Cum proceres Anglorum multis et magnis prœliis patriam illam sibi subjugassent, etc." H. Hunt, 712. Nennius, whose Northern notes are his best, attributes the expulsion of the Britons from "Manau Guotodin," or "Gododin," the 'Plain of the *Otadeni*,' or '*Gadeni*,' *i.e.* Lothian, to a period three generations anterior to the time of Ida, *sup.*: he reckons these three generations as equivalent to 147 years.

[8] Chron A., Flor. Worcest., A.D. 559, Nennius, *sup.*

emphatically called; the border country with which almost all the other kingdoms came into contact. Within its limits we have the names of several tribes or peoples, each pointing to a several settlement, such as the Lindiswaras and Gainas of Lincolnshire; the Girwas of the Fen country; the Mercians proper, or West Angles, established round Lichfield and Tamworth; the Middle Angles, and South Angles, respectively connected with Leicester and Dorchester.[1] Crida, or Creoda, who apparently began to reign in 584, and died in 593, is named as the first king.[2] But the whole was not united till the time of his grandson Penda (A.D. 626). At the same time, the stoppage of the West Saxon advance in our Oxfordshire and Bucks, when viewed in connection with their rapid progress up the Severn, suggests that the Midland districts were already in strong hands.

Creoda, King.

Of the first landings of the East Angles who settled in the country of the *Iceni*, nothing is told us. North Folk doubtless made their way up the Yare, and South Folk up the Orwell. Norwich would be the centre of the one settlement; Sudbury, perhaps, of the other.[3] The establishment of the united kingdom under Uffa is placed by Henry of Huntingdon about the year 571; and Uffa's date, to a certain extent, is confirmed by that of his grandson Redwald, a considerable personage, who came to the throne soon after the year 600. Florence, of Worcester, a careful writer, understood that the beginning of the kingdom (*initium regni*) came later than that of Kent, but earlier than that of Wessex (455-519). Perhaps he referred to the original immigration. The hundreds in East Anglia are small, an indication that the conquerors were thickly settled there.[4] If so, the popular form of government under ealdormen may have held its ground there longer than elsewhere.

East Anglia.

Uffa.

Redwald.

To their dread of West Saxon encroachment we may, perhaps, attribute the execution of the series of earthworks yet visible between Royston and Newmarket, drawn across the Icknield Way, and evidently intended to bar access by that route from the West.[5] It is worthy of notice that the year 571, given by Henry of Huntingdon as the date of the establishment of the East Anglian kingdom, was also that of the West Saxon advance into Bedfordshire. It may be that the choice of a common head was one of the defensive measures taken by the East Anglians on that occasion.

To the South of these tribes we find ourselves again on Saxon soil. We

[1] See Green, *sup.*, 74-85, and the map at p. 59.

[2] H. Hunt., Chron. A.

[3] Green, *sup.*, 52. [4] Green, *sup.*, 52.

[5] The westernmost line of ramparts and ditches is found one and a half miles to the west of Royston. The easternmost is the Devil's Ditch, or Wansdyke, across Newmarket Heath. Three others come between, namely, Heydon Ditch, Brent Ditch, and Fleam Dyke, all crossing the road, and later in date. See Babington's *Ancient Cambridgeshire*, 97 etc.

may conjecture that the East Saxons found landing places in the Stour, or the Colne, or the Blackwater, with a fair extent of good land to till, and Colchester as a good city to sack. The year 527 seems to be given as that of the establishment of the kingdom; and this date receives confirmation from the statement that Sleda, son of Ercenwine, or Æscwine, the first king, married a sister of Æthelbirht, of Kent.[1] Æthelbirht was born in 552. The East Saxon kingdom, therefore, may well have been established some years before.

Essex.

But the East Saxons cut off from the interior by the woodlands of Waltham, Epping, and Hainault, had no greater opportunities of extending their frontiers than their Sussex cousins.[2] Of the fall of London and the settlement of the Middle Saxons, no record has been preserved. It is probable that they were an offshoot of the East Saxons. Verulam had fallen before 560, as Gildas deplores its loss. London was probably captured not long after.[3]

Middlesex.

Thus by the end of the 6th century after a long and arduous struggle the seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms[4] were established in Britain. Not that the exact number of a Heptarchy was at all times maintained. There were occasionally more, often fewer, than seven kingdoms. But for the seven principalities above-named a definite succession of kings and a certain amount of history can be made out. As might be supposed, a certain pre-eminence was generally enjoyed by one or other of these states. Such a position, as already mentioned, is ascribed by Bæda to Ælle of Sussex, a most singular statement. After Ælle the leading king would have been Ceawlin, a more intelligible assertion; and after him again Æthelbirht, of whom hereafter.[5]

The Heptarchy.

If we turn to survey the districts still held by the Celtic peoples, we have North of the Forth the traditional seven kingdoms of the Picts, afterwards the seven earldoms of Scotland.

Pictish Kingdoms.

'Seven sons had Cruithne:
Cait, Ce, Cirig,
Fib, Fidach, Fotla, Fortrenn.'[6]

"Five of these divisions can still be identified." Fib is Fife: "Fotla is Athfoitle now corrupted into Atholl." Fortrenn is better known as Strathearn: Cirig properly Circinn, or Maghgirginn, is now the Mearns, Kincardineshire, the country of the old Meætæ: Cait is Caithness.[7] The

[1] Henry of Huntingdon, *M. H. B.*, 712; Florence of Worcester, *Genealogies*, *Id.*, 629. [2] Green, *sup.*, 47. [3] *Id.*, 108–111.

[4] The seven kingdoms as generally reckoned were Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Wessex. But they were often subdivided as we shall see.

[5] Bæda, *H. E.*, II. c. 5.

[6] *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 4, 25 (W. F. Skene, 1867). As Cruithnig was the Irish name for Picts it is clear that the legend has come down through Gaelic channels.

[7] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 186.

other two principalities would seem to be Moray and Ross, and Mar and Buchan (*Big* and *Little*?), the latter being the two divisions of Aberdeenshire.[1]

To the South and West of these lay the "Scottish" (*i.e.* Irish) kingdom of Dalriada,[2] whose foundation is commonly dated from the landing of Fergus, Loarn, and Angus, the sons of Erc, in the year 498.[3]

Gaelic Dalriada.

Their territory corresponded practically with the modern Argyllshire, their chief seat being at Dunadd in the Crinan Moss.[4] The Dalriads were Christians, and it was under Gabhran, grandson of Fergus, that Colum, better known as St. Columba,[5]

St. Columba.

established himself in Hy, otherwise Iona, in the year 563.[6]

Colum-cille, *i.e.* Church-Colum, a familiar nickname given to him, was a native of Ireland and born 518–521. About the year 563 he had to leave Ireland in consequence of a quarrel with his king, who had him excommunicated. He went over to Iona and founded the celebrated monastery there. The great incident of his life was his journey to Inverness, where he baptized the Pictish king Brude. But his career was spent between the islands and the coasts of Ireland and modern Argyllshire.[7]

Conterminous with the Dalriad kingdom was that of *Nemetoduron*, Nemthorn, Ailcluith, or Dumbarton, with its headquarters at Dumbarton, and a territory extending over the basin of the Clyde, includ-

Strathclyde.

ing the modern counties of Renfrew and Lanark, and parts of Ayrshire. The people were of Welsh blood, and were commonly known to the Anglo-Saxon writers as the Strathclyde Welsh or the Strathclyde Britons. Among the native princes who contended with the sons

[1] See the tract printed by Skene, *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 136, where the boundaries are very fairly given, but with wrong names to them.

[2] There was an earlier kingdom of the same name in Ulster.

[3] See Skene, *Chron. Picts and Scots*, cx.; and *Celtic Scotland*, I. 139.

[4] From the head of Loch Long northwards their boundary followed the watershed that divides the affluents of the Tay from the streams that flow to the West coast; the district on the East side of the line being called "Bruinalban" or "Brunalban" (*March of Alba*), the modern Breadalbane; while the district to the West of it was called "Brunhere" or "Bruneire" (*March of the Irish*), *Chron. Picts and Scots*, lxxxiv. 136, 137. Curious to say it appears that the Western halves of the district of Morven and the Island of Mull were retained by the Picts, a boundary between them and the Irish being traceable. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 228. Brunalban must be carefully distinguished from the "Drumalban" or Dorsum Britanniæ, constantly used by Adamnan, the biographer of St. Columba to denote the whole mountain region to the East of the Caledonian Canal, practically the later "Mount." Mr. Skene applies the name Drumalban to a non-existing chain running north and south. See his Map, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 8.

[5] "Columcille," *i.e.* 'Church-Colum.' [6] Haddan and Stubbs, II. 105.

[7] See his *Life* by Adamnan (ed. Reeves), and the Introduction. Adamnan was born in 623 or 624, *Ann. Ulster*. He is believed to have become Abbot of Iona in 679, and to have died in 704. See Stevenson's notes to Bæda, *H. E.*, III. c. 4, and Haddan and Stubbs, *sup.*

and successors of Ida[1] (560–588) we have one "Riderchen"[2] (*Rhydderch Hen, i.e.* the Old) who seems clearly the *Rodercus* of Ailcluith, mentioned by Adamnan the biographer of St. Columba.[3] To this prince belongs the credit of having founded the See of Glasgow, St. Kentigern (*Cyndeyrn*), otherwise Mungo, having been brought by him for that purpose from his native Wales.[4] At home, we are told, Kentigern had already founded the See of Llanelwy for the principality of Powys, though it was destined to take its name from his successor, Asaph. In later times we shall find the kingdom of Strathclyde styled "Cumbria," with its borders, as defined by those of the concomitant diocese of Glasgow, including all the South-West of modern Scotland, the basin of the Tweed to its junction with the Teviot, and English Cumberland to Dearham Water and Rere Cross on Stanemoor. But this extent of territory cannot be attributed to the Strathclyde of the period of which we are now treating, as we have three other kings associated with Rhydderch as acting against the Angles—namely Urbgen, Guallauc, and Morcant.[5] Urbgen or Urien is styled King of Rheged, an uncertain territory, perhaps answering to Galloway.[6] Of the dominions of Guallauc and Morcant nothing is mentioned; but whether the same as Rheged or not, we certainly seem to have a distinct principality in Galloway, a land of Picts, descendants of the old Attecotti, who occupied the modern counties of Wigton and Kirkcudbright, with their capital at Whitehorn, *alias Candida Casa, alias* the *Leukopibia* of Ptolemy.[7]

St. Kentigern.

Galloway.

[1] For these see Florence, A.D. 559. [2] Nennius, *M. H. B.*, 75.

[3] p. 43, ed. Reeves.

[4] Rhydderch may be supposed to have reigned 573–603; Skene, *Chr. Picts*, etc., xcv. Kentigern died in 612; *Ann. Cambriæ*. A 12th century Life of him by Joscelin of Furness may be seen in Pickerton's *Vitæ SS. Scot.*, 195, and another of the same century in *Glasgow Chartulary*, I. lxxvii. But nothing is really known of the details of Kentigern's life; *H.* and *S.*

[5] So against Hussa, not a son of Ida, but an under-king, and "Deodric." Nennius, *M. H. B.*, 75. Deodric is clearly Theodoric, fifth son of Ida, who reigned 580–586, and is identified by Mr. Skene with the "Flamddwyn" (Flame-Bearer) of the Bards. *Celtic Scotland*, I. 159.

[6] Mr. Skene identifies Rheged with Galloway, quoting the bard Llywarch Hen, who styles Urbgen the "Ereyr gal" or 'Eagle of Gal,' which Mr. Skene takes as Galloway. *Chron. Picts and Scots*, lxxx. Galloway might be a vassal kingdom. Moreover that Urbgen belonged to a Christian family seems proved by the fact that we shall find his son Rhun somehow associated with the baptism of Eadwine the Anglic king.

[7] The name Galloway is derived from the Welsh Galwydel, Irish Gallgaidel. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 239. Bæda distinguishes them as "Picti qui Niduari vocantur"; the name being taken from the river Nid or Nith. *Life of Cuthbert*, c. xi. Ptolemy calls this river the "Novios" and the people in like manner "Novantæ." These men retained the name of Picts longer than any others, in fact down to the 12th century. See Skene, *sup.*, 131–133. Their quasi-nationality was recognised at the battle of the Standard (1138), and later in the special position of "The Stewartry" of Kirkcudbright. They form one of the four Nations in which the students of the University of Glasgow still enrol themselves, Loch Urr being taken as marking their boundary on the East. The

It would seem that since their conversion by St. Ninian they had fallen away from Christianity, and were now reckoned heathens.

The Forest.

A remarkable ring of Celtic forts crowning the hill-tops of our Peebleshire, the heart of the Forest District, suggests a retreat from whence an obstinate struggle with external enemies was kept up. These forts are especially numerous along the Lyne and the Tweed below Peebles, and again along the left bank of the Slitrig above Hawick, where moreover we have relics of the great rampart known as the Catrail.[1] Another earthwork, a "Deil's Dyke," or in older parlance the "Murthat," runs from the Solway towards Lochmaben. To the South of Cumbria or Strathclyde, as above defined, the rest of Cumberland, Westmorland, the greater part of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire still remained in native hands. How these districts were subdivided and governed we cannot say. As a group of confederated states they styled themselves "Kymry," 'The Fellow-Countrymen.'[2] As to their subdivisions we only know that within the limits of the West Riding alone there were two principalities, possibly united, Loidis and Elmet. The name of the former is preserved by our town of Leeds; while the eastern frontier of Elmet may perhaps be traced in the earthworks at Barwick-in-Elmet, on the west side of the road from Castleton to Tadcaster.[3]

Kymric Confederacy.

Wales.

For the political sub-divisions of Wales about the year 600, and their limits, we can refer to the corresponding bishoprics, the majority of which seem to have been of recent formation. Five at least are given. For Venedot, Gwyndod, or Gwynedd, a district in later times equivalent to North Wales,[4] we have the See of Bangor which included Anglesey, Caernarvon, ("Arfon"), Merioneth as far South as Dolgelly, and a large district in Denbigh. Next we have Llanelwy, or St. Asaph, for Powys, or the eastern half of North Wales, including Flint, the rest of Denbigh and Merioneth, all Montgomeryshire and Radnor, and a large slice of Shropshire, its capital being Pengwern, otherwise Shrewsbury.[5] Then we have St. David's for Dyfed, or Demetia, namely Pembrokeshire, with the southern half of Cardiganshire, "and parts also at different times of Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Radnor," according as the limits of the secular principality varied. Llanbadarn was the See for Keredigion (Cardigan), "including however only the northern half of modern

other three Nations represent Strathclyde, Lothian, and Scotland North of the Forth. Mr. Skene however and Mr. W. E. Robertson would connect the "Picti Niduari" of Bæda with Abernethy and Fife.

[1] The Catrail however must not be extended to Upper Liddesdale. The works there, near Peel Fell, are quite detached. They were evidently intended to bar an invasion from Northumberland by way of Bellingham.

[2] Rhys, *C. B.*, 114. [3] Green, *sup.*, 253–256.

[4] Rhys, *C.B.*, 121.

[5] Pearson, *Historical Maps*, citing Price and Lloyd.

Cardiganshire," but with parts of Brecknockshire, Radnorshire and perhaps of Montgomeryshire; while Llandaff was the diocese for Gwent,[1] (Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire). Lastly, we have some indications of a short-lived See at Llanafanvaur in Brecknock which may have been founded about the year 600. "Nothing is known of the history of such a See, but it must have been speedily merged in that of Llanbadarn, and then both in that of S. David's."[2]

The establishment of so many Sees about the same time points to a retreat of British Christianity into Wales.

South of the Bristol Channel (West Wales) Gildas names two princes: Constantine, "tyrant" of Damnonia or Devon, and Aurelius Conanus, presumably a descendant of Ambrosius Aurelius, who may have ruled in Somerset and Dorset.

West Wales.

Throughout all these regions the population remained purely Celtic. Our belief in a considerable survival of natives in the conquered districts must rest rather upon the general probabilities of the case than upon specific evidence. In an agrarian struggle the only classes with whom no terms could be made would be the rulers, the clergy, and the landowners. On the larger estates the position of the new lords would be greatly simplified by the acceptance of the rents and services of the *coloni* as they stood. Within the three classes of *læt* and the three classes of *theow* of the laws of Æthelbirht accommodation for a large subject population might be found. A clearer indication may be traced in the laws of Ine, where it is provided that if a Welsh *theow* kill an Englishman, and his lord be unwilling to pay the fine for the misdeed, then the free kindred of the wrong doer, if he have any, may intervene on his behalf.[3] If the Britons had been unable to combine for self-defence a strong feeling of brotherhood was engendered by their troubles, as evidenced by the new name "Kymry," which first makes its appearance about this period.[4]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IX

THE TWELVE BATTLES OF ARTHUR[5]

Of these "*bella*" we are told that the first was fought at the mouth of the river "Glein"; the second, third, fourth, and fifth, upon another river, called "Dubglas," in the region of "Linnuis"; the sixth was on a river called "Bassas"; the seventh in the Caledonian Forest, "*Id est Cat Coit Celidon*"; the eighth action took place "*In Castello Guinnion.*" On that occasion we hear that Arthur carried an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary on his shoulders, 'and the heathen were put to flight on that day, and great slaughter made of them through the merits of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and

[1] See Haddan and Stubbs, I. 143. Gildas stigmatises three Welsh princes, Magoclunus of Venedod, Vortiporius of the Demetæ, and another whose territory is not indicated. *Epistola, M. H. B.*, 16, etc.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, 146.

[3] *Ine*, c. 74. Schmid, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen.*

[4] Rhys, *C. B.*, 114.

[5] Nennius, pp. 47, 48, ed. Stevenson. (From MS. Harl. 3859.)

through the merits of the Blessed Virgin Mary, His mother.'[1] The ninth battle was fought in the 'City of the Legion' (*in Urbe Legionis*); the tenth on the banks of a stream called "Tribruit"; the eleventh 'on the hill called Agned'; the twelfth and last was the action of the "*Mons Badonis.*" On that day we are told that 960 men fell by the hand of Arthur. 'Nobody slew them but he alone, and he had the victory in all his battles.' So far as these localities can be identified, the majority of them seem connected with the North. The river "Glein" should be the Northumbrian Glen mentioned by Bæda (*H.E.*, II. c. 14); the "Dubglas" (*Douglas*) must be placed either in Lancashire, Kirkcudbright, or Dumbartonshire: if "Linnuis" could safely be identified with the district of Lennox, the decision would be in favour of the last; the Caledonian Forest of course is Northern; the 'City of the Legion' should be Chester; while "Mons Agned" looks very like Mynyd Agned, the Welsh name for Edinburgh.[2]

If we are asked to supply possible historic bases for these actions, we must say that the materials appear to have been freely appropriated from all quarters. The battle of the Mons Badonis, of course, is the victory of Ambrosius, A.D. 516. The battle on the river "Bassas" looks like the fighting at Baschurch, A.D. 584[3]; and the "bellum in Urbe Legionis" must be the victory of Æthelfrith over the Britons at Chester A.D. 605-613. Can the battle of the Caledonian Forest be taken from Tacitus and Agricola? If *Mons Agned* is to be identified with Edinburgh we may point out that the city is believed to have been founded by, as it takes its name from, the Northumbrian king Eadwine, who reigned 617-633. The battle there therefore, could hardly have occurred before that period. On the whole the unhistorical character of the deeds ascribed to Arthur seems perfectly clear.

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[1] "In quo Arthur portavit imaginem Sanctæ Mariæ perpetue Virginis super humeros suos, et pagani versi sunt in fugam in illo die et cædes magna fuit super illos per virtutem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et per virtutem Sanctæ Mariæ Virginis genetricis ejus."

[2] Skene, *C. B.*, 153.

[3] Seven miles N. W. of Shrewsbury. *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. 448, 454 (Skene).

W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh & London

CHAPTER X

Early Anglo-Saxon Life and Institutions—Marriage—The Family—Criminal Law—Orders of Society—Social Organization—Popular Assemblies—Mythology and Religion

FOR the English historian it might be thought that the history of Anglo-Saxon institutions would begin with the settlements of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain. But our records of the first ages following their establishments in the island are so meagre that we can only fill up our picture by combining evidence drawn from later periods with the testimony afforded for earlier periods by the writings of classical authors and especially by those of Cæsar and Tacitus.[1] In their pages we find physical and moral traits depicted that we can quite call our own; devotion to field sports;[2] height of stature and length of limb; blue eyes and fair hair.[3] Their chief recorded virtues were domestic purity, truthfulness, and courage; their chief failings gambling, gluttony, and drunkenness; characteristics easily recognisable at the present day. In the eyes of the Roman they seemed incapable of deceit; and he openly smiled at the scrupulosity which insisted upon discharging debts of honour, even in the case where one who had lost everything else staked and lost his liberty on a last throw.[4] Of their intolerance of heat and thirst, and their propensity for drink, Tacitus makes frequent mention.

The Early Teutons.

Their Virtues

And Vices.

Nor was he less struck with their hospitality, and their disposition to combine eating and drinking with the transaction of business,[5] a practice which is directly linked with the *bytt-fyllings* and *scotales* of mediæval times, and which still lives in the dinners attendant on the meetings of our manorial courts, and our rent collections.

The Celts loved to crowd in towns and strongholds. The Germans

[1] Cæsar wrote *De Bello Gallico* about 50 B.C. The *Germania* of Tacitus was written about A.D. 98.

[2] "Vita omnis in venationibus;" war too came in largely "atque in studiis rei militaris." Cæsar, *De Bello G.*, VI. c. 21; also IV. c. 1, and Tacit., *Germ.*, c. 14.

[3] *Germania*, c. 2, 4. "Truces et cærulei oculi." In connexion with the stature of the Germans we may note that the Anglo-Saxon yard, based doubtless upon the average step of a man, was 39·6 inches long. Kemble, *Saxons*, I. 99.

[4] *Germ.*, 22, 24. Similar cases are recorded of the North American Indians, who have been known to stake their scalp at the last.

[5] *Id.*, c. 22.

hated fenced cities, and dwelt either in detached homesteads or in hamlets loosely put together, each house surrounded by its curtilage. The straggling English village is the abiding expression of this inborn taste. In their noble contempt for fortifications the Germans rivalled the Spartans, but English history has been distinctly affected by this disregard of military prudence. Wood was the material of their edifices.[1] In the Anglo-Saxon tongue *getimbrian*, 'to timber,' was the only word for building; while even towards the days of the Norman Conquest a minster of 'stone and lime' was something calling for special notice. We may also point out that the Old-English *tun* denoted not only a town in our sense, but also a Scottish *toun*, *i.e.* a homestead or habitation. In their original seats the habits of our Teutonic ancestors seem to have been, on the whole, rather pastoral than agricultural, while their husbandry was of the simplest character, and limited to the cultivation of corn. As among the Celts a considerable share of this work devolved on the women. Cattle were their only wealth; milk a leading article of diet; their favourite beverage was beer, and that they consumed in no measured quantities. At Anglo-Saxon banquets however, we find mead rivalling beer as a liquor. Gardens and orchards, unknown at home,[2] they would find ready planted and dressed in Britain, with servile labour in abundance to carry on agricultural work of all descriptions.

Country Life.

State of Agriculture.

Early Germanic society at the best must have been turbulent and disorderly. Predatory forays were encouraged by the chiefs as giving the young men the best training in martial exercises.[3] So, in the history of our Mercia, war against the Welsh appears to have been a recognised career for young men of family not otherwise provided for.[4]

The courage and independence of the Germans is too well recognised to need proof. The fact that they, and they alone, were able to stem the tide of Roman conquest, speaks for itself. Among their tribes the Saxons are placed in the forefront for their courage and enterprise. Ammianus Marcellinus, the Emperor Julian, Sidonius Apollinaris, and others agree in describing them as the most formidable of the Teutons.[5]

Their early naval enterprise need not be noticed again. Next to their valour their domestic morality and their consideration for women struck the Romans.

[1] *Germ.*, c. 16.

[2] "Agriculturæ non student . . . major pars victus eorum lacte et carne et caseo consistit." *B.G.*, VI. 22. "Nec labore contendunt ut pomaria conserant . . . et hortos rigant . . . sola terræ seges imperatur." *Germ.*, 26.

[3] *B. G.*, VI. 22; *Germ.*, 21.

[4] See *e.g.* below, the Life of Guthlac.

[5] Sidon., viii. 6. "Saxones præ ceteris hostibus timentur." Amm. Mar., XXVIII. s. 2. Τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Ῥῆνον, καὶ τὴν Ἑσπερίαν θαλάτταν ἐθνῶν τὰ μαχιμώτατα, Julian, Orat. I. *in Laud. Const.*, 34.

Tacitus assures us that they paid considerable deference to the 'holy and thoughtful' counsels of women.[1] Nevertheless, the position of woman in England was not one of independence. On the contrary whether married or single she was always under tutelage (*mund, i.e.* 'hand'), either that of her husband or of her family. The intending husband had to buy the right to her legal guardianship from her father or her relations.[2]

Treatment of Women.

An Anglo-Saxon marriage consisted of two parts, the betrothal or 'wedding' (*weddian, desponsatio, dotatio*) and the giving-away (*gift, gifta, traditio*). The suitor had first to deposit a pledge that his intentions were honourable; he then discussed terms with the lady's friends: what he would give them, what he would allow her, what he would settle upon her if she survived him. These matters having been adjusted and secured, the bride was then formally 'wedded,' *i.e.*, pledged to the bridegroom 'To wife and to right life.' The giving-away followed in due course. After the introduction of Christianity it was provided that a priest should be present at the giving-away to bless the union. On the morning after the actual nuptials the bridegroom made a definite assignment to his wife of her dower, or some part of it, thence known as her *morgengifu* or 'morrow-gift.'[3] From Tacitus we learn that the Teutonic wife was warned that she came to share her husband's lot as his partner in weal or woe, in peace or war,[4]—an interesting testimony to the antiquity of our marriage rites. The same writer informs us that the Germans as a rule were monogamous; only a few great chiefs (of whom Charlemagne might be taken as a leading instance) indulging in plurality of wives.[5] But it would be a mistake to look for the highest or most refined morality in a primitive community. In the days of Æthelbirht, if a man ran away with another man's wife the law was content if the wrongdoer paid a fine equal to the value of his own life (*wer-geld*), a heavy penalty no doubt, and in addition provided the injured husband with another wife 'with his own money.'[6] In the succession to the Crown we shall find bastardy no bar.

Marriage.

The authority of the father over his child was absolute; he could sell

[1] "Inesse sanctum aliquid et providum putant." *Germ.*, 8.

[2] *Laws of Æthelbirht*, c. 77; *Ine*, c. 31; and the *Law of Betrothals*, Schmid, App., p. 390; Thorpe, I. 254.

[3] *Id.* and *Æthelbirht*, c. 81. On the subject compare E. W. Robertson, *Scotland under Early Kings*, ii. 324, and *Historical Essays*, 172. The marriage in two parts was not peculiar to the Anglo-Saxons. The position of a woman taken after betrothal but without formal giving away and blessing (*sanctificatio*) might be doubtful, but Mr. Robertson thinks that the issue would be legitimate. He compares the case of a nun. Her novitiate is her betrothal—the taking of the veil her final marriage to Christ.

[4] "Mulier ipsis incipientibus matrimonii auspiciis admonetur venire se laborum periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in prælio passuram et ausuram." *Germania*, 18.

[5] *Ibid.* [6] *Æthelbirht*, c. 31, Schmid.

it. Over his wife, in matters domestic, his authority was equally paramount. If she misconducted herself he could, of his own sole authority, expel her with ignominy from home and village.[1] Here we see the *patria potestas* of the monogamous family; but we have other facts pointing to an earlier state of things. The connexion between the woman and her kindred was not altogether severed by the fact of her marriage. They retained an interest in her: they were still co-responsible for her acts and her safety. If she was murdered the price of her life went to them; and they had to pay for a murder committed by her.[2] In these primary matters the rules of the primitive joint-family had not been over-ridden by later customs.

Paternal Rights.

That the original kinship had been reckoned on the female side, may be gathered from the fact that the Anglo-Saxon term for kindred, *mægth*, meant primarily a girl or daughter.[3]

We may suppose that the authority of the father over his son ceased when the latter came of age, and was formally invested in public with spear and shield.[4] From that time he ranked as a tribesman: before he was merely a member of a family.[5]

To the era of the primitive family belong the principles upon which all Anglo-Saxon criminal law was based. These were shortly two; the mutual responsibility of the larger family kindred or clan, "*mægburh*," and the right of private war, *fæhðe*, *fæhthe*,[6] feud or foeship. Here while using the word *clan* we must premise that the Anglo-Saxon *mægburh* was a much narrower and less comprehensive group than the Celtic *clann*, being limited to *bona fide* blood-relations.

Criminal Law.

The right of private warfare was one of the inalienable privileges of the Teutonic freeman. In it essence its was merely a recognition of the primary *lex talionis*, an eye for an eye: a tooth for a tooth. But from an early period means were devised for regulating this right, so as to enable compensation for wrongs done to be exacted otherwise than by retaliation and force of arms, as already pointed out in connexion with Celtic institutions. This was effected by establishing a tariff of fines at which different injuries were rated; and by making the community or State an arbiter between the parties, to assure to the sufferer

Private War.

[1] *Germania*, 19. Fustel de Coulanges, *Problèmes d'Histoire*, 211.

[2] See *Betrothals, sup.*, 7, and the authorities cited by Schmid there, esp. *Henr.*, lxx. 12, 13.

[3] The closeness of the tie between the uncle and the nephews, sons of a sister, points in the same direction. Men standing in that relation were specially singled out as hostages for each other. *Germania*, 20. Tacitus was evidently puzzled by the fact. Conf. *Beowulf*, l. 1755, ed. Kemble.

[4] "Scuto frameaque" (German *Pfriem.* A.S. *gar*).

[5] "Ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox reipublicæ." *Germ.*, c. 13.

[6] The word is derived from *fá*, a foe. Kemble, I. 267. Schmid, 570.

that he should receive proper compensation; and to the wrong doer that on payment of the appointed penalty he should be protected from all further feud and molestation. In return for its intervention the State claimed a fine over and above what passed between the parties. In assigning definite rights to the State the Teutonic differed from the Celtic law. The former system, which is clearly described by Tacitus,[1] was the basis of all Anglo-Saxon law. Private war was not absolutely prohibited, but the individual was bound in the first instance to apply to the lawful authorities for redress;[2] if they neglected to assist, or if the offender refused to submit, then the person aggrieved was remitted to his original right of war; and in this case the State was bound to assist him. This principle is briefly expressed in the maxim preserved in the so-called Laws of Eadward the Confessor: "Bicge spere of side oðer bere." 'Buy [the] spear off [your] side or bear [it].'[3]

The State.

So in civil actions, as we would call them, that is to say suits to recover property or damages. The plaintiff had to begin by a formal demand made in a public meeting or before a judge. The defendant had to meet this by depositing a pledge to abide by legal decision.[4]

Civil Actions.

Where a *prima facie* case was made out against a man he might rebut the charge by bringing forward testimony, apparently not so much to the facts of the case, as to his general character. The amount of testimony required varied according to the nature of the offence;[5] and the value of a man's oath varied with his social *status*.[6] It is needless to point out the temptation to perjury that such a system held out. If a man could not raise the required weight of testimony among his own relations, the natural thing would be to buy the help of strangers.[7]

Testimony, How Weighed.

Pecuniary fines settled everything, from murder downwards, forfeiture of land following in some cases. In the times of Tacitus the mulcts were still estimated in cattle,[8] and in Anglo-Saxon documents the general term for goods, property, or money is still *feoh* = cattle.[9]

Fines.

[1] *Germ.*, 12 and 22.

[2] See *Laws of Hlothær and Eadric*, c. 8; *Ine*, cc. 8, 9, etc.

[3] "Quod est dicere lanceam eme de latere aut fer eam." *Leges Edw. Conf.*, c. 12, s. 6, Schmid, c. 12, Thorpe.

[4] *Laws of Hlothær and Eadric*, and *Ine, sup.*

[5] See *Laws of Ine*, cc. 14, 15, 25 s. 1, 52; *Ælfred*, cc. 4, s. 1, 36, s. 1, etc. For an illustrative case see Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 165.

[6] On this see below.

[7] See a most instructive case, Earle, *Land Charters*, 165 (*Cod. Dip.* No. 328), where a man charged with cattle-stealing gives his foster-father the reversion of an estate to swear him guiltless, and so escapes.

[8] *Germ.*, c. 21.

[9] As Schmid observes *sub voce* in his Glossary, it is often very doubtful in which sense the word *feoh* is used.

Most important of these values was the *Wergeld*[1] or Man-price; corresponding to the *Eric* fine of the Brehon laws; the *Galanas* or *Galnes* of the Welsh codes; the *Cro* of the Scoto-Pictish codes.[2] The penalties for minor injuries passed under the comprehensive name of *bôt* compensation. If the injured party was under the legal protection (*mund*) of a superior, as father, husband, lord, or king, a further penalty was due to him.

The Wer-geld.

"Bot."

Where the murderer was willing to make atonement his 'forespeaker' gave a pledge (*wed*) to the kindred of the slain man; and received in return a pledge for his principal to come in peace and deposit his pledge in person. This latter pledge having been given and accepted, the slayer then gave bail (*borh*) for the due payment of the *wer-geld*. That done, the King's *mund* or protection was 'reared,' the kindred on both sides laying their hands on a weapon, as a token that all right of private warfare was waived or suspended. The various penalties were then paid by instalments at intervals of twenty-one 'nights.'[3] It is worthy of notice that a "wer" was equally exigible for the life of a man killed on a fair field of battle, as for that of a man killed by mere assassination.[4] Where a man caught a thief in the act he might kill him, unless he preferred to accept his "wer." But if he killed him he was bound to proclaim the fact, and then the relatives (*mægas*) of the deceased would have to forswear feud. If the slayer concealed the fact and it was afterwards brought home to him the wer for the deceased might be demanded.[5]

Fines exacted as penalties to the state or king for a wrongful act irrespective of injury done to the individual were known as *wites*.

"Wite" Fines.

The aversion to capital punishment common to all barbaric codes, and conspicuous in English law till after the Conquest, must not be ascribed to a mere sense of humanity. We must bear in mind that to a small primitive community the loss of a single life was a serious blow. It would be a poor compensation for the loss of one member to add the destruction of a second life.

If the reader expects to find among the primitive Teutons a democratic state of society where all men were free and equal, he will greatly err.

[1] Also called *leôdgeld*, or shortly, *wer*, *leôd*, and even *geld*. The word is compounded of *wer*, a man (Latin, *vir*), and *gild* or *geld*, money.

[2] See above and E. W. Robertson, *Scotland under Early Kings*, II. 284. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, II. 152, 204, 217.

[3] *Eadward and Guthrum*, c. 13; Thorpe, 75; Schmid, 395. *Eadmund, Secular Dooms*, c. 7. The Teutons reckoned time by nights, not by days. The fact is noticed by Tacitus, an instance of his accurate observation.

[4] So Ecgfrith, King of Northumbria, received from Æthelred, King of Mercia, the "wer" of his brother Ælfwine, killed in battle; A.D. 679. So again, in 694, the men of Kent paid Ine of Wessex the wer of his brother Mul, killed in an inroad into Kent.

[5] *Ine*, cc. 12, 28, 35.

Social Ranks.

The simplicity of German life was not incompatible with well-marked social distinctions. The gradations may not have been as numerous or minute as those we have noticed in early Irish society, but the broad lines were quite as clearly drawn. As the free differed from the unfree so one freeman differed from another, not only in the value of his life and person (*wer-geld*), but also in the weight to be attached to his testimony in legal proceedings, as already mentioned.[1] The differences were such as to admit of definite numerical admeasurement.

Four orders of society are noticed by Tacitus, *nobiles*, *ingenui*, *liberti*, *servi*;[2] Gentle, Simple, Freedman, or as we would render it, Serf, and Slave. The same fourfold division is ascribed to the Continental Saxons about the year 863.[3] In a Saxon Capitulary, however, of Karl the Great (Charlemagne, A.D. 797), the classes are only three, *nobilis*, *ingenuus*, and *litus*; while the historian Nithard (*circa*, A.D. 843) likewise gives us *edhelingus*, *frilingus*, and *lassus*, the latter term being rendered *serviles* by a later writer.[4]

The Slaves.

The appearance of slaves calls for no special notice—slavery being a primordial institution, almost as old as property itself. Of the condition of the slave Tacitus tells us that it was not necessarily one of hardship, and that he was seldom ill-treated; but that if a master, in a fit of passion, chose to kill a slave no penalty would attach.

The slaves were not employed, as with the Romans, upon handicrafts, or in domestic work; the simple duties of the household were performed by the wife[5] and daughters. The slaves were employed in agriculture, each slave having a cottage and a home of his own; and a plot of ground part of the produce of which went to the master.[6] The agricultural *servus* described by Tacitus must therefore be clearly distinguished from the later Roman *colonus* who ranked as a free man, while the German *servus* was clearly a mere slave and nothing more.

The fact that the *servus* was allowed to occupy and cultivate a definite parcel of land implies not merely ownership of land among the Germans as early as the time of Tacitus, but ownership of land in severalty, not to say accumulation of landed property, in the hands of those who owned the slaves. The master could not allot a holding to his slave unless he had land that he could call his own.

The omission of slaves from some of the tables above given need not

[1] This feature does not appear in old Irish law, but then legal proceedings in the proper sense were unknown to the Irish. [2] *Germania*, 7, 24, 25, 44. Stubbs.

[3] Rudolf, *Translatio S. Alexandr.*, Pertz, II. 674, cited Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, I. 49. (Ed. 1883).

[4] *Capitul. Saxon.*, Baluze, I. 199; Nithard, *Hist.*, IV. 2, cited Stubbs, *sup.*

[5] The Anglo-Saxon *hlæfdige*, lady, means 'loaf-distributer.' *Hlaford*, lord, means 'loaf-provider'; while the menial or dependant is *hlæfeata*, 'loaf-eater.' For the lady handing round the cup to the warriors in the hall, see the Beowulf.

[6] *Germania*, 24, 25.

trouble us. They were doubtless passed over as not being "law-worthy" or entitled to notice. In the laws of our own Æthelbirht we have all the four social classes, given as *eorl*, *ceorl*, *læt*, and *theow*, with subdivisions of the two latter, implying that their numbers, to say the least of it, were not inconsiderable. The *læt* of course will correspond to the *libertus* of Tacitus, who tells us that as far as he could see his position differed little from that of a slave.[1]

In the laws of Æthelbirht the slaves appear to be divided into three classes, with lives of different values, the values differing partly according to the grade of the slave, partly according to the grade of his or her owner. Thus if a man violates the king's handmaid (*cyninges mægden-man*) let him pay fifty shillings amends; if she be a grinding slave (*grindende theowa*) let him pay twenty-five shillings; if she be third class (*thridde*) twelve shillings.[2] The same offence committed with an eorl's waiting-maid (*birele*) involves twelve shillings penalty; with a ceorl's waiting-maid six shillings; 'with second-class slave-girls (*at thære oðere theowan*) fifty *scættá*, for thirds thirty *scættá*.'[3] Of the principles of the distinctions between the classes of slaves we have nothing special to suggest. They might be of different personal qualifications, or they might be born slaves, bought slaves, or captives in war. One special class of slave however is noticed in our laws—*wite-theowan*=penal slaves, persons sold into bondage from inability to pay their debts, and specially legal penalties incurred either by their own misconduct or by that of others for whom they were responsible.

Classes of Slaves.

Penal Slaves.

Of the *læt* we hear even less than of the slave, though the subject opens up a more interesting field of enquiry. In the laws of Æthelbirht three classes of *læt* are given, whose lives are rated at eighty shillings, sixty shillings, and forty shillings respectively,[4] where the life of an ordinary freeman is apparently rated at one hundred shillings, but really perhaps at two hundred shillings.[5] This is the first and last mention

The "læt."

[1] With respect to the word *libertus* in Tacitus, we may take it that he used it as the only term he had to describe the position of a man in theory free, but not altogether so in fact. The *colonus* had not yet made his appearance in the Roman system. We are told that he came in later, and that apparently he filtered in from without, being, originally, of barbaric origin. In the laws of the Lower Empire the libertus is distinguished from the free *colonus* on the one hand, and the *servus* on the other hand. Fustel de Coulanges, *Problèmes Colonat.*, 67.

[2] Æthelbirht, cc. 10, 11 (*circa* A.D. 600).

[3] *Id.*, 14, 16, also 25. The Kentish scæt was=a farthing, four making a penny, while fivepence made a Wessex shilling. For 'fifty' (L) above we should probably read 'sixty' (LX.), the penalties would then run evenly, 6*s.* 3*s.* 1½*s.* [4] c. 26.

[5] "Medume leod-geld C shillinga," c. 21. This perhaps should be taken as the strict *manwyrð*, the full *wer* being 200 shillings. *Laws of Hlothære and Eadric*, cc. 3, 4. "The *medume leod-geld* of the Kentish code was evidently the *medium weregildum* of the Continental codes. . . . a *manwyrth*, the full *leod-geld* therefore was 200." Robertson, *Scotland*, II. 280.

of the *læt* in English history, but his position may be fairly illustrated by that of his continental compeer, the *lazzus* or *litus*,[1] while at the close of our period, when we get fuller lights, we shall find the bulk of the agricultural population of England ranked under three heads, the *geneat*, the *gébur*, the *cotsetla*. These were men occupying exactly the position of the Roman *colonus*: they were theoretically free except in relation to their lord and his land, neither of which they could forsake. They held plots of ground, paying rent, partly in kind, partly in labour expended on the lord's demesne; the amount and nature of the services they had to perform varying according to their *status*.[2] To us it seems impossible not to connect the *geneat*, *gebur* and *cotsetla*, with the three classes of *læt*, the latter term having fallen into disuse. Without supposing that the proportion of the semi-servile population in the early days was at all as great as it was in the latter days, the belief is pressed upon us that the Anglo-Saxons, when they settled in Britain carried on the landed system much as they found it, being already accustomed to servile labour in Germany. We are told that on the Continent the Germanic invaders took over the *coloni* and the slaves with the land, without substantial change, and that the system went on practically unchanged down to the time of our Norman Conquest.[3] At that time we find a system prevailing in England on all fours with that found in France. But before the Anglo-Saxon settlement the system in Britain must have been the same as in Gaul, of which it was part. Thus at the beginning and at the end of a given period a certain system is found obtaining in the two countries. In one of the two the system is proved to have gone on continuously. Is it not more natural to suppose that in the other country also the system ran on with a continuous course, than to suppose that after a period of complete interruption, it should spring *de novo* from the soil, to develop the same features as before?

The original principle of the distinction between the ceorl or *ingenuus*, and the eorl or *nobilis* seems hard to seize. We may conjecture that in its inception it was a mere social distinction, based upon ancestral wealth and traditional purity of blood. Families so distinguished have been found even in very democratic communities, as in ancient Greece. But whatever the principle the line was clearly drawn.

The Ceorl.

In a Kentish code of the 7th century the life of the simple freeman appears to be valued at 200 shillings (£4 4*s*.); that of the "*eorlcund*"

[1] By Frisian law a freeman could reduce himself freely to the position of *litus* and again emancipate himself with his own money. *Lex Frisionum*, tit. 11, ed. Lindenburg, cited Stubbs, I. 52.

[2] See below. For the services of an ordinary *colonus* see Fustel de Coulanges, *Colonat.*, 127–129; for classes of fixed tenants, 64, 67.

[3] *Id.*, 130, 145, 153. A law of Valentinian, A.D. 371, distinguishes three sorts of fixed tenants, namely free *coloni*, freedmen, and slaves. *Id.*, 67.

at 600 shillings.[1] The same values are given in an Anglic code of the 8th century, where the murder of a slave has to be atoned for by a "wergild" of thirty *solidi* (*shillings*); that of the freedman with eighty; that of the freeman with two hundred, and that of the "adaling" with six hundred.[2] Conversely in the Saxon Capitulary above cited, where for certain offences the *nobilis* pays four *solidi*, the *ingenuus* pays two, and the *litus* one. It would seem that the wers of 200 shillings and 600 shillings, as above given, consisted of two parts, one half representing the value of the man's life to his kindred, *manwyrth*, the other half the mulct due to the state or king.[3]

Where rank involved such definite rights and liabilities one would like to know how the register of nobility was drawn up. Of the *album decurionum* in the Roman *municipia* we hear plenty; but of any album of *eorlcund* in Anglo-Saxon history we hear nothing at all.

The difficulty will be greatly lessened if we suppose the distinction to rest on the basis of landed property. The value of a man's oath bears an exact proportion to the acreage of his estate. But the value of a man's oath and the amount of his *wer-geld* went hand in hand. The same fundamental principle, therefore, must have determined both. In fact "primitive nobility and primitive landownership bore the same name." *Adel* or *Æthel*, *Adaling* or *Ætheling* are directly derived from *Odal* or *Edhel*, an old name for a family portion of land with house and adjuncts.[4]

Landed Property.

The law endeavoured to maintain the social distinctions of rank, the different classes being forbidden to inter-marry. But the limits were not impassable. As a man by acquiring property might certainly rise, so presumably the born gentleman or nobleman, if he could not show the requisite estate, would fall.[5]

Legal Status.

[1] *Laws of Hlothære and Eadric*, cc. 1–4; Schmid, A.D. 683–685. In the *Laws of Æthelbirht* we have widows divided into four classes; the guardianship (*mund*) of the 'best' sort is valued at 50 shillings; that of the lowest at 6 shillings; c. 75. See also Schmid, *Append.* VII.

[2] *Laws of the Anglii and Werini*, "Edited by Merkel, 1851; *Canciani*, vol. III." Stubbs, *sup.*, p. 50. The *wer* of 80 *solidi*, for the freedmen again seems to agree with the 80 shillings of the first class *læt* of Æthelbirht. The names of the *Anglii* and *Werini* are traced in the townships of Kirchengal, Westengel, and Feldengel, on the river Unstrut, a tributary of the Saale, with Werningshausen opposite. K. Blind, *Academy*, 24th Feb., 1894.

[3] See above, and Schmid, *Append.* VII., c. 2, s. 1, and c. 3, s. 3.

[4] See Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, I. 57, and authorities there cited. Mr. Robertson compares the allodial *eorlcund* to our "untitled landed gentleman of ancient family," and the Scandinavian Holdr. *Scotland*, II. 324. Æthel and odal must be distinguished etymologically from the Frankish equivalent *alod*, which in its Latinised form *allodium*, was imported into England by the Normans. *Alod* is explained as *al od*, whole, absolute property, as distinguished from *feodum*, *feo od*, stipendiary property, property given for reward. Earle, *Land Charters*, li.

[5] Yet in the *Laws of Ine* the *gesiðcund* man (*i.e. eorl*) without land is recognised.

In the *ceorl* or simple freeman we have the lowest class of the fully franchised members of the community, the rank and file of the colonizing armies. We cannot doubt that each would receive an allotment of the territory he had helped to conquer. But by what process or in what shares and proportions the land was distributed we know not. Throughout the Anglo-Saxon period we find land always measured by hides or family portions,[1] the hide apparently containing from 100 acres to 120 acres of arable land, according to the nature of the soil, the measurement being one of estimation and repute, and moreover based, like the Roman *jugerum*, on value rather than acreage. The 100 acres or 120 acres were exclusive of rough pasture and woodland, of which seemingly certain portions usually went as appendant to each share of plough-land; while again meadow land and other good permanent pasture was usually given in acres, as extra-hidal. The standard unit in the admeasurement of land being thus known as a 'family-portion,' and the whole country apparently being mapped out in such portions, one can hardly help supposing that the original normal holding of the free tribesman would be the complete little estate of the hide of plough-land with its adjuncts. A political franchise based on such a qualification would present a very stable, in fact almost an oligarchic basis of the society, and so Tacitus tells us that in the Germany of his day the substance of power rested with the main body of the tribesmen, not with the elective chiefs. "*De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes.*"[2] That in later days such was still the theory of our constitution cannot be doubted. The traces of the principle are numerous. It lies at the root of all our institutions. But it would be rash to accept it in its pristine integrity as exhibiting the true balance of forces in an English folkmote. When we get a clear view of the subject we shall find the distribution of land (and of political power) very different, one man owning many hides, and others owning, or rather renting, but a fraction of a hide. But the mere natural increase in the population would account for the subdivision of the land where no other industry was available. Whatever the extent of his holding the *ceorl* of the days of Æthelberht must have been a man in a comfortable position. He might be the owner of a slave-handmaid, he might have other household dependants.[3] In fact a man

The "hide" of land.

Later Feudalisation of Ceorl.

He pays a fine of 60 shillings for failure of attendance in the host, where the land-owning (*land-ágende*) man of the same class pays 120 shillings, and the *ceorl* 30 shillings. c. 51.

[1] *Higid. hid.* (conf. *hige*, *higo*=family), in Bæda rendered *familia*, *Hist. Eccl.*, I. c. 25, and in the Latin charters by *Cassatus mansus*, *mansa*, etc. These Latin equivalents are found on the continent, not so the word *hid*, which is peculiar to England. See Kemble, *Saxons*, I. 91; Earle, *Land Charters*, lii., also append. to chap. below.

[2] *Germ.*, c. 11.

[3] For the ceorls "*birele*" see above, and Æthelbirht, c. 16, for his *hlafæta* (loafeater), see c. 25.

could not properly cultivate a hundred acres of land without outside help, unless he had a grown-up family. As a fully-franchised member of an organised community the *ceorl* held his land subject to definite obligations and burdens. These included the duty of personal military service in time of war, of personal attendance at the various tribal meetings for the discharge of judicial and other business, the discharge in turn of petty public functions involving calls upon his time. From the eighth century downwards we find attendance in the host (*fyrd*), repairing of forts (*burhbot*) and repairing of roads and bridges (*brigcbot*)—primary duties from which no land should be exempted—specially noticed as the *trinoda necessitas*. The same obligations appear in Gaul about the same time, but are referred to as old regulations common to other nations. To us a liability to to repair forts and bridges looks more like a legacy from Roman times, taken over as part of the existing land system, than a product of Teutonic soil.[1] It is not easy to see how the attention to fortifications at any rate could grow into a primary social law among a people who despised strongholds and possessed none.

Social Duties.

Trinoda necessitas.

With the establishment of Royalty the burdens on land would naturally increase. If a king of the East Saxons or the South Saxons could not take the vineyards and the olive yards of his subjects, and give them to his servants,[2] he at any rate, like the Celtic kings, could require a certain amount of entertainment (*feorm, pastus*) on his journeys, or else contributions in kind in lieu thereof (*feorm-fultum*). Besides that he could demand transport and assistance for himself and for all persons in his service or accredited by him.

Entertainment.

Of the primary burdens the most onerous would be that of personal military service (*Fyrd*). The man would have to serve with his own equipment and at his own cost. In the early days of the settlement, when the new-comers were armed colonists, holding by no title but that of the sword, little difficulty would be found in exacting fulfilment of the duty. But as the country became more and more settled, and the wars became political rather than agrarian, the difficulty would become considerable. We may suppose that in theory a man might be called out from each hide. But there is evidence that in cases, very likely in many cases, the kings were obliged to accept compositions, cutting down the number of men liable for service.[3] Anyhow before England was reduced to substantial unity we shall find the military system

Military Service.

[1] For the first notices of the *trinoda necessitas*, see Stubbs, I. 82. The Bishop, however, questions the Roman origin. [2] See 1 Samuel c. viii.

[3] See *e.g. Codex Diplomaticus*, No. 116, where King Coenwulf of Mercia accepts five men from thirty hides (*circa* A. D. 800). For a grant of many hides 'to be held as one hide in all things,' see *Id.* 642. Montesquieu tells us that in Gaul one man went to the host from four mansi, *mansus* being one of the words used to render 'hide' in A. S. charters.

breaking down utterly, and the country left at the mercy of every petty band of sea-rovers.

Lastly, among the rules under which the *ceorl* held his land was that of cultivation in common. The usual system was one of three courses, say one year wheat, one year barley or oats, and one year fallow. Sometimes a two-course shift was in use; there the land would lie fallow alternate years. From this point of view the hide might be regarded as an aliquot share of the Common Field.[1]

Cultivation in Common.

The *eorl* held his land under the same general conditions as the *ceorl*,[2] except where a favoured individual had obtained from the king and witan a charter (*boc*) granting him land to be held free from the ordinary regalian dues (*bocland, freols, terra libera*).[3] In later days we find the normal estate of a *thegn*, a term equivalent to the earlier *eorl*, estimated at five hides;[4] that is to say, apparently at five rated hides.[5] The higher tribal posts of course would be filled by men of *eorl* rank. Tacitus tells us that very distinguished parentage would sometimes entitle a mere lad to high office,[6] and more particularly that in the larger tribes, where the chief ruler aspired to regal style, the king would be selected from the family of noblest birth, a statement quite in accordance with the teaching of our history. But he goes on to say that, in critical times, the common sense of a free people held that the claims of birth must give place to more weighty considerations. Whoever might be allowed to rule in time of peace, in time of war none but the tried warrior could be chosen captain[7] (*dux heretoga*; conf. the Celtic *Toisech*).

The Eorl.

Boc Land.

This may have been true of the actual days of the migration, but we have no instance in our records of a king being superseded in time of war in favour of an elective captain. In the election, again, of the ealdormen and other officials below the king, we find the primitive rights of the freemen suffering encroachment on the one hand from the invasion of the hereditary principle; on the other hand from the ascendency of the royal authority. If the office is sufficiently important it either becomes the appanage of a particular family, or else rests at the king's disposal.

The Hereditary Principle.

In *Eorl* and *Ceorl* we have "the first simple division of society," the

[1] See more below.

[2] See "Rectitudines Singularum Personarum," c. i. Schmid, App. III.; Thorpe, I. 432.

[3] So in Ælfred's Will, Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, II. 177, 178–182; also *Cod. Dip.*, No. 806. For *freols*, a "liberty" or franchise, see No. 481.

[4] Rectitudines, *sup.*

[5] So I understand the passage, "Thegen . . . the to cinges ut ware fif hyda hœfde." Ranks, Schmid, App. V. c. 3.

[6] "Insignis nobilitas, aut magna patrum merita principis dignationem etiam adolescentulis assignant." *Germ.*, c. 13.

[7] "Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt." *Germ.*, c. 7.

later Gentle and Simple. The word "Ceorl" kept its place, but "Eorl" was destined to be supplanted by a series of other terms as fresh gradations of rank were introduced. By the time of Ine's legislation[1] we have a threefold division of *twyhynde*, *syxhynde*, and *twelfhynde* men, with wergelds of 200 shillings, 600 shillings, and 1200 shillings.[2] Above these, again, came the ealdorman, bishop, Æthe-ling, or Prince of the Blood, and King—all valued at still higher rates. The *twyhynde* man of course is the *ceorl*, who was always valued at 200 shillings, and the *syxhynde* man, now otherwise spoken of as the *gesithcund* man, is the old *eorl*, who was worth 600 shillings. The *twelfhynde* man is new, and he is also called a 'king's thegn' (*cyninges thegn*).[3] The gradations are very clearly put in a law of King Ælfred, where the penalties for breaking into another man's premises (*burh-bryce*) are laid down. In the case of a ceorl's curtilage the fine is five shillings; in the case of that of a *syxhynde* man fifteen shillings; and in the case of that of a *twelfhynde* man thirty shillings, the penalty being again doubled for an attack on the house of an ealdorman, and yet again for one on the palace of a king.[4]

Later Gradations.

The word *gesith*, in Latin *comes*, originally meant a companion, but the term gained dignity through special association with warfare, and service under military leaders. In the Laws of Ine the *gesith* appears as a man in subordinate authority, perhaps originally a military officer, whose duties had assumed a civil character as the country became settled.[5] The term, however, soon disappears. The word *thegn* was of humbler origin, but fated for a greater destiny. Meaning, originally, 'servant' or minister[6] it rose to distinction, like our "Cabinet Minister," in the service of Royalty. The king's thegns form a new class valued at twice the price of the old *syxhynde* eorl.

The "Gesithcund."

The Thegn.

Short of royal dignity the highest post known to the constitution was that of the *Ealdorman*, or Elder,[7] the later Earl, the *princeps* of the Germania. In our Latin charters the title is rendered *dux*. In the time of Tacitus apparently many of the Germanic tribes were still ruled by elective *principes*;[8] and such was still the case with the Continental Saxons in the days of Bæda, who tells us that they were governed by *Satrapæ*, rendered *ealdormen* by King Ælfred in his translation.[9] The title implied an authority even more

The Ealdorman.

[1] *Circa* 690. Haddan and Stubbs, III. 214. [2] *Laws*, Ine, c. 70. [3] *Id.*, c. 45.
[4] Laws of Ælfred, c. 40. For wers, again, see Schmid, *Anhang*, VII.
[5] See Earle, *Land Charters*, lxv. One might, perhaps, compare the *gesithcund* with the later *scutifer* or esquire, *i.e.* man-at-arms.
[6] In the Latin charters *minister* represents the vernacular *thegn*.
[7] Conf. the Biblical "Elder" and the Arabian "Sheik."
[8] See Stubbs, *C. H.*, I. 31. [9] Bæda, *Hist. Eccl.*, V. 10.

restricted than that of a king, and also a dominion of less extent. But with the position of an independent ealdorman of this sort we need not concern ourselves, because though the actual leaders in the immigration are usually styled earldormen or *heretogan*, the reader must have noticed that the final establishment of a tribe on British soil was immediately followed by the assumption of royal style by the leading chief. By a converse process when the original Heptarchic Kingdoms were subdued and incorporated we find the representatives of the fallen dynasties continued in office as under-kings (*sub-reguli*) or ealdormen, and in fact, with scarcely diminished authority.[1]

The ealdorman of the later type was no longer elective, but nominated by the king with the assent of his *Witenagemôt*, of which more anon. But a powerful family with strong local influence might establish a hold upon a particular *ealderdom* that might not be lightly overlooked. The position was that of a Lord Lieutenant or King's representative within the shire.

His Authority and Emoluments.

Royal mandates were transmitted through him. He wore a sword of office: in time of war he led the local *fyrd*; in time of peace he presided in the shire-mote, *folc-gemôt*, or county-court. He shared the judicial fines and emoluments accruing to the king from the administration of the Law, receiving one-third—the third penny.[2] Some late references to "earl-lands" suggest that special mensal lands may have been appropriated for the endowment of these offices, but we do not get the clear view of official estates in England that we do in Ireland.[3] *Prima facie*, the ealdorman ruled a single shire. In Kent we shall hear of two Ealdormen, doubtless one for East Kent and one for West Kent, the two original Kingdoms. In later times, however, a practice grew up of entrusting a group of shires as a province to one ealdorman or earl.

The Comitatus.

An institution by which Tacitus was evidently much struck, an institution on which according to him the influence of the leading chiefs (*principes*) mainly depended, was the *comitatus*. Modern scholars also have devoted much attention to the subject. On the face of it the *comitatus* was the household retinue of a primitive magnate, in an unsettled state of society, when the maintenance of an effective body of armed retainers was an object of primary importance.[4] In Celtic phrase the retainer was said to 'enter the house' of the chieftain to whose service he attached himself, and whose 'man' he became. Large households naturally admitted of different offices filled

[1] See cases, Stubbs, I. 123.

[2] The same proportion was drawn on the Continent by the Graf, *comes*, or count, the remaining two-thirds going to 'the palace.' Stubbs, II. 126, citing a capitulary of A.D. 783. [3] See above.

[4] "Hæc dignitas, hæc vires, magno semper electorum juvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus, in bello præsidium. *Germ.*, 13.

by men of very different birth and rank.[1] One would be a social equal, literally a 'companion' (*comes, gesith*); another would be a mere servant (*thegn*). The remarks of the Roman historian apply to those of the higher rank. He evidently thought it strange that men of birth could place themselves in vassalage to other men.[2] But this will not surprise the modern reader who knows what the gradations of office in a Royal Household are. Nevertheless, the relation of lord and vassal under the *comitatus* presented features not easily realized at the present day. In the first place the institution implied more or less a right of private warfare. Then the tie that bound the follower to his lord (*princeps*) was held singularly sacred, if not indissoluble, the balance of advantage being very much on the side of the superior. The most devoted loyalty, the most entire self-abnegation were required of the follower. He was expected to live, and, if necessary, to die for his lord.[3] From his lord in return he received shelter and protection, good society, sport, and his daily maintenance. He also received a horse and his equipment of weapons for war and the chase[4] (*heregeat*). These reverted to the lord on the death of the vassal, and to this custom the later heriots may be traced.[5]

Household Retinues.

Another odd feature of the institution was the legal recognition apparently given to the *status* of the *gesith* or *thegn*, at least to the *gesith* or *thegn* of ealdorman or king. Even a *ceorl* might have a 'loaf-eater' (*hlafæta*) as we have seen. But the right of maintaining a *comitatus* in the highest sense was in this country apparently limited to kings, ealdormen, and the later bishops.[6] The view that a man by entering the *comitatus* lost his personal freedom, that in a manner he became disfranchised, seems very exaggerated.[7] Of course he would lose his independence of political action, as a modern member of Parliament loses his independence by entering the Cabinet. But there is no reason to suppose that he would forfeit any of his rights of citizenship. The king's thegns of our later period are the highest nobility next to the ealdormen or earls. The system of the *comitatus* suggests large landed estates and primogeniture. The noble youths willing to take service would be the cadets of the great families.

[1] "Gradus quin etiam et ipse comitatus habet, judicio ejus quem sectantur, etc." *Germ.*, 13; conf. K. Maurer, *Krit. Ueberschau*, II. 400, cited Stubbs, I. 167, where the house-carles of a Danish king are divided into three classes: servants, external agents, and *hired-menn* (A.S. *hired-men*), household retainers.

[2] "Nec rubor inter comites adspici." *Germ.*, *sup.*

[3] "Jam vero infame in omnem vitam, ac probrosum superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse. Illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriæ ejus assignare præcipuum sacramentum est. Principes pro victoria pugnant; comites pro principe." *Germ.*, 14.

[4] *Germ.*, c. 14.

[5] For a heriot, see *Cod. Dip.*, No. 699; Earle, p. 215 (A.D. 997).

[6] The point is not very clear. See Stubbs, 25, 167; also especially the writ of Cnut (A.D. 1020), where he refers to the thegns he has allowed the Archbishop of Canterbury to have.

[7] See Kemble, I. 173. Stubbs, *sup.*, I. 26.

Forms of the *comitatus* may be traced in the housecarles of the later Anglo-Saxon period and the liveried "household men" of our mediæval nobility. In fact analogous relations have existed at different times in many parts of the world. Such was the bond between the *patronus* and the *cliens* of early Rome. Patroclus was the *gesith* (ἑταιρος) of Achilles; Eteoneus the *thegn* (θεράπων) of Menelaus; *comites* again were the noble 'table companions' (ὁμοτράπεζοι) who felt themselves bound to die with the younger Cyrus at Cunaxa.[1] In fact, even within the limits of the Roman Empire, in its latter days, we seem to trace the germs of a system of this character endeavouring to spring up.[2]

Analogous customs.

But in our history, without doubt, the *comitatus* plays most part in connexion with royalty. The king had opportunities of employing and promoting his thegns that no other man could have, and he alone could give them definite rank in the social scale. 'King's thegn' became the English equivalent for the Norman 'baron.'

Of the Teutonic, as of the Celtic kingship, the essence appears to have been a combination of the hereditary with the elective principles, the electors being restricted in their choice to the members of a particular family. That could only be after kingly rule had been established. That form of government might be supposed to arise where, on the one hand, the community felt itself strong enough to assert an independent national existence; while, on the other hand, a particular leader or a particular family had gained such a position as to exclude competition outside its own circle. Perhaps the more likely account would be that kingship arose where a military leader had established within and without the tribe a position which seemed to justify the assumption of royal dignity, that is to say, when he found himself strong enough to get himself proclaimed king. The dynasty once started was prompt to invest itself with a halo of sanctity by producing a pedigree tracing descent from Woden.[3]

The King.

The king was the representative man, the head and father[4] of his people. He was the chief conservator of the peace, the protector of the stranger and the helpless, the supreme judge in final resort. His *wergild* greatly exceeded that of any other man. By Mercian law it was £120, or thirty-six times that of the simple *ceorl*, whose

His Position and Prerogatives.

[1] Xenoph., *Anab.*, I. c. 8. See Freeman, *Norman Conq.*, I. 92.

[2] See the peremptory prohibitions against *Patrocinium* and *Obsequium*, Cod. Just., XI. tit. 53, 54, A.D. 365, 468.

[3] All the first Anglo-Saxon kings claimed descent from Woden. See their pedigrees in the Chronicles and Florence.

[4] The word *cyning* is held to be not merely Teutonic, but Aryan, and connected with the Sanskrit *ganaka*, 'Father.' So Max Müller. "But the Anglo-Saxons probably connected the *cyning* with the *cyn* more closely than scientific etymology would permit." Stubbs, I. 158.

life was valued at 200 shillings of 4*d*. each.[1] Minor offences against the king's person or property, or against the persons or properties of those under his protection (*mund*) likewise involved enhanced penalties. For, be it noted, the king's prerogative did not override the primary right of private war except with regard to certain persons, or to certain places, as the four great ways,[2] or the precincts or verge of the king's residence for the time being; or, again, with respect to certain times and circumstances, such as feasts and festivals and public gatherings, either in the host, or for the transaction of civil business.[3] With the king rested the calling out and leadership of the *fyrd*, or national militia, the summoning of special national meetings, and the like. He was entitled to a share of all judicial mulcts and fees, and to the whole of the estates forfeited for political and other offences, a vast source of income. It is probable that there were crown lands annexed to the office, but, by whatever title, the king was, without doubt, the greatest of landowners.[4] He was also entitled, like the Celtic kings, to receive a certain amount of entertainment on his journeys (*feorm*, *pastus*), or composition in kind in lieu thereof.

Revenues.

He could also call for the services of his subjects, with their carts and animals, to transport and escort himself and his retinue, with all their belongings. Among these hawks and hounds are specially noticed. Ealdormen and other official persons, and persons travelling on the king's business might claim similar assistance. In grants of land by charter (*boc*) to a favoured individual these rights were frequently released, and from these documents we learn what the royal perquisites were.[5] The king again had the chief voice in all appointments to national posts, such as those of ealdormen, and, after the conversion, of bishops and abbots. As the mark of his rank the king wore a circlet of gold, *cynehelm* or *cynebeah*, round his head.[6] Throne and sceptre were also his. But the head of the State was not invested with unlimited or irresponsible power.[7] As he was elected so he could be deposed for incapacity or misconduct. Several instances will be recorded in our narrative.[8] In all matters of high importance, such as legislation, declarations of peace or war, supreme appellate

[1] See the Tables, Schmid, 394; Thorpe I., 174. £120 was also the king's *wer* in Kent and Wessex. Of the sum half would go to his family, half to his people—240 pennies went to the £1.

[2] *I.e.*, The Watling Street, the Foss Way, the Icknield Street, and the Ermine Street. *Leges Eadw. Conf.*, c. 12.

[3] See below and Kemble, II. 38.

[4] In my view the king might hold land under three different titles: (1) Crown desmesne lands, which he could not alienate. (2) Ordinary *folcland*, held as a private individual, which he could not devise by will. (3) *Bocland*, which he could devise by will. See below.

[5] See Earle, *Land Charters*, lxxxv., from *Cod. Dip.*, Nos. 216, 281, and 1,063.

[6] Kemble, *Saxons*, I. 154.

[7] So, too, the *Germania*, "Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas," c. 7.

[8] See them collected by Bishop Stubbs, *C. H.*, I. 152.

jurisdiction, appointments to the chief posts in the State, he was bound to consult his leading followers, known as his *witan*, or wise men. In fact, without their concurrence his powers of enforcing his mandates would be small. Of any power of imposing taxes nothing need be said, because, though the king could exact tolls and dues on goods imported into the kingdom, or sold in markets and fairs, nothing in the shape of direct taxation is heard of before the Danegelds of the tenth century. With respect to Crown lands, as already stated, the evidence is not very ample, but it does appear that there were estates which were or might be applied to the maintenance not only of the king, but also of the members of the royal family. It is clear, however, that the king and witan had full power of disposing of these lands as they pleased. Ælfred, in his will, speaks of land given him by God and his "*yldran*," meaning apparently his Wise Men.[1] Æthelred II. tells us that when his father died, and his elder brother became king, the *optimates* gave him the lands appertaining to the king's sons (*ad regios pertinentes filios*), and that when his brother died, and he himself became king, he took possession of the Crown lands in addition (*regalium simul . . . terrarum suscepi dominium*).[2] Lastly, *Domesday Book* clearly refers to Crown desmesne lands (*Dominicatus regis ad regnum pertinens*).[3]

No Direct Taxation.

Crown Lands.

If we turn from the consideration of the several classes to that of the tribe or petty kingdom as a whole, we shall find in our modern counties and their subdivisions the *cadres* within which the invaders organized themselves. Following the system under which they had lived in their continental homes, they arranged themselves by townships (*vici*) and hundreds (*pagi*); aggregates of these forming tribes or kingdoms (*civitates*). The Township (*tunscipe*) is represented by the modern manor or parish.[4] The latter, of course, is an ecclesiastical division, but one based on pre-existing civil delimitations. The Hundred is known to us all as a subdivision of the shire, and the areas of our south-eastern counties coincide with those of primitive kingdoms, their names again indicating the tribal character of the settlements. Essex is the land of the East Saxons; Sussex that of the South Saxons. Kent is a Celtic territorial name retained by the conquering Jutes, but its borders were thought ample enough to admit for a time of the two king-

The Township.

[1] *Cod. Dip.*, No. 314, Birch. [2] *Id.*, No. 1,312.

[3] Exeter, *Domesday*, p. 75. Cited Stubbs.

[4] The words "mark" and "mark-system" introduced by Kemble to denote the *vicus* or township and the life of a village-community, have been shown by Fustel de Coulanges to be destitute of authority. "Mark" (A.S. *mearc*) is nowhere to be found in any other sense than that of boundary or march, as in Scotland to the present day. In an extended sense it might be used of a border territory, as "the Welsh March," but never of a town or village. See also Earle, *Land Charters*, xlv.

doms of East and West Kent. Dorset and Somerset again (*Dornsætas, Sumorsætas*) represent colonial settlements, offshoots from the parent tribe of *Gewissas*, established on a footing of quasi-independence. Herefordshire gives us the territory of the *Magesætas*; the old diocese of Worcester that of the *Hwiccas*.

In the general organization the Hundred appears to have been, as for some purposes it still is, the judicial and administrative unit; the Township in such matters ranking as a fraction of the Hundred, while political supremacy rested with the tribe or kingdom.

The Hundred.

Each of these groups in their several spheres had their periodical meetings under the presidency of public officers for the transaction of competent business, a complete and efficient system of self-government, so far as it went, that is to say within the limits of a primitive kingdom. Of the proceedings in these meetings as he witnessed them in Germany, Tacitus has drawn a very popular, in fact quite a Republican, picture. All are free, all appear in arms, sitting in the open air, grouped by clans or townships, as in the host. The chiefs (*principes*) may meet beforehand in committee to arrange the *agenda*; they are also allowed to take the lead in debate, but the ultimate decision of all matters of importance rests with the assembled tribesmen.[1] The official magistracy, the rulers of the *vicus* and the *pagus*, are elective;[2] the chief captains in time of war are carefully chosen, as we have seen, even the kings are elective. Of this popular elective system undoubted survivals are to be found in our own institutions, but it is doubtful if in Britain the principle of an elective magistracy ever had such free play as appears in the *Germania*.

Periodical Assemblies.

In looking for the principles on which the original Townships and Hundreds may have been settled it is worthy of notice that in the south-western counties we have Tithings instead of the Townships of other districts.[3] So in the laws of Eadgar, in a general ordinance for the pursuit of thieves, the petty officer next below the Hundred-man is the Tithing-man,[4] and in the *Leges Henrici Primi*, a compilation of Anglo-Saxon law, the subdivisions of the Hundred are given as the *Decaniæ* or *Decimæ* and the manorial jurisdictions.[5] A passage is cited from the Civil Law in which ten men are said to constitute a *Turba*; this

Tithings.

[1] "De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes," etc. *Germ.*, c. 11.

[2] "Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes qui jura per pagos vicosque reddant." *Id.*, c. 12.

[3] "So in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and all counties south of the Thames except Kent and Cornwall." C. Pearson, *Historical Atlas*, 52. Conf. Stubbs, *C. H.*, i. 92.

[4] "Teoðingman." Eadgar I. ss. 2, 4.

[5] "Distinguuntur centuriæ vel hundreta in decanias vel decimas et in dominorum plegios." In this case it is possible that the reference might be to the later, revived, personal arrangement of *friðborh*, but on the whole I think that territorial divisions are meant throughout.

word *Turba*, in French *Tourbe*, looking very much like "thorp" or *dorf*, a village; "as if the original village was supposed to consist of ten families."[1] This much, however, may be taken as admitted, that the Teutonic peoples were organized for the purposes of the host and of police administration by tens and hundreds,[2] while the majority of terms used in this country to denote territorial subdivisions are words primarily importing groups of men, not areas of land. Between the Trent and the Tees the divisions now corresponding to the southern Hundreds are called Wapentakes, a word of Norse origin, meaning apparently a taking or mustering of spears, *i.e.* of armed men.[3] In Lincolnshire also we have Wapentakes. Further North the shires are divided into Wards, *i.e.* Guards, again quotas of men, not of acres or hides. In Kent several Hundreds make a Lathe: this is explained by the Danish or Jutish *Lething* a levy or force.[4] The clear inference from these facts is that the territorial divisions of the country were based on pre-existing personal arrangements of the invading forces. We may suppose, therefore, that their armies being organized by regiments of a hundred men or a hundred and twenty men—the old English hundred often extending to that figure—with subsections of ten men each, the several regiments parcelled out among themselves the land they had conquered by allotting a fair proportion to each ten. Or it may be that the country having been occupied by independent groups of squatters, when they came to organize themselves for the purposes of self-defence and orderly government they arranged themselves by tens and hundreds according to the system under which they had lived in their former homes. A sufficient number of men might constitute their district a legal Hundred, giving the *status* of a Tithing or Township to any section prepared to accept a theoretic liability of finding ten men for the host.[5] In this way very unequal areas might become Hundreds. In short, either the hosts occupying the lands according to their military subdivisions gave the names of those subdivisions to their districts, or the settlers in ordering themselves fell back upon the arrangements to which they had been accustomed in the host. Both processes may have come into operation in different places. In either case the earliest view that we get of the Germans is that of "a nation in arms."

Wapentakes.

Wards.

[1] "Turba decem dicuntur," *Leg. Præt.*, 4, s. Turba. "Coutume si doit verefier par deux tourbes et chacun d'iceiles par dix temoins." *Loisel*, V. tit. 5, c. 13. Kemble, *Saxons*, I. 244.

[2] See Bishop Stubbs' note, I. 92.

[3] Mr. Skeat, in his *Etymological Dictionary*, accepts the popular etymology given in the so-called *Leges Edw. Conf.*, c. 27, Schmid; c. 31, Thorpe.

[4] Ellis, *Introduction to Domesday*, I. 179, 180. See also for more, Stubbs, I. 110, 121.

[5] The original Township-Tithings, primarily personal and secondly territorial, must be distinguished from the later Tithings of *frithborh* or Frankpledge, which must be considered a revival of a decayed institution. So too Earle, *sup.*, liv., note.

The settlement under the former of the modes here suggested would be facilitated by the fact that the Teutonic hosts being organized territorially, kinsmen and neighbours fought side by side.[1] The members of the original Townships might thus be extensively related by ties of clanship from the first. With the mutual responsibilities of the members of a Township, it is not surprising that no stranger could be allowed to settle, or even to purchase the share of a townsman without the consent of the others.[2] But, as already pointed out, we must assume that the lion's share of the spoils of the Britons would fall to the military leaders and captains, and that alongside of the family portions of the rank and file arrayed in their Tithings and Hundreds large manorial estates lying somewhat outside of the normal system must have been found from a very early period. At the same time the proceedings in our manorial courts even at the present day imply that the constitution of the manorial Townships was in outward form as nearly as possible the same as that of the free Townships. It will be borne in mind that except in his relations to his lord and his land the *læt* was a freeman. In the free Townships the people held their periodic gemôts to elect their petty officers, their head man, tithing-man, or constable, their *bydel* (beadle), their hedgeward, their pound keeper, and the like.[3] So they have to choose the four good men who with the head-man will represent them in the courts or meetings of the Hundred and Shire. In the manorial Township the head-man was the lord's *gerefa* (reeve, steward) nominated of course by him, but with the proper assent of the little community. Then again the townsmen pass by-laws[4] regulating the course of their common husbandry, and execute orders transmitted to them from above in such matters as selecting and equipping men for the host, pursuit of criminals, tracking stolen cattle, and the like. Survivals of these meetings still surround us, partly in the manorial courts, partly in the vestries, where the freemen, the ratepayers, "still assemble for purposes of local interest not involved in the manorial jurisdiction." It does not appear, however, that the Township gemôt enjoyed any criminal jurisdiction."[5]

Family Groups.

Manorial Estates.

Township Jurisdiction.

Cultivation in common, under the system still partly in use, and known

[1] "Quodque præcipuum fortitudinis incitamentum, non casus vel fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiæ et propinquitates." *Germania*, c. 7.

[2] See the extract from the *Lex Salica*, tit. 45 (ed. Merkel), given by Bishop Stubbs, I. 55. Compare the assent of the "homage" to the admission of a new copyhold tenant of a manor.

[3] For these see *Rectitudines*, Schmid, 380; and again, for an Oxfordshire manor in the last century, E. Nasse, *Agricultural Community*, p. 12 (Cobden Club, 1871); Williams, *Archæol.*, xxxiii. 270.

[4] By-law, formerly written birlaw or burlaw, would properly mean a local rule passed in a burh, Northern *byr* or *by* = township. Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*

[5] See Stubbs, i. 88, 96.

as that of "Open Fields," "Commonable Fields," "Intermixed Lands," or "Lammas Lands," was one of the chief bonds of association among the members of the Township. The system was in full force in England till the last century. Of the periodic redistribution of land mentioned by Tacitus,[1] and found by us as still practised in Ireland within living memory, the evidence is less full, but sufficient traces are forthcoming to prove that to a certain extent it did form part of the original land-system of England.[2] It is important to point out that the practice of redistribution by lot or otherwise in itself implied that the ultimate ownership of the soil rested not with the individual, but with the collective body entitled to participate. The description in Tacitus clearly applies to an earlier style of husbandry than any that we can identify in England. Here for the purposes of common tillage the best land of the Township was laid out in large blocks or Fields, as nearly as possible of rectangular shape, separated by banks of turf. Sometimes there were two such blocks, but more usually three, according to the system of husbandry adopted, that is to say according as the land was cultivated under a three-course or a two-course system, as already mentioned.[3] The whole of each Field was treated alike, being either sown with one crop or lying fallow. But in many, and probably most cases the Township land could not be thrown into two or three parallelograms, and then the Fields had to be broken up into minor blocks or "Shots" of the desired shape. The aim was to get parcels of land that could be cultivated in strips not exceeding 200 Anglo-Saxon yards (=220 Imperial yards) in length—"furlang" lengths. That length with a width of four 'rods,' or 20 Anglo-Saxon yards (=22 Imperial yards) made an acre. If the furrows could not be made of "furlang" length the width of the strips had to be increased. The whole Fields were thus broken up into acre-strips made to approximate as nearly as possible to the normal standard. The acre-strips apparently were parted off by unploughed intervals two furrows wide. Each hide included of necessity an equal number of strips in each Field. If the whole had lain in one Field the owner would have had no crop when that Field was under fallow. But even in each Field

Cultivation in Common.

[1] "Agri pro numero cultorum ab universis in vices occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur: facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia præstant, arva per annos mutant et superest ager." *Germ.*, c. 26. The latter words point to a primitive agriculture under which rough grass land is broken up, one or two crops taken off it, and then a fresh piece broken up. This rude "field-grass" husbandry, as it has been called, can be traced in Cornwall. Nasse, *sup.*, 11, 20.

[2] E. Nasse, *Agricultural Community*, 13; citing evidence before an Inclosure Committee (Cobden Club, 1871). In the Orkneys (partly Celtic and partly Scandinavian) arable land was frequently repartitioned down to the year 1500. A. Mitchell, *Academy*, 19th April, 1884.

[3] In later times we find the two crops distinguished as "tilth grain" and "etch" (*i.e.* stubble) "grain." Seebohm.

the strips of a given hide did not lie together. Apparently each man entitled to participate took strip and strip about, according to the size of his holding, the object being to secure as far as possible equality of value among the holdings of the same size. The system in itself suggests an original distribution by lot, which might easily be repeated. The subdivision of the land in acre-strips obtained in many places till very recent times. Even in the last days of the system, before the passing of the Enclosure Acts to reconstitute the holdings, we are told that a man owning a hundred acres in a Common Field might "at the most have two or three acres together." [1]

From seedtime to harvest each Field as a whole was fenced in, and each man was entitled to the entire produce of his own strips, these, as already mentioned, being merely marked off by unploughed intervals. The ploughing was done by common ploughs to which each man contributed labour and animals *pro rata*. On light land eight oxen commonly went to the plough, but in parts of England more had to be used.[2] After the severance of the crop individual rights fell into abeyance. The fences surrounding the Fields and Shots were thrown down, and the animals of the community, previously restricted to the waste lands, were allowed to range freely over the stubbles, the grassy banks, and the fallow till the next seedtime. But each townsman could only turn out a number of beasts proportionate to his holding in the Field. Again we must remark that if the land was called "Common," it was only common to the landowning families. The system was equally applicable to hay meadows, each man mowing and top-dressing his parcel during the summer as he pleased. On a given day in autumn the cattle would be turned on, as may be seen in Switzerland at the present day.[3] These were known as Lammas Meadows. In recent times when the shares were redistributed the redistribution took place at the end of a period of rotation, and so most likely it was at all times. Finally it is clear that co-tillage could be worked as well among tenants of a manor as among small proprietors, and that the lord of the manor might have his estate in the Common Field.[4]

Jurisdiction of the Hundred.

Next in order above the meetings of the Township came those of the Hundred, or Wapentake, corresponding to the *pagus* of Tacitus, the *hærred* of Scandinavia, the *huntari* or *gau* of Germany.[5] As a social and judicial institution it was common to every branch of the Germanic race, a relic of their primitive organization. At

[1] Nasse, *sup.*, 7. See also Canon Isaac Taylor, *Domesday Studies*, I. 55–60, with the plan of the Common Fields of Burton Agnes in the East Riding copied below in vol. II.; and Seebohm, *English Village Communities*, 1–13, with the plans of the manor of Hitchin taken in 1816.

[2] Nasse, 7; Seebohm, 62.

[3] See Maine, *Village Communities*, 84, etc. Nasse, *sup.*

[4] This I infer from the fact that in later times we find lands of free and base tenure intermixed. Seebohm, *sup.*, 13, 23.

[5] Stubbs, I. 33, 103.

common law the Hundred still is "the unit of our finance and police administration": a claim for damages against the community not otherwise provided for would have to be preferred against the Hundred.[1] The relation of the Hundred to the host, and the authority of the Hundred as a judicial court are both clearly noticed by Tacitus. Speaking of the structure of the German army he says: "*Definitur et numerus: centeni ex singulis pagis sunt.*" 'The very numbers are fixed: a hundred men come from each *pagus*.' He then goes on to say "*idque ipsum inter suos vocantur, et quod prius numerus fuit jam nomen et honor est.*"[2] 'And in fact they are called the Hundred among themselves, so that what was a mere number has become a name and title.' The reader will compare the cases of a modern County Eleven or University Eight. Again, describing the national assemblies or meetings of the whole tribe, the writer tells us that in them were appointed the *principes* or magistrates to administer justice throughout the *pagi* and *vici* (Hundreds and Townships); and then speaking of these magistrates he says: "*Centeni singulis ex plebe comites consilium simul et auctoritas adsunt.*"[3] 'Each of these has a hundred freemen sitting beside him to advise and support him.' Here however we should see not a delegation of a hundred assessors sitting beside a magistrate, but the actual Hundred court or meeting (*hundredes-gemôt*), consisting of the theoretic hundred free heads of households, assembled with a magistrate as chairman. This man in England would be the *hundredes-ealdor*,[4] or Hundred-man, corresponding to the *centenarius* of Frankish law, originally elective but in later times appointed by the king, possibly by the ealdorman of the shire. We also hear of the *gerefa*, reeve or sheriff, in connexion with the Hundred court. He was essentially a Royal officer, the steward of the King's rights, and never at any time elective. The sittings of the court or *gemôt* were held once a month, the judges were the whole body of freemen or suitors, who were bound to be present. In later times we find that the tenants of a manor in the absence of their lord might be represented by four good men and their reeve. But even then special meetings might be summoned twice a year, at which the whole male population would be requested to attend.[5] The Hundred court enjoyed full civil and criminal jurisdiction: it attested wills and transfers of land. Suits could only be carried to the County court or to the King's hearing by way of appeal from proceedings in the Hundred. It had a common purse to and from which payments were made: suitors attending the meetings were under special

Court of First Instance.

[1] See Earle's *Land Charters*, xlix., where the case of the damages for the burning of the castle of Nottingham by the mob in 1832 is cited.

[2] *Germania*, c. 6. [3] *Germ.*, c. 12. [4] *Laws of Eadgar*, IV. cc. 8, 10.

[5] See *Henr. I.*, c. 7, ss. 4 and 8; c. 8. s. 1. Yet again we hear of a jury of twelve of the 'eldest' thegns being put forward for the transaction of business. *Æthelred*, VIII. c. 3. This would not do away with the general duty of attendance.

legal protection (*grith*), and persons neglecting to come when summoned were fined.[1]

Highest in the scale of popular assemblies came the county court (*scir-gemôt*) or folkmote (*folc-gemôt*)[2] in the fullest sense, answering to the national gatherings of Tacitus, and meeting twice a year. Political and legislative, as well as judicial functions must originally have belonged to these assemblies, of which a trace is pointed out as late as the time of Æthelstan, when the bishops, thegns, and people (*villani*) of Kent in a general meeting at Faversham declared their acceptance of certain measures recently passed by the King's *Witenagemôt* at Greatley.[3] But apart from this case, in times posterior to the Heptarchy political and legislative authority is only found in the King's *Witenagemôt*, which was not a representative assembly, except in the sense in which at the present day the House of Lords might be said to represent the landed interest. When the petty Kingdoms were consolidated the Anglo-Saxon mind failed to devise any system of representation beyond that of the Township in the courts of the Hundred and Shire. The highest prerogatives were vested in a Council of Magnates who could give their personal attendance at Court, and the functions of the shire-mote were cut down to those of a Hundred court with an extended area of jurisdiction. The county court was attended by the same classes of persons as the Hundred court: it would decide questions between inhabitants of different Hundreds, and it would entertain appeals or quasi-appeals from the Hundreds. Again, reference to the King was not permitted till after application to the Shire as well as the Hundred.

The County Court.

The Witenagemôt.

The division of the country into shires (*scira*) emanated from Wessex. There we hear of them from the time of Ine's legislation. We shall not find Mercia mapped out in shires till the time of Eadgar (957–975); and Deira first figures as 'Yorkshire' (*Eoferwicscir*) a century later.[4] The establishment of shires in our sense followed on the break up of the tribal divisions, and indicated the adoption of a more uniform national system. But to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period the word *scir*, meaning a district or division,[5] was also used to denote subdivisions corresponding to Hundreds, and, in fact, to denote governments or districts of any kind. A diocese is spoken of as a 'bishop's

Shire Divisions.

[1] *Æthelred*, III. c. 1; *Eadgar*, I. c. 3. For the distribution of the Hundreds, Wapentakes, and Wards, much fewer and larger in the North than in the South, and questions connected therewith, see Stubbs, I. 106, etc. [2] *Ælfred*, c. 38, s. 1.

[3] *Æthelstan*, III. p. 148. Schmid. Kemble, *Saxons*, II. 233. Stubbs, I. 129.

[4] *Cod. Dip.*, No. 1343. Northumberland is distinguished as a shire in 1065. Chron. C and D.

[5] The derivation usually given is from *scirian*, *sciran*, to shear or divide. Schmid, *Glossary*. Mr. Earle regards the primary sense as that of function or office, *Land Charters*, xlv.; a use common in Bæda. Schmid, *sub voce*.

shire.' Within the limits of Yorkshire we have Richmondshire, Hallamshire, Riponshire, and other 'shires.' In Domesday the city of York is reckoned as six 'shires' besides that of the archbishop. A twelfth century manuscript gives Cornwall as divided into six 'small shires.'[1] In Domesday it had seven Hundreds, and now it has nine.[2]

The Towns.

Of the Anglo-Saxon towns nothing need be said, except that their constitution gives no support to the idea of any survival of Roman municipal institutions. The organization of the towns followed strictly that of the country districts. A petty town was a Township, a larger town ranked as a Hundred, and a city as a County.

The Heathen Priesthood.

Another order distinct from those already noticed might be found in the priests. Of their position however we hear little in Tacitus, and in fact nothing special, except that on them fell the burden of executing capital sentences when decreed by the assemblies.[3] Again, after the migration we hear little of the priests, and particularly little or nothing of any opposition on their part to the conversion to Christianity. When the Chief or King declares for the new Faith we shall find them bowing acquiescence. Apparently their position was less distinctive and important than among the Celts.

Teutonic Gods.

Of the religion of our Teutonic ancestors little has been handed down to us, owing to their early conversion to Christianity. Enough however is traceable to enable mythologists to identify their gods with those of the North German and Scandinavian peoples, where paganism held its sway down to times comparatively recent. The result discloses a system closely resembling that already described in connexion with Celtic Britain, the cults of both races being part of their Aryan heritage.

Woden.

The days of our week and the genealogies of the early Anglo-Saxon leaders give us the names of their chief deities. First of these was Woden (Old Norse, Odinn; Old High German, Wuotan), from whom the fourth day of our week takes its name. Like the chief god of the Celts (Ogmios) he was always identified with the classical Mercury,[4] as being the inventor of runes or letters; the guardian of roads; the patron of all civilizing arts. He is also generally described as the arbiter of wars and the giver of victory. The personal attributes given to him enable us to refer him to the same origin as the Celtic 'Mercury.' He is One-eyed, a Wanderer, the Swift god;[5] one who can penetrate the

[1] Printed by Mr. Hinde with his *Symeon*, I. 221.

[2] See Stubbs, I. 102, 106, 111.

[3] *Germania*, 7, 10, 11.

[4] "Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt." Tacit., *Germ.*, 9, 39. For a series of later authorities see Kemble, *Saxons*, I. 336, and Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, transl. J. S. Stallybrass, I. 120.

[5] J. Grimm, I. 131. It "can scarcely be doubted" that the name Wuotan is derived from the Old High German verb *Watan, Wuot, = meare, cum impetu ferri.*

inmost depths of the forest. He is crowned with a hat [of rays], robed with a mantle [of clouds]. The Great Bear is his wain; or again, he rides a tall white horse, sometimes described as 'the eight-footed steed Sleipnir, the best of all steeds.'[1] Thus Woden must have been originally a sun-god, afterwards expanded into the Maker and Giver of all things. The sum of his attributes is "the all-pervading creative and formative power." He is the shaper and maker of all things; of whose gift are victory in war, the fertility of the soil, and all other earthly blessings.[2]

Fricge.

For his wife Woden had Fricge or Frigg, the 'lovable' woman. She, as consort of the highest god, takes precedence of all other ladies in the Teutonic Olympus;[3] the sixth day of our week is named after her; but no special department seems to have been assigned to her.

Thunor.

Next to Woden, and in fact sometimes placed before him, we have Thunor (O.N., Thorr; O.H.G., Donar), from whom our Thursday takes its name. His position is quite clear; he is the Hammer-God, the God of Thunder and bad weather, the exact counterpart of the Celtic Taranis or Taranos. Sometimes he is spoken of as Woden's son, sometimes as his ancestor. His worship was especially strong in Scandinavia.[4]

Tiu.

Tuesday apparently comes from Tiu (O. H. G., Zio; O. N., Tyr). "Represented in the Edda as Oðinn's son, he may seem inferior to him in power and moment; but the two really fall into one, inasmuch as both are directors of war and battle, and the fame of victory proceeds from each of them alike."[5]

Hilta.

Tiu is identified with Mars: he was emphatically the Norse god of battles; represented as one-handed, probably because he could only give victory to one side. Wolves and ravens follow his tracks. Associated with him is the female Hilta or Hild. For the origin of Tiu we need only turn to his name, which is etymologically the same as the Sanskrit Dyaus, the Greek Ζεύς, and the Latin [Jus] Jovis.[6] He was originally a sky-god, who became differentiated as the god of war. Woden, Thunor, and Tiu will be the Mercury, Hercules, and Mars given as the three gods of the old Germans.[7]

Freá.

Next to Tiu we may take Freá (O. H. G., Fro; O. N., Freyr), the god of love and fruitfulness and plenty. Rain and sunshine were in his gift. He had a wonderful boar, "whose golden bristles lighted up the night like day." The boar drew his master's car, and could gallop along with the speed of a horse.

[1] Grimm, 146–151.

[2] *Id.*, 133. For place names preserving the name of Woden, such as Wanborough (Wilts), Wembury (Devon), and the Wansdyke (Somerset), see Kemble, I. 344.

[3] Grimm, *sup.*, 299.

[4] Grimm, *sup.*, 180–188. For place names in England connected with Thunor, see Kemble, I. 347. [5] Grimm, 196. [6] *Id.*, 165, 196, 207, 208. [7] Tacit., *Germ.*, c. 9.

SOLAR DEITY IN BRONZE: FOUND IN JUTLAND, LATE ROMAN EMPIRE.
From the National Museum at Copenhagen; 0·5 metre high.

Associated with Freá was his sister Fro (Norse Freyja), just as we find Libera associated with Liber. The emblems of productiveness were attributed to Freá; and the lustral fires of Yule and Midsummer were kindled in his honour. These, as among the Celts, were lighted from virgin fire made by rubbing of sticks (will-fire,[1] *noth-feuer*). The wheel also played a part in these rites, a wheel covered with straw being set on fire and so rolled along.[2]

Fro.

The reader's attention has already been called to the fact that of the four marked points in the sun's annual course, the Celts seem to have paid most attention to the beginning and end of summer (*Beltaine* and *Samhuin*), the Teutons to Midwinter and Midsummer.

The want of clear evidence of the worship of Freá in Anglo-Saxon records is fully compensated by the testimony of a thirteenth century chronicler to popular faith in such rites in his own time.[3]

Our Christmas processions of the boar's head may possibly be survivals of the same cult.

As may be supposed, Freá the god, his sister Fro or Freyja, and Frigg the wife of Woden, were often confounded. If Frigg was the 'lovable' one, Fro was the 'gladsome' one.[4]

Like Dionysos, Freá did not belong to the inner circle of Olympus: he was not one of the *Ases* who dwelled in Asgard; but one of the *Vanir* dwelling in Vanaheim.[5]

Saturday (*Sæteresdæg*) may take its name from a god Sætere, for whose existence further evidence has been sought in the names of the towns Satterthwaite in Lancashire, Satterleigh and *Sæteresbyrig* in Devonshire, and in the old name of the plant crowfoot, *satorlâde*.[6] But little has been ascertained concerning Sætere, and it may be that the name of the day was simply borrowed from the Latin "Saturni dies." The reckoning of time by weeks of seven days filtered into the barbaric nations through contact with Rome; the Romans again having taken it from the Jews.

Sætere.

Baldor or Bealdor (O. N. Baldr=*lord* or *prince*) was the Northern Apollo; the bright god of light and beauty: his son is Brond the Ray; he dies to come to life again. His myth, too long

Baldor.

[1] Kemble, I. 361.

[2] For the wheel see Grimm, *sup.*, 617, 619; also the passage from the Harleian MS. No. 2,345, p. 50, cited by Kemble, *sup.* Grimm suggests that *noth-feuer* is not connected with *noth*, need, but with an old *hnot-fiur*=friction-fire. He is inclined to identify Freá with the Norse god Niorðr, and the German goddess Nerthus, mentioned by Tacitus, p. 217; for these Kemble suggests Lunus and Luna. Without these we should have neither moon-god nor moon-goddess.

[3] See the rites recorded in the *Lanercost Chronicle*, A.D. 1268 and 1282; Kemble, *sup.*, 358. The chronicler connected the worship with "Liber Pater."

[4] Grimm, 303, 305.

[5] Grimm, *sup.*, 218. [6] *Id.*, 247; Kemble, 372.

to be given here, is described as one of the most beautiful and striking in the whole compass of Northern mythology.[1]

Of the practical religion of the people much the same account might be given as of that of the Celts,[2] and again we must refer to the instructive passage in Cnut's Laws.[3] Large scope was given to belief in wights and elves, witches and giants. Most popular of wood-sprites was probably little Hode, the German Hodeken, immortalised by Robin Hood.[4]

Popular Beliefs.

Besides gods the Anglo-Saxons had their fiends or spirits of evil. The poem of Beowulf, an old Scandinavian lay, translated into later Anglo-Saxon, informs us of Grendel (identified with the Norse Loki) and his mother, wild, monstrous beings, bringers of evil, who fed upon men. Mr. Kemble places these among the rough deities of nature like the classical Titans. Grendel's mother is commemorated in the popular expression "Devil's Dam"; and in the legends of early writers, such as Cædmon and Guthlac, the instrument of temptation is always the son and satellite of Satan, who, like Loki, himself lies bound in hell. Another spirit of nature was Nicor the water-spirit (hence Water Nixes and old Nick), the enemy of the sailor whom he dragged to the bottom of the sea and devoured.

Spirits of Evil.

Among the fearful beings whose power was dreaded even by the gods was Hel, mistress of the cold and joyless underworld. Hel was not herself the agent of Death, nor was her realm a place of torment; it was simply the classical Hades, the dim, shadowy abode of those who had not earned by a warrior's death a seat in the joyous Wælheal of Othin, where the mighty dead sang and drank and fought for evermore. For the perjurer and secret murderer Nastrond was reserved, a noisome den of cold and darkness, peopled with poisonous serpents. In Christian times the distinction between Hel and Nastrond was effaced, and the two were combined to form the modern notion of Hell.

Hel.

The Eddas, the songs and tales from which our knowledge of Northern mythology is chiefly derived,[5] have an especial interest as being a reflexion of the spirit of the Northern people; in fact, the only real picture of early Teutonic life and feeling that we have of their own drawing. "Throughout there is ever-striving energy, determination of purpose, the physical power seconding the unbending will, a courage that is manifest not only in the contempt of death, but in patient endurance of suffering, with a distaste of all politic devices and diplomatic intrigues. There are no applications of gentleness and mercy, but there is a strong sense of justice, and an aversion to wanton cruelty;

The Eddas and Sagas.

[1] Kemble, 363; Grimm, 347. [2] See above, p. 32. [3] Cnut, II. c. 3.

[4] From Hôde we have Hôdes âc, *Hood's Oak*, Worcestershire; Hudswell, Yorks; and the family name Hudspeth, *Hood's Path*. H. Bradley, *Academy*, 15th September, 1883. [5] See Appendix B to this chapter.

again there is nothing spiritual in Scandinavian mythology, all its creatures are large-limbed, strong, and jovial . . . they are supernaturally endowed with the elements of physical enjoyment. Asceticism is unknown to them, but so are the impurities that stain the classical and oriental mythologies. All are man and wife, and conjugal fidelity is so much a matter of course that it is not spoken of as a special virtue."[1]

Tacitus speaks as if letters were not known in the Germany of his time, but it is clear that the Anglo-Saxons brought with them the Runic alphabet, having apparently adopted it since the time of Tacitus.[2]

Runic Alphabet.

The use of coined money again was another step in advance which must have been taken since the days of Tacitus. In the laws of Æthelbirht the fines are all expressed in *scætta* and *scillinga*; no other standards of value are given. The primitive character of the code, and the slow rate of Anglo-Saxon progress, will justify us in carrying back the use of this currency to days at least coeval with the landing in Britain. The Kentish *scæt* was = a farthing, four making a penny, and twenty a shilling. But throughout the greater part of England the unit was the silver penny, of which five made a Wessex shilling, four a Mercian shilling, two hundred and forty being reckoned to the pound of silver. The types of the earliest *scætta* as yet found seem remotely derived from Roman originals.[3]

Money.

As in the *Germania* of Tacitus, so in England down to the latest days of Anglo-Saxon ascendancy, the spear was the main weapon of offence. In the illustrations to Saxon MSS. the armed retainer with his spear and shield invariably figures at the door of the noble mansion. The spear (*gar*, *ategar*, *Franca*[4]) might be used either for thrusting as a pike, or for hurling as a javelin; but probably there were long and short spears, as noticed by Tacitus.[5] The early Saxon shield (*targa*) appears to have been very like the Celtic shield, round, made of light wood covered with leather, and held at arm's length by a handle fixed behind the boss.[6] Later we shall find a large three-cornered shield mostly used by the heavy-armed foot. The sword, 'costliest of irons,' must have been the distinction of the rich. Differing only in size was the dagger-knife (*seax*, *bill*), both being of a very special type. The *seax* is specially mentioned by Nennius,[7] and by some the

Weapons of War.

[1] J. H. Burton, *History of Scotland*, I. 236, 242.

[2] Bæda mentions a monument to Horsa in East Kent "suo nomine insigne," *H. E.*, I. 15. The Runes themselves are mostly capitals of the Roman alphabet with modifications. Elton, *Origins*, 378, citing Rhys' *Lectures*, 321. See Kemble, *Archæol.*, XXVIII. 338. Runic monuments can be traced long before the year 450 of our era.

[3] See Ruding, *Annals of Coinage*, vol I. 115, and plates; Hawkins, *Silver Coins of England*, 23; Schmid, *Gesetze*, 593, 594.

[4] *Cod. Dip.*, No. 699.

[5] *Germ.*, c. 6. For spear-heads of different sizes, see Wright, *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, 409 (Plate).

[6] Wright, *sup.*, 412.

[7] "Nimith eure saxes." *Hist. Britt.*, s. 46, p. 37, ed. Stevenson.

name "Saxon" is connected with it.[1] The swords of this type have not been found in the earliest graves, but it seems difficult not to suppose both swords and daggers primitive. The hilts were richly worked in silver and bronze, and sword-blades may be seen in our Museums beautifully inlaid with golden inscriptions, as described in the Beowulf.[2] Arrow heads have been found, but the bow does not appear to have ever come into general use as a weapon of war. The axe, the woodman's implement, seems to have been chiefly introduced by the Danes.

APPENDIX A TO CHAPTER X

Folc-land and Boc-land

THE above two words, with a third, *lænland*, may be said to be the only terms found during the Anglo-Saxon period to distinguish lands of different tenure. But *lænland* as a term of classification is not co-ordinate with the other two. *Lænland* (lent-land) was land set or let either for lives or a term of years, with reversion to the grantor or his heirs. Either *folc-land* or *boc-land* could be dealt with in this manner; the incidents of *lænland* therefore throw no light on the distinction between *folc-land* and *boc-land*.[3] The nature of *boc-land* is not in dispute. It was land held by *boc*, *i.e.* book, writing or charter, which enjoyed certain privileges by virtue of such charter. The privileges were of two sorts. The land on the one hand might get a remission more or less complete from the regalian dues and prestations above mentioned, while on the other hand the owner for the time being would enjoy a power of testamentary disposition which did not appertain to lands of ordinary tenure.[4] From these exemptions *boc-land* was also known as *terra libera*, and later as "freeland." (See the renderings of King Alfred's Will, Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, II. 177–182.) The privileges, once conferred, would "run with the land" in the hands of successive owners, unless cancelled or revoked by the king by a proper deed, as we shall see.

We have already intimated our view that *folc-land* was simply the land owned and occupied by the *land-folc*,[5] under *folc-riht*, the ordinary land of the country, held by the people, in lots great or small, under the general common law. Whatever had not been converted into *boc-land* would be *folc-land*. The view originally propounded by Mr. John Allen in the year 1830 (*Royal Prerogative in England*), and accepted by Mr. Kemble and almost all subsequent writers, is that *folc-land* was land belonging to the people in a corporate capacity as a nation; that at the first settlement reserves of land not allotted to individuals were kept in the hands of the State—like the *ager publicus* of Roman history—and that these lands remained at the disposal of the State, that is to say, of the king and Witan. It is suggested that from this fund the endowments of the church were mostly taken, and also the endowments of the king and other official personages, but it is contended that even then large reserves remained of which either the usufruct might be given to individuals, subject to the paramount rights of the community, or which by a proper act of the government might be utterly severed from the other *folc-land* and converted into *boc-land*, estates "of perpetual inheritance." We are also led to suppose that the bulk, if not the whole of the lands on which the privileges of *boc-land* are conferred by the charters were taken from the fund.[6] So down to the time of the Norman

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[1] Compare the name "Long-knives" formerly given by the Red Indians to the North American trappers. Ruxton, *Scenes in Far West*. [2] Wright, 410.

[3] See Bishop Stubbs, I. 83, citing Mr. H. C. Lodge, *Essays on Anglo-Saxon Law*, 95; also Kemble, *Saxons*, I. 310.

[4] For the remissions see Kemble, I. 294, and *e.g. Cod. Dip.*, Nos. 216, 257; also for testamentary power, No. 269.

[5] For this word see Chronicle E, A.D. 1066.

[6] See Kemble, I. 289–298; Allen is less explicit. He betrays a prudent misgiving when he says that "it is not quite correct to say that all the lands of the Anglo-Saxons were either folc-land or boc-land." Of course not under his theory. If folc-land was

Conquest, and then we are told that in *Domesday* the whole remaining *folc-land* appears as *Terra Regis* (Allen, 152; Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 102, ed. 1867).

A primary objection to this theory may be taken in the fact that it leaves no name for the allotments of the original settlers and their descendants, the word "ethel" introduced by Mr. Kemble being unknown to the laws and charters.[1] The allegation with respect to the *Terræ Regis* may be disposed of by a reference to *Domesday* itself. These lands are given at the head of the list in all counties where any such were to be found, and they were found in all counties except Middlesex, Shropshire, and Cheshire. In every case the name of the previous owner is given. In many cases the previous owner was the Confessor; in other cases it was Harold or one of his brothers, or some other individual who had forfeited his land either before or after the battle of Hastings. The lands put down to the Confessor doubtless included the official Crown lands, but these could not form the whole or even the greater part of his property. So with respect to the then late earls. A large portion of the Isle of Wight is put down to Tostig, but it never formed part of his earldom (see below). His holdings there therefore must have been private property. Of any State-lands (apart from Crown demesne), or lands not treated as the private property of individuals, there is not a mention. The same may be said of the period before the Conquest.

No evidence is forthcoming of any State-lands except the official endowments, and the evidence for these, as already stated, though sufficient, is but fragmentary. A supposed reference to *folc-land* as land at the disposal of the State has been found in a well-known letter addressed by Bæda to Ecgberht, then recently appointed to the See of York. Bæda is lecturing the Bishop upon his episcopal duties, and pointing out matters urgently needing reform. Among other things he presses for the creation of new bishoprics, and for their endowment he suggests the appropriation of monastic estates. 'Many of these,' says he, 'are held by men monks only in name, leading most irregular lives, but refusing to contribute even to the defence of the country from invasion. To apply *such* lands (*hujusmodi loca*) to the foundation of a bishopric would be no transgression (*prævaricatio*) but a work of merit.'[2] Mr. Kemble, in his translation, by omitting the all-important word of reference, 'such' ("*hujusmodi*"), has given a wrong meaning to the passage,[3] making it appear that Bæda is speaking of indeterminate lands of which the government could dispose.

A very doubtful charter of Offa which refers in a vague way to certain lands as having been formerly in the possession of the *comites* (a title unknown to the period) and *principes* of the kings of Kent (*Cod. Dip.*, No. 111) need hardly be noticed. If the charter was beyond suspicion land in the possession of noblemen would not be in itself evidence of the existence of State-lands. Again Mr. Kemble points with confidence to a charter of King Æthelwulf (*Cod. Dip.*, No. 260; Earle, p. 119) as proof of the existence of State-land (A.D. 847. *Saxons*, II. ix.). Here no doubt we seem to have a grant made by the Witan to the king of twenty hides (*manentes, cassati*) to be enjoyed by him during his life with power to devise them by will at his death, the land receiving all the usual exemptions of *boc-land*. On the face of it, no doubt, the charter purports to be a grant by the Witan to Æthelwulf, but nothing is said of the source from whence the lands have come. But the king in the *exordium* of the document clearly claims for himself the merit of an intended eleemosynary gift, implying that the gift would come out of his own means; and in the next place he tells us that under those circumstances he has, with the consent of his bishops and princes, ordered the particular hides in question to be entered to him as *boc-land* (*mihi in hereditatem propriam describere jussi*). To us it seems pretty clear that the land was the king's from the first, *folc*-land, such as we shall find other kings owning. But as folc-land it would not be devisable by will; to enable the king to devise it the Witan had agreed to convert it into boc-land for him, the king's intention clearly being to leave it to the Church. The transaction would be

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State-land and boc-land converted State-land, where would the possessions of the ordinary landowners be? See pp. 133-137.

[1] *Saxons*, I. 289, 298, where folc-land is carefully distinguished from the lots of the first "markmen," an invented term.

[2] 5 Nov., 734. Bæda died in the month of May following. Haddan and Stubbs, III. 319, 326.

[3] "Quia hujusmodi maxima et plurima sunt loca," rendered "since there are both very numerous and very extensive tracts." *Saxons*, I. 290.

simply a conveyance "to the use of his will," in the language of more modern conveyancing.

More to the point seem references to hides of land as being situate in *communi terra* (*Cod. Dip.*, Nos. 800 and 995), the Latin term in the latter case being rendered "in corrupt Saxon" by "on ðam gemannan lande." Mr. Earle (p. 394) and Sir F. Pollock (*Land Laws*, 194) take *communis terra* as equivalent to *folc-land*. But if a given piece of *folc-land* could be described as *communis terra* it would certainly not be State-land or public domain, because neither before the Conquest nor after it did "common" lands or "common" rights ever imply anything of the sort, or anything but a particular mode of use and enjoyment of land by ascertained persons with definite rights. A "Common" as something free to all the world (except perhaps under some private Act of Parliament) is a thing only known to popular imagination. The *communis terra* of these charters must be taken simply to mean the Common Field,[1] *folc-land* no doubt until converted into *boc-land*, but strictly private property. With respect to the land in the former of the two charters it is stated to have come into the king's hands through the forfeiture of a previous owner, so that it could not possibly have been State-land.

The uncertainty with respect to the nature of *folc-land* has arisen from the paucity of the references to it that have as yet been found. The ordinary land-tenure of a country would need no description to the people. In fact it would hardly have a special name. In the *Codex Diplomaticus* (No. 281, Earle, p. 125) we have an exchange of land between Æthelberht II. of Kent and his thegn Wullaf. The king had already given him five hides (*aratra*) of land at Mersham to be held as *boc-land*; now with the consent of his Witan he gives him in lieu thereof other five hides at "Wassingwelle" (Washingwell, Kemble). This land is described as abutting on the west side on *folc-land* of the king's, then in the occupation of Wighelm and Wullaf, thus showing that the king could own *folc-land* as others might. The charter further tells us that the five hides (*sulung*) at Washingwell having been 'booked,' *i.e.* converted into *boc-land*, the king took back the hides at Mersham as *folc-land*, showing that *boc-land* could be reconverted.

Next we have the will of Ealdorman (*Dux*) Ælfred (A.D. 871–889, *C.D.*, No. 317, Earle, p. 149) dealing with his "*boc-lond*." This to the amount of eighty-six hides in Surrey and twenty hides in Kent he devises to his wife Werburg and his daughter Alhthryth. A son also he had, by name Æthelwald, whom we must suppose to have been illegitimate because his father only gives him five hides of "*boc-lond*," expressing however a hope that the king will allow him to have his (the testator's) *folc-land* in addition. If not then Ælfred requires his widow to give him out of the lands devised to her either seven hides at Horsley or ten hides at Lingfield, whichever she pleases. It has been suggested that the *folc-land* to which Ælfred referred was State-land of which he had a grant for life, a *læn* in fact, and that his hope was that the king would renew the grant in his son's favour. In the absence of any satisfactory evidence of the existence of State-land we prefer the view that the position of the son being doubtful Ælfred's hope was that the king either by some judicial decision or by some exercise of the Royal prerogative, might declare him legitimate, and so entitle him to succeed to the small amount of his father's *folc-land*.[2]

Finally in a Law of Eadweard the Elder we have *boc-land* and *folc-land* set before us as the two classes of landed property under one or other of which any man's estate must fall. The king is denouncing those who holding land by a disputed title refuse either to give up the land or to appear in court, when duly summoned, to defend their case. Right, says the king, must not be refused, 'whether in respect of *boc-land* or of *folc-land*.'[3] The wrongdoer must be summoned. 'If he then shall [be found to] have no right, neither to boc-land nor folc-land,[4] let him forfeit to the king for the first refusal 30 shillings,' etc. This division must be taken to be exhaustive. It seems impossible

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[1] So too Prof. Vinogradoff, "Folkland," *Eng. Hist. Review*, 1893, p. 15.

[2] See Vinogradoff, *sup.*, 9. Mr. Earle would infer from the will that folc-land could not go to a woman, but nothing appears as to the devolution of the folc-land if Æthelwald did not get it. The testator Ælfred was the man who gave to Christ Church, Canterbury, the well-known Golden Gospels, now at Stockholm. Earle. See Westwood's "Facsimiles."

[3] "aðor oððe on boclande oððe on folclande," *Eadw. Elder*, I. c. 2.

[4] "ne on boclande ne on folclande."

to restrict *folc-land* to State-lands, even to State-lands in the hands of an individual. Why should the king fail to denounce refusal of justice in respect of land of the ordinary tenure of the country? It is important to notice that with respect to *folc-land* reference is made to the jurisdiction of the 'reeve' (*gerefa*)[1] doubtless in the Hundred Court.

With respect to the concurrence of the Witan in grants of *boc-land* it is found mainly in the early days. After the time of Ælfred the kings make such grants without reference to the Witan. With respect to the principle on which their assent was sought, publicity, and the safe-guarding of the interests of the grantees (as in the case of wills published in court), may have been one reason. But a broader one may be suggested. A district, whether Township, Hundred, or Shire, being liable to certain burdens, whatever was taken off part of the district, would throw an increased liability on the rest. The concurrence of the Witan may have been an assent to the extra tax thus imposed on the non-exempted parts of the district. Or again their sanction may have been required on account of the interference with the ordinary law of succession, and the consequent curtailment of the rights of heirs involved in the creation of *boc-land*. A man might will away his *boc-land* and disinherit his legal heirs. Of his *folc-land* he could not deprive them.

APPENDIX B TO CHAPTER X

The Eddas

Two collections of legends and tales are generally known by this name, "Edda," meaning 'great-grandmother.'

I. A prose collection, long ago known as the Edda, and ascribed to Snorri Sturluson, a great Scandinavian scholar who lived 1178–1241. The tales were probably older than his time but may have been arranged by him. Three MSS. of this work are extant, all of the 14th century: it is often called the younger Edda.

II. A collection in verse the solitary MS. of which was discovered in 1643, the work being conjecturally attributed to Sæmund Sigfusson, a scion of the royal House of Norway, who lived in Iceland, 1055–1132. These ballads were, for want of any other title, styled Sæmunds' Edda, or the Elder Edda; the style being more archaic than that of Snorri's Edda. The versification is very simple; the songs, which treat of mythical and religious subjects, are thought to date from the 8th or 9th century. "There is no doubt that they were collected in Iceland and by an Icelander." Sophus Bugge rejects Sæmund altogether, and dates the collection *circa* 1240. (*Encyclop. Brit.*, "E. W. G.") See also the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* of Messrs. Vigfusson & York Powell.

APPENDIX C TO CHAPTER X

Ridings—Wapentakes—Hundreds

We have spoken of Wapentakes as divisions now corresponding to Hundreds. The two however should not be regarded as historically identical. The Wapentakes were apparently a later arrangement superinduced by the Scandinavian conquerors of the 9th and 10th centuries on the earlier Hundred system. In fact the Wapentakes like the Lathes of Kent and the Rapes of Sussex represented aggregates of Hundreds. Yorkshire, as is well known, is divided into three Trithings or Ridings, each corresponding in some respects to a county (Ellis, *Domesday*, I. 178). Each of these Ridings again is subdivided into Wapentakes. Lincolnshire was divided into three 'Parts,' Lindsey, Kesteven, and Holland, Lindsey being subdivided into three Ridings, and these again into Wapentakes. In *Domesday* the Wapentakes are divided into Hundreds in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Rutland, and Lincolnshire. Canon Isaac Taylor argues that properly three Hundreds made one Wapentake, and he has certainly proved this with respect to the East Riding of Yorkshire (*Domesday Studies*, I. 67, etc.). In Lincolnshire again we have, *e.g.*, 84 Hundreds in the aggregate with 28 Wapentakes, but the distribution of the Hundreds is irregular. In Leicestershire we have no mention in the great Survey of Hundreds, but only of Wapentakes. These are now called Hundreds, but their large area, triple that of average Hundreds, suggests that they were really Wapentakes of three Hundreds each. These Leicestershire Hundreds average

[1] Vinogradoff, 6. I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to this valuable article, but I must state that the Professor's views were mine before his article was in print.

about 136 square miles each, the Hundreds in the Southern counties averaging from 23 to 34 square miles each. The large size of the Northern Wapentakes may be accounted for in the same way. But with respect to the Lincolnshire Hundreds it must be pointed out that they were very small, corresponding in fact to Tithings or Townships, and consisting of twelve carucates or hides each (*Liber Niger Scaccarii*, Hearne, 399–423. Stubbs). So again in the time of Eadward the Confessor Stamford was rated as twelve and a half Hundreds. In actual fact it was only equal to one proper Hundred and a half. (Round, *Domesday Studies*, I. 200.)

Where the Wapentakes still exist they have replaced the Hundreds for all purposes.

ANGLO-SAXON SWORD, FOUND IN SUFFOLK. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

ANGLO-SAXON DAGGER KNIFE.

CHAPTER XI

Mission of St. Augustine—Foundation of Sees of Canterbury, London and Rochester—Northumbrian Affairs—Æthelfrith—Eadwine—Paulinus, Bishop of York—Conversion of Deira—Penda—Oswald—Mission of Aidan to Bernicia—Oswiu—St. Chad—Archbishop Theodore—Wilfrith

IN the general wreck of Roman life and civilisation in Britain Christianity had fallen to a low ebb. The poor hill districts retained by the Christian Celts were weighed down by the richer tracts in the hands of the pagan invaders. For 150 years Great Britain had been cut off from the outer world. But this barbarism, this isolation, could not last. Intercourse with the Continent was first resumed in Kent, the natural landing-place for continental importations.

England in Pagan Hands.

King Æthelbirht, kept within bounds so long as Ceawlin lived, had profited by the fall of his great rival (590–593). He became overlord of the East Saxons, whose king Sledda was married to his sister Ricula. "The East Saxon kingdom, it must be remembered, comprised Hertfordshire and Middlesex as well as Essex itself." London also passed under the sway of Æthelbirht.[1] His dominions so far would correspond with those of Cunobelinos. Bæda however further asserts that his rule[2] extended over all the Anglic peoples south of the Humber; a statement hard to accept in any but a very general sense. Of any real overlordship over central Britain we have not a trace.

Æthelbirht.

Æthelbirht's *prestige* however had doubtless been enhanced by his marriage to a Frankish princess, Berhta or Bertha, daughter of King Charibert of Paris.[3] Her friends had stipulated that she should be allowed to retain her religion; and a Frankish Bishop, Liuthard of Senlis, had been sent as her chaplain.[4]

Berhta.

The lapse of Britain from the pale of Christianity could not but be deeply felt by Churchmen. Bæda tells the story of the handsome boys, with fair complexions and silky hair, standing in the slave market at Rome, who moved the pity of the Deacon Gregory, afterwards Pope Gregory I., "The Great." He enquired of their origin, and was told that they came from Britain, a heathen land, and that by

Gregory I.

[1] Bæda, *H.E.*, II. 3; Green, *sup.*, 214. [2] "Imperabat."

[3] A.D. 583–588. Green, 211.

[4] Bæda, *H.E.*, I. 25. W. Thorn, *Decem. Scriptt.*, 1767, cited Haddan and Stubbs.

race they were "*Angli*" (Angles). "Right," said he, "Angles indeed (*angeli*) they are in face, and should be coheirs with such in Heaven." The story goes on that he further enquired of their province and was told that they came from Deira. "*De ira*"? "From wrath truly must they be saved and brought to the mercy of Christ. But who is their king?" "Ælle," was the answer. "Alleluiah!" rejoined Gregory; "then shall the praises of God be sung there."[1]

But Gregory did not rest content with playing upon words. From that time he began to work for a mission to Britain. He would have undertaken the task in person, but the Romans would not part with him. Nothing was done till after his own promotion to the papacy (A.D. 590). At last, in 595, he was able to commission a band of monks, headed by Augustine, then abbot of St. Andrew's on the Cœlian at Rome.

St. Augustine.

The party made their way to Aix in Provence. There they were so much alarmed by reports of the barbarism of the Anglo-Saxons that Augustine felt obliged to return to Rome to consult Gregory. He finally left the Imperial City on the 23rd July, 596, armed with fresh exhortations to his followers, and letters of commendation to the Frankish kings and the Gaulish prelates.[2] The mission wintered in Gaul, crossing over to Britain early in 597. They landed in Thanet, at the old landing-place, Ebbsfleet, being accompanied by Gallic priests and interpreters; some forty souls in all.

Landing in Thanet.

Æthelbirht must have been prepared for the coming of the mission, which could not have been sprung upon him without previous negotiation. But as a prudent ruler of men he was careful not to alarm the susceptibilities of his subjects. The strangers were directed to remain in Thanet for a few days till the king should come. When he came he took his seat "on the chalk down above Minster," in the open air, for fear of magic.[3] Augustine then came forward with his monks in procession, chanting a litany, and carrying a silver cross and a picture of Christ.

A formal address was delivered to the king and his *gesiths*,[4] to explain the purposes of the mission. In answer Æthelbirht told them that they spoke fair, but said that he himself could not lightly depart from the customs of his people. At the same time he promised the strangers hospitality, and leave to preach to all who wished to hear them. Within a few days they were brought to the Royal city of Canterbury (Cant-warabyryg),[5] otherwise the old Roman *Durovernum*. For public worship they were allowed to use an old Roman church, St. Martin's, which had

[1] Bæda, *H.E.*, II. c. 1. As Ælle died in 588 the incident must have happened before that time and probably after 585, as Gregory was absent from Rome for a considerable time before that year. Green, *sup.*, 216.

[2] Bæda, *H.E.*, I. 23, 24; Haddan and Stubbs, III. 3–11.

[3] "Si quid maleficæ artis habuissent." Bæda.

[4] "Comitibus." [5] *i.e.*, The 'burh of the Men of Kent.' "In civitate Doruvernensi."

been fitted up as Bertha's Chapel;[1] and which may yet be seen—a substantial relic of Roman Christianity in Britain.[2]

Establishment at Canterbury.

The mission throve. On Whitsunday (2nd June) King Æthelbirht submitted himself for baptism.[3] In the autumn Augustine thought his position such as to justify his own promotion to the Episcopate. He went over to Gaul, and, in November,[4] was consecrated 'archbishop of the Angles' by Vergilius the Bishop of Arles, under a commission from Gregory.[5] Returning to England in time for Christmas, Augustine is said to have baptized 'thousands' on that day.[6] Two of his followers, Lawrence a presbyter, and Peter a monk, were then sent to Rome to give an account of their doings, and obtain directions on sundry points connected with the government of the young Church of England.

Augustine's envoys started from Rome on their return journey, 22nd June, 601, bringing with them the archiepiscopal *pallium* or pall[7] for their chief, and a fresh band of helpers to reinforce his staff. Chief of these were the Abbot Mellitus, and the monks Justus, Paulinus, and Rufinianus. They also brought careful answers to Augustine's questions; a scheme for the future constitution of the English hierarchy; and an equipment of plate, vestments, books, and relics for the use of the churches.

The Mission Reinforced.

The scheme for the future church proposed two archbishoprics with twelve suffragan bishops under each primate; the northern Province to be established in the city of York, when converted; the southern Province (after the death of Augustine) to have its seat in London.[8] During his life Augustine would remain supreme over all spiritual persons within Great Britain. After his death the archbishops would be equal in rank, the senior for the time being to have precedence.[9]

Scheme of Bishoprics.

Meanwhile Augustine, with the help of Æthelbirht, had repaired an old Roman church which he consecrated to Christ,[10] the starting-point of the metropolitan church of England, Christ Church, Canterbury. In a letter to Æthelbirht Gregory had urged him to destroy all heathen temples,

[1] Bæda, I. 25, 26.

[2] The lower courses of the walls of the nave are still coated with the original Roman cement. The church may have been dedicated to St. Martin by Bertha. If originally dedicated to him it must have been built after A.D. 400.

[3] H. & S., III. 3.

[4] Qy. Sunday 17th Nov.? See Stevenson, note to Bæda.

[5] "Licentia data."

[6] So Gregory's letter to the Bishop of Alexandria, H. & S., III. 3, 12.

[7] For the *Pallium*—the distinctive badge of an archbishop—a sort of stole marked with crosses worn round the neck, with a falling end in front, see engraving of St. Dunstan below.

[8] This implies that according to the records at Rome London had been the capital of Southern, as York was of Northern Britain.

[9] Bæda, *H.E.*, I. cc. 27–32; H. & S., III. pp. 14–38.

[10] Bæda.

on second thoughts he wrote that it would be better to purify them, or apply them to Christian purposes. Augustine also laid the foundations of a church and monastery to the East of the then city, intended to be dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, but which in fact came to be called by his own name, St. Augustine's, Canterbury.[1]

Nor did Augustine neglect efforts to obtain recognition of the authority over the British bishops with which Gregory had graciously endowed him.[2]

The British Bishops.

Through the influence of Æthelbirht a conference was arranged on the banks of the Severn, under a spreading oak,[3] known afterwards as Augustine's oak, now Aust; and still "one of the chief places for crossing the Severn";[4] obviously a convenient place for a meeting between Welsh and English.

Augustine to a certain extent must be given credit for practical ends in seeking union with the British Church. He wished to enlist their co-operation in the work of converting the Anglo-Saxons; and to facilitate conjoint action he sought to bring their ritual into entire harmony with that of Rome. During the 150 years which had elapsed since Britain had been cut off from the outer world, the practice of the western Church had undergone modification on sundry points, and notably as to the manner of reckoning Easter Day. The British Churches held to the practice handed down to them from earlier times.[5]

Differences of Ritual.

The answer of the Welsh to the claim of ecclesiastical supremacy may be easily divined.[6] Under like circumstances the pretension would certainly be rejected at the present day. Two sittings were held without result, although Augustine did, in the spirit of Elijah, offer to contend with them by a sign from heaven; and did, in fact, we are assured, open the eyes of a blind man (an Angle) after that the Welshmen had failed to do so. On the second day Augustine apparently narrowed his demands to three points, as an irreducible *minimum*: viz., acceptance of the Roman practice as to the Easter calculation, and as to the mode of performing holy baptism, and co-operation in the work of preaching to the Angles. The Britons being utterly obdurate, Augustine shook off the dust from his feet against them. 'If ye will not have peace with us as brethren ye shall have war with us as enemies; if ye will not preach the Way of Life to the Angles, ye shall suffer at their hands the vengeance of death.'[7] This was,

[1] Bæda, I. 33.

[2] So in answer to Augustine's seventh question, "Brittaniarum omnes episcopos tuæ fraternitati committimus," H. & S., p. 22.

[3] "Lingua Anglorum Augustinaes Ac, id est robur Augustini." Bæda.

[4] Freeman.

[5] See the whole matter clearly set out, H. & S., I. 152.

[6] For the answer attributed to Dinoth, more correctly Dunawd, Abbot of Bangor Iscoed, in Flintshire, see H. & S., I. 122; Rhys, *C. B.*, 124.

[7] Bæda, II. 2 and H. & S., III. 38–40. The conferences must have been held in

to say the least of it, an unfortunate utterance, through which Augustine was held prophetically responsible for subsequent deeds of blood. "*Quod ita per omnia ut prædixerat divino agente judicio patratum est.*"[1]

Augustine himself did not long survive the conferences at Aust. But he lived long enough to establish two new sees; the work of conversion having made sufficient progress to justify the step. Mellitus was consecrated Bishop of the East Angles, ruled by Sæberht, nephew of Æthelbirht, in subordination to his uncle. His see was established in London—again spoken of as a great trading-mart[2]—and his church was the original St. Paul's, built for him by Æthelbirht. Justus was appointed Bishop of Rochester, as spiritual father of West Kent, which may have been administered as an under-kingdom. His church was St. Andrew's, Rochester, also built for him, and liberally endowed by Æthelbirht. Lastly (if not before) Augustine consecrated Laurentius as his successor, and then he passed away, on the 26th May, apparently in the same year.[3] He was ultimately buried in the north aisle (*in porticu aquilonali*) of his own monastery at Canterbury, which had not been completed at his death.

Mellitus, Bishop of London.

Justus of Rochester.

Laurentius, Archbishop.

Æthelbirht lived on, the most influential prince south of the Humber, till the year 616, when he was gathered to his fathers. His Laws, published during the life of Augustine,[5] are a re-enactment of primitive customs, with such modifications as had been necessitated by the adoption of Christianity. The first clause proclaims the exalted position assigned to the clergy. 'Goods (*feoh*) of God and the churches twelvefold; bishops' goods elevenfold; priests' ninefold; deacons' sixfold; clerics' threefold.' The restitution to be made for stealing the king's goods is only ninefold.[6] All the penalties are pecuniary. Tables of fines for injuries to life, limb, and property, varying according to the social rank of the persons concerned, fill up nine-tenths of the code.

Laws of Æthelbirht.

At the death of Æthelbirht the ascendancy of Kent came to an end, and the Christian mission suffered a distinct check. Æthelbirht's son, Eadbald, and the sons of Sæberht in Essex, rejected the new creed. Mellitus and Justus had to retire for a while to Gaul. Wessex drew the

602 or 603. The *Annales Cambriæ* refer to a synod held by St. David at Caerleon-upon-Usk A.D. 601. This may have been held to receive Augustine's overtures.

[1] Bæda, *sup.* [2] So Bæda.

[3] A.D. 604, Bæda, *H. E.*, II. 3, 4; H. & S., III. 4. Bæda gives the day of Augustine's death, but not the year. Florence of Worcester gives the year as 604. "The chronologia in fine W. Thorn (*X. Scriptt.*, 2,230) gives 605": so too does Thorn himself, a 14th century writer (*ib.* 1765). The orginal charter of Rochester Cathedral is dated 28th April, 604. Laurentius is mentioned in it as bishop, but not Augustine (H. & S., III. 52).

[4] Bæda, *sup.* [5] "On Augustinus dæge," Schmid, p. 2.

[6] *Laws of Æthelbirht*, I. 4. Bæda refers to these provisions (*H. E.*, II. 5).

sword on the one side, while on the other Rædwald of East Anglia, renouncing all allegiance, embarked in a career of ambition on his own account.[1] But the centre of political influence and the scene of interest had already shifted to the North.

Affairs of Northumbria.

Æthelric, sixth son of Ida, had succeeded to the throne of Bernicia about the year 586. In 588 Ælle, the rival King of Deira, died; Æthelric expelled his sons,[2] and thenceforward ruled as King of all Northumbria. That dominion he bequeathed to his son, the ruthless Æthelfrith, in the year 593.[3]

Æthelfrith.

Of all Anglic kings, none waged war against the natives with more relentless vigour than Æthelfrith, surnamed "Flesaur"—*the Devastator*.[4] Expulsion, tribute, or the sword, were the only alternatives offered.[5] * His bitterness for once roused the Celts to a combined effort. In the year 603 Aidan MacGabran, King of the Dalriad Scots, the friend of St. Columba, who had made him king,[6] led a great confederacy against the sworn foe of his race. The allies were met by Æthelfrith at "Degsastan," or "Dægsanstane," identified with Dawston in upper Liddesdale, near the head waters of the North Tyne. The locality suggests that the confederacy were advancing along a Roman cross-road into Northumberland.[7] Their forces would include those of Strathclyde, Annandale, the Forest district, and perhaps Galloway. The lead taken by Aidan foreshadowed the part to be played in Northern affairs by his successors. The battle was most sanguinary. A brother of Æthelfrith and his division were cut off; but the Celts in the end were utterly routed, and for more than a century neither Pict nor Scot ventured to meddle with English territory.[8]

Victories at Dawston

And Chester.

A few years later we find Æthelfrith dealing a blow of equal if not greater severity against the Britons south of the Border. The battle was fought at Chester.[9] As the forces advanced to engage Æthelfrith noticed a strange band of men drawn up on one side, in

[1] Bæda, *H. E.*, II. 5, 6; Chron. A and E; Flor. Wor.; W. Malm., *G. R.*, I. 10. Laurentius however managed to make terms with Eadbald.

[2] For these see a note Green, *sup.*, 247.

[3] Bæda, *H. E.*, I. 34; Chron. A; Flor.

[4] Nennius, Hist., *M. H. B.*, 74: "Fleisawr Cambriæ vastator vel depopulator" (note Petrie).

[5] "Nemo . . . plures eorum terras exterminatis vel subjugatis indigenis aut tributarias genti Anglorum aut habitabiles fecit" (Bæda, *H. E.*, I. 34).

[6] Adamnan, III. c. 5.

[7] The circular camps and hill-ditch near Dawston, commonly regarded as part of the Catrail, may have been connected with this battle. If so the confederates must have assumed a defensive attitude on reaching the Border.

[8] Bæda, *sup.*; Chron. A and E.

[9] "Ad civitatem Legionum, quæ a gente Anglorum Legacaester, a Brittonibus autem rectius Carlegion appellatur" (Bæda, *H. E.*, II. 2). The name would do equally for Caerleon-upon-Usk, but Chester must have been the place.

attitude of prayer, with a guard of soldiers to protect them. He was told that they were holy men, 'monks' from the great monastery of Bangor Iscoed, who were appealing to their God for the success of their countrymen. 'Nay,' said Æthelfrith, 'but if they offer up prayers against us, they fight against us, even though they bear not weapons in their hands'; and accordingly he ordered the first attack to be made on their position. The priests were slaughtered, as if in verification of Augustine's words, and Æthelfrith gained a complete victory, but not without severe loss.[1] The monastery of Bangor and the city of Chester were wasted and left desolate; the confederacy of the Kymry was cut in two, "the rudest shock ever given their traditions." Wales was for ever severed from Cumbria and Galloway.[2]

Persecution of Eadwine.

The one thorn in the side of Æthelfrith was the fact that Eadwine, son of Ælle of Deira, was still living. For twenty years Æthelfrith hunted him and his from one hiding-place to another at the courts of the British princes of the West coast.[3] At one of these courts, namely that of Cerdic, prince of Elmet cum Loidis, Eadwine's nephew, by name Hereric, had been poisoned.[4] At another time he was with Cearl, a Mercian prince, whose daughter, Quænburh, he married.[5] At last Eadwine took refuge with Rædwald, King of the East Angles, a man who, even before the death of Æthelbirht, must have attained to a considerable position, as at the death of Æthelbirht he became the leading potentate of Southern Britain.[6]

Again at the Court of Rædwald Æthelfrith pursued his enemy. He plied Rædwald on either hand with promises and threats to induce him to surrender Eadwine. At the third embassy Rædwald seemed to give way, and promised compliance with Æthelfrith's wishes. It was the first hour of night, a trusty adherent dragged Eadwine from his chamber, and urged him to flee. With noble pride he refused to betray any suspicion of his host. Then as if weary of a life of wandering he added, 'If I must

[1] Bæda, *H. E.*, II. 2 (without date). The Winchester Chron. (A) gives the year as 607; the Peterborough Chron. (E) as 605. The *Annales Cambriæ* and *Tighernac* give the year as 613: the last is perhaps the most likely date.

[2] See Rhys, *C. B.*, 613, 634. It is suggested that Jago, King of Gwynedd, who fell at Chester, may have been the Welsh leader. Bæda names one Brochmail, or Brochvael; but he seems to have been only captain of the priests' guard. See also *Ann. Camb.*

[3] Bæda, II. 12. At one time Eadwine seems to have been with Cadvan of Gwynedd, son of Jago, who fell at Chester (Rhys, *C. B.*, 126).

[4] Hereric was the son of an elder brother of Eadwine, whose name has not been preserved, and who died or was killed in exile, but who was old enough to leave Hereric and two daughters—Hereswith married to an East Anglian prince, and Hild the foundress of Whitby Abbey. Besides Eadwine and his brother Ælle also left a daughter, Acha, who remained in Deira, and became Æthelfrith's wife, "a marriage clearly intended to reconcile the Deirans to his rule." (Bæda, II. 14, III. 6, IV. 23; Nennius; Green, *sup.*, 247).

[5] Bæda, *H. E.*, II. 14. [6] Bæda, *H. E.*, II. 5.

die I may as well fall by the hand of Rædwald as by that of any meaner man.' And so he took his seat on the doorstep to abide his fate. His agony of suspense was cut short by the return of his friend, who hastened back to tell him that Rædwald's wife had persuaded her lord to face Æthelfrith in the field rather than betray his guest.

Afterwards it transpired that while Eadwine sat on the gloomy doorstep a mysterious form had appeared to him, and claimed his allegiance, if he should be delivered from his extremity.

End of Æthelfrith.

Rædwald marched boldly against Æthelfrith. They met on the borders of Mercia and Deira, at Retford in Nottinghamshire, on the east bank of the river Idle. Æthelfrith was defeated and killed, but Rædwald lost his son Rœgenhere in the action.[1]

Eadwine, King.

Eadwine was raised to the throne, not only of Deira, but also of Bernicia. During the seventeen years that he ruled he attained to a dominion more extensive than that of any previous king. He expelled Cerdic from Elmet and annexed his territory; the Isles of Man and Anglesey were for the time brought under his sway.[2] But the abiding memorial of his reign was the establishment of the fortress on the hill thenceforward known as "Eadwinesburh," in Gaelic "Dunedin," in Welsh "Dineiddin,"[3] Edinburgh.

His throne being firmly established and his first wife dead, Eadwine began to look about him for another consort. Kentish princesses were the fashionable ladies of the time, Kent being doubtless in advance of the other kingdoms in civilisation and refinement. Accordingly Eadwine applied for the hand of Æthelburh, commonly known as "Tata," daughter of Æthelbirht, and sister of Eadbald the reigning king. Eadwine's offer was accepted on the condition that the lady should be allowed the free exercise of Christian worship; and Paulinus was consecrated bishop to accompany her.[4]

Paulinus Bishop of York.

Paulinus laboured diligently to make converts among the Northumbrians, but it is clear that he made little progress in his first year, namely up to Easter Day (20th April) A.D. 626, when events occurred to give the cause a helping hand. On that day a desperate attempt to assassinate the

[1] Bæda, *H.E.*, II. 12; A.D. 617. Chron. E; H. Hunt. The latter gives a translation of the *refrain* of some old ballad "Amnis Idle Anglorum sorduit cruore."

[2] Bæda, II. 9. Nennius, *M.H.B.*, 76. The name Anglesey however must not be supposed = "Engla-ig, *i.e.* "The Isle of the Angles." That would have led to "Ingley" or some such word. "Anglesey" is later, perhaps Norse. H. Bradley, in *Academy*.

[3] So Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 238. "Myned Agned" was another Welsh name. "Castrum Puellarum" in Latin writers remained in use to a late date.

[4] Bæda, *H.E.*, II. 9. Paulinus was consecrated by Archbishop Justus 21st July, 625; *ib.* Laurentius, the successor of Augustine, died 2nd February, 619: he was succeeded by Mellitus, the first Bishop of London. Mellitus having died 24th April, 624, was succeeded by Justus, originally the first Bishop of Rochester. See Haddan and Stubbs, etc.

king in public audience was made by an emissary of Cwichelm, a West Saxon king. Eadwine's life was saved by the devotion of his thegn (*minister*) Lilla, who threw himself on the dagger. But so desperate was the assassin that he succeeded in killing another man besides wounding the king before he was despatched.[1]

That night Æthelburh gave birth to a daughter, who received the name of Eanfled. Paulinus was able to represent the queen's safe delivery as due to the special prayers he had offered up on her behalf. He was also able to make some capital out of the king's escape from the fury of the assassin. Eadwine promised to take the question of his own conversion into consideration, if he should be vouchsafed a safe recovery from his wound, and also given a victory over the treacherous West Saxons. In the meantime he allowed his infant daughter Eanfled and twelve of his household to be baptized. The rite was performed on Whitsunday (8th June), a firstfruits of Northumbrian Christianity.[2]

Eadwine having recovered of his wound, and a suitable chastisement having been inflicted on his enemies, Paulinus returned to the charge. The king still hesitating, the Bishop, as a last expedient, appealed to the vision which had appeared to Eadwine on Rædwald's doorstep, and boldly claimed the merit of the fulfilment of the promise then given. The story goes on that Eadwine was greatly agitated. But constitutional instinct still made him require the formal assent of his council of *Witan* or Wise men (*consiliarii sapientes*). In the discussion that ensued it is curious to note that Coifi the king's high priest was the first to disclaim the old gods, and that he asked to be allowed himself to desecrate and burn down the great temple at Godmundham.[3]

Finally Eadwine was baptized at York on Easter Day (12th April), 627:[4] among the members of his family mentioned as being also baptized were his two sons by his first wife, and his niece Hild, afterwards abbess of Whitby. The ceremony was performed in a wooden church built for the occasion, and dedicated to St. Peter; but Eadwine lost no time in laying the foundations of a stone church to enclose the wooden church, the original York Minster.

Baptism of Eadwine.

York Minster.

Under the fostering care of Eadwine the work of conversion advanced

[1] The incident is stated to have happened at a royal seat on the river Derwent (Deruventionem). But there are several rivers of the name. Camden suggested Auldby, near Kirkby Underdale, in the East Riding. [2] Bæda, *sup.* Chron. A and E.

[3] Near Wighton in the East Riding. Bæda, *H.E.*, II. 13.

[4] Nennius, *M.H.B.*, 76, and the *Annales Cambriæ* while recording the baptism of Eadwine allege that he was baptized by Rhun, son of Urien. If this means anything, it must mean that Rhun at the time was attending Eadwine's court as a vassal prince, and acted as his sponsor.

[5] Bæda, *H.E.*, II. 14, 20; IV. 23. Chron. E. For letters from Pope Boniface V. to Eadwine and Æthelburh, see Bæda, II. 10, 11.

rapidly; the royal progresses being made occasions for baptizing on a large scale. Thus we hear of Paulinus baptizing numbers in the river Glen at Yeavering[1] (*Adgefrin*) near Wooler; and in the Swale at Catterick; and again later in the Trent at "Teolfinga ceastra"; we also hear of a wooden church at another royal seat "Campodonum," probably "*Danum*," otherwise Doncaster.[2]

From Deira Christianity spread Eastwards and Southwards. Eorpwald, son of Rædwald, the King of the East Angles, at Eadwine's suggestion, followed his example (628?). Some three years later his brother and successor Sigberct brought from Gaul a Burgundian bishop, Felix by name, who was established at Dunwich,[3] there to labour in peace for seventeen years.[4]

Felix Bishop of the East Angles.

The conversion of our Lincolnshire was undertaken by Paulinus in person; he preached to the Lindissas, and built a stone church at Lincoln; and there, Archbishop Justus having died, he was called upon to consecrate Honorius as his successor.[5] A few years later Palls were concurrently sent by Pope Honorius to Paulinus of York, and to Honorius of Canterbury. By this recognition the Northern Province was placed on a footing of equality with the Southern Province in accordance with Gregory's original scheme.[6]

The ability of King Eadwine as a ruler was shown by the 'good peace' (to borrow the language of a later day) that he was able to maintain throughout his wide dominions. In his days, it used to be said, a woman with a new-born babe could travel safely from sea to sea. Brass cups could be attached to posts at drinking places by the wayside, and not be stolen. At the same time he cultivated a certain pomp till then unknown to English Royalty. Wherever he went his Standard was carried before him. If he only walked down the street a Roman Tufa or a plume of feathers preceded him.[7]

Government of Eadwine.

But Eadwine was doomed to fall before a coalition of the rising power of Mercia with the Welsh.

Penda, grandson of Creoda, had succeeded to the throne of Mercia in 626, at the ripe age of fifty winters. Two years later we hear of hostilities with the King of the West Saxons at Cirencester, ending in a convention.[8] It is not too much to suppose that the incorporation of the Hwiccas of Gloucestershire and the Magesætas of Herefordshire with Mercia dates from this treaty.

Penda King of Mercia.

[1] Local tradition marks the site of a summer residence of Eadwine at this place. The Glen is an affluent of the Till. [2] Bæda, II. 14.

[3] This place was on the coast of Suffolk, but has been destroyed by the sea.

[4] Bæda, II. 15. Chron. A and Florence give 632 as the year of Eorpwald's conversion, and 636 as that of the establishment of Felix; but the data supplied by Bæda point to the years 628 and 630 or 631. See H. and S., III. 89.

[5] A.D. 628, Bæda, II. 16–18. Justus died 10th Nov., 627, *Ib.*, and Chron. E.

[6] A.D. 634, Bæda, II. 17, 18. [7] Bæda, II. 16. [8] Chron. A.

Cadwallon, King of Gwynedd, son of Cadvan above mentioned, had been hardly pressed by Eadwine, who took Anglesey from him, and finally drove him out of his dominions into Ireland.[1] His restoration may have been due to the influence of Penda, when he became lord of the conterminous districts of Middle Britain. Anyhow Cadwallon, though a Christian, joined hands with the heathen Penda for an attack on Eadwine. The battle was fought on the 12th October, 633, at "Heathfelth," now Hatfield, between Doncaster and Thorne. Eadwine fell and his whole army was dispersed.[2]

Cadwallon King of Gwynedd.

Fall of Eadwine.

The result need not be taken as indicating the real strength of the contending forces, but rather as an illustration of the advantages which we shall find, all through the course of English domestic warfare, invariably attending the assailant, the party who, after preparing in secret, could strike as and when it suited him best.

For the time the House of Eadwine was crushed by the blow. His eldest son Osfrith fell in the action; his second son Eadfrith surrendered himself to Penda, who, after a while, found it expedient to make away with him. Archbishop Paulinus with Queen Æthelburh and her children retired to Kent. For some twelve months Northumberland remained in the hands of Cadwallon; not be it noted of Penda, whose policy apparently aimed rather at consolidation than at extension of territory. Osric, a collateral of the House of Ælle,[3] attempted to raise his head in Deira, and was killed while besieging Cadwallon in York. The Bernicians brought Eanfrith, eldest son of Æthelfrith, from his retirement beyond the Forth, only to meet with the same fate. He was killed by Cadwallon; treacherously killed, it was said, while negotiating for a peaceful settlement.[4]

Cadwallon at York.

His brother Oswald was then brought forward with better results. Sheltered for years at the court of the Dalriad princes Oswald had embraced the principles of Christianity with ardour. His force was small, but animated with his own spirit. Descending the North Tyne he advanced without opposition to the Roman Wall, where he encamped on a height known afterwards as "Hevenfelth," 'Heavens Field,' now called St. Oswald's. The enemy were posted to the South of Hexham. Rising early on the morrow Oswald ordered a wooden cross to be hastily put together. With his own hands he supported it while it was being planted in the ground. He offered up a short prayer for the success of his cause and then led his men to the attack. The battle was fought on "Denises Burn," now the West

Oswald, Son of Æthelfrith.

[1] See Rhys, *C.B.*, 128, 129.

[2] Bæda, II. 20. Chron. E. The place is called Meicen by Nennius, *M.H.B.*, 75; and Meiceren by the *Annales Cambriæ*.

[3] Son of Ælfric, brother to Ælle. Bæda, III. 1. [4] Bæda, II. 20, III. 1.

Dipton Burn,[1] doubtless on one or other of the two roads leading southwards from Hexham, perhaps at West Dipton Mill, but more likely at Newbiggin. The road by West Dipton Mill, even at the present day, leads to nothing, ending among hills; whereas the Newbiggin road is a thoroughfare to the South West, along which a Welsh army might naturally advance. Moreover a most eligible site, either for a camp or a battlefield, may be seen at Newbiggin, not so at West Dipton Mill.

Defeats Cadwallon,

Whatever the site, Oswald gained a complete victory, Cadwallon falling on the field. If, as we believe, the action took place at Newbiggin, it was fought in the very next field to the Linnels, where eight hundred and thirty years later Henry VI. suffered defeat at the hands of Edward IV.[2]

Oswald obtained recognition from Deira as well as Bernicia, the Southern Kingdom accepting him as the son of Acha, the sister of Eadwine. Under Oswald the two peoples became more

And becomes King.

united than they yet had been. Nor was his sway less extensive than that of his predecessor. In fact we are told that all the four 'tongues'—Britons, Picts, Scots, and Angles, acknowledged his sway.[3]

On entering on his new duties Oswald's very first step had been to apply to the friendly monastery of Hy or Iona for a bishop. Paulinus, being bound up with the hostile dynasty, was allowed to

Aidan Bishop of Bernicia.

remain in Kent. In answer to Oswald's application the monk Aidan was consecrated and sent, and established by the king in Lindisfarne or the Holy Isle; his own favourite seat being Bamborough. With Aidan began the practical conversion of Bernicia: till then, we are told, no place of worship had been consecrated in all the kingdom.[4]

While Aidan the Scot was thus attacking Heathenism in the North, a fresh Italian mission was entering Wessex under one Birinus, who had

Birinus Bishop of Dorchester.

a commission from Pope Honorius I. Birinus was established as Bishop of the Gewissas at Dorchester on the Thames, under the combined patronage of Cynegils of Wessex and

[1] "In loco qui lingua Anglorum Denisesburna, id est Rivus Denisi vocatur." Bæda, III. 1; A.D. 634, Chron. E; Adamnan, *St. Columba*, I. c. 1. A 13th century charter cited Greenwell, Tyneside Naturalists' Club, VI. 13 (Lansdowne MS., 402, f. 19), clearly identifies Denisesburn with the West Dipton Burn. Nennius, *M.H.B.*, 76, calls the battle "Catscaul," qy. 'Battle of the Meadow' or 'Weir'? The Newbiggin Park is surrounded by streams.

[2] See *Lancaster and York*, II. 303.

[3] "Nationes quæ in quatuor linguas divisæ sunt." Bæda, III. 6. The reader will note that the Pictish language is here equally distinguished from Welsh and Gaelic.

[4] A.D. 634. Bæda, III. 2, 3, 26. Aidan must have been consecrated before the 31st August, 634, as on the 31st August, 651, when he died, he had completed the 16th and begun the 17th year of his episcopate. *Id.*, 17.

Oswald (634, 635). Oswald was present when Cynegils was baptized, and took him as his godson; he himself having come to woo the hand of a daughter of Cynegils.[1]

Oswald's appearance on the banks of the Thames would imply friendly if not submissive relations on the part of Penda. It must have been to please Oswald that he made away with Eadwine's son Eadfrith. Æthelburh, afraid for the safety of her children in Kent, sent them over to Gaul.[2] The Lindiswaras, much against their will, had to bow to the yoke of Oswald.[3] Yet at the last we find Oswald, like Eadwine, succumbing to Penda, who defeated him and put him to death at "Maserfelth," an uncertain place, but generally identified with Oswestry[4]—'Oswald's Tree'—where the body of the fallen king was "dismembered and set up" in the phrase of later days.[5] The suddenness of his fall seems startling: but if we look at the place where he is supposed to have met with his end, the locality will suggest that Oswald fell on a foray pushed right through Mercia into Wales.

Fall of Oswald.

At Oswald's death his kingdom broke into two. His brother Oswiu, as son of Æthelfrith, succeeded to Bernicia; but not without opposition from his nephews, the sons of Eanfrith and Oswald; while Oswine, son of Osric, who was killed by Cadwallon in 634, became king of Deira, as representative of the house of Ælle.[6] But the reign of Oswald had left its mark on the religion of Northumbria. In 634 both Eanfrith and Osric had apostatized, presumably from motives of policy. Now both Oswiu and Oswine adhere firmly to Christianity.

Oswiu and Oswine.

With a divided Northumbria Penda became the dominant power in Britain, though the Christian writers refused to recognise the fact.[7] Lincolnshire at Oswald's death went back to Penda; East Anglia had always been under his influence; even Oswine must have bowed to his supremacy, as we hear that Penda could ravage Bernicia, and even lay siege to Bamborough.[8] This could not have happened if Oswine had stood in the way. But such sub-

Penda Dominating.

[1] Bæda, III. 7; Chron. A; H. & S., III. 90.

[2] Bæda, II. 20. [3] *Id.*, III. 11.

[4] See Eyton, *Shropshire Antiquities*, X. 317. He derives Maser-feld from Maesdyr, suggested as the old name for the district of Oswestry (conf. Maesbury). Oswestry is called "Croes Oswalt," Oswald's Cross, in Welsh. Stevenson notes a Maserfield in Lancashire near Winwick. By Nennius the battle is called *bellum Cocboy*. *M.H.B.*, 76.

[5] 5th August, 642. Bæda, III. 9; Chron. A. Oswald's body was buried after a time at Bardney in Lincolnshire, and translated later to Gloucester. His head was taken to Lindisfarne, eventually laid in the tomb of St. Cuthberht, and found there in 1827. J. Raine, *Cuthbert* (Durham, 1828); Bæda, III. 11, 12.

[6] Bæda, III. 14; Chron. A and E.

[7] Bæda, who assigns a temporary supremacy to Rædwald and Æthelberht, and even to Ælle of Sussex, gives no such honour to Penda; yet it would be idle to compare the position of either of the three former with that of Penda.

[8] Bæda, III. 16.

servience to Penda involved the hostility of Oswiu, and, to all appearance, the loss even of the confidence of Deira. Oswiu resolved to annex Deira, and with that object married Eanfled, the daughter of Eadwine.[1] Having thus gained a title to Deira he declared war on his rival. Oswine raised an army and marched to Catterick, but there, perhaps conscious of disaffection among his men, he gave way to despair, and disbanded his host, placing himself in the hands of an ealdorman whom he thought devoted, but who, on the contrary, gave him up to Oswiu, by whom he was at once put to death.[2]

The reader will notice that primitive aversion to capital punishment did not extend to political offences.

Bishop Aidan, who was on equally friendly terms with both kings, died within twelve days, apparently of a broken heart.[3]

Oswiu now became lord of Deira; but the extension of territory, for the time, brought him little accession of strength; as we hear that Penda to the last of his days could push devastating inroads into Northumbria; that he could force Oswiu to accept his (Oswiu's) nephew, Æthelwald, son of Oswald, as under-king in the North Riding;[4] and that he actually had Oswiu's own son Ecgfrith as a hostage in his hands. Finally we are told that on the eve of the decisive struggle Oswiu made the largest offers for the sake of peace. Scorned by Penda Oswiu found comfort in the enthusiasm of his faith. He vowed an infant daughter as a virgin to Christ; he vowed to found twelve monasteries of ten hides each.

Oswiu Sole King.

The unequal forces met in the district of Loidis, on the banks of the Winwæd, now the Aire. Contingents from Wales, East Anglia, and the North Riding swelled the hosts of Penda; probably, however, a source of weakness rather than of strength. Again the Banner of the Cross proved triumphant. Penda fell, a man of eighty years: his thirty under-kings and ealdormen were scattered or slain, and the bulk of his army driven into the river. The stream was in high flood, 'so that more men perished by the waters than by the sword.'[5]

Fall of Penda.

The result was probably due to the disaffection of Penda's vassal allies. Between him and the East Angles there could be little love lost:

[1] *Id.*, 15.

[2] 20th August, 651. Bæda, III. 14; Chron. A. The event happened at Gilling St. Agatha, in the North Riding. A church in honour of Oswine was built there by Eanfled. Lewis, *Topog. Dict.* [3] Bæda, III. 14, 17.

[4] We find Æthelwald giving lands for a monastery at Lastingham, near Whitby.

[5] Bæda, III. 17, 24. He gives the date as the 15th Nov. (xvii. Kal. Dec.) in the 13th year of Oswiu. If Oswiu's reign was reckoned from the death of Oswald (5th August, 642), the year would be 654, as given by Chron. E. If Oswiu did not begin to reign till 643 the year would be 655, as given by Chron. A. Nennius calls the place "Campus Gai."

Bæda tells us that Ealdorman Æthelwald (of the North Riding) took no part in the action; while Nennius informs us that Cadwaladr of Gwynnedd, who led the Welsh men, gained the surname of 'Battle-Shunner' from his conduct on this occasion.[1]

For three years Oswiu remained master of Mercia, conceding a subordinate kingdom over the Middle Angles and Southern Angles, or Mercians South of the Trent, to his son-in-law and convert Peada, son of Penda. But the Mercians could not be kept under Northumbrian ascendancy. About the year 657 Peada was assassinated: his brother Wulfhere was made king; and Mercia again became an independent and influential state.[2]

Wulfhere King of Mercia.

Penda in his time was considered the pillar of Heathendom: but it must be admitted that his heathenism was of a tolerant sort. He fought for political ascendancy, not for creeds. 'What he hated,' he used to say, 'was a man who did not act up to his principles'; or, to use his own words more nearly, 'men who did not obey the gods they worshipped.'[3] Twice he overran East Anglia and slew its king.[4] But the work of Bishop Felix and his successors was never interfered with. So when Penda expelled Cenwalh from Wessex in 643, Birinus remained at Dorchester in peace. When his son Peada married the daughter of Oswiu and became a Christian, he allowed him to introduce a mission, not only among the Middle Angles then ruled by him, but also among the Mercians proper governed by Penda himself.[5]

Establishment of Christianity throughout England.

The victory of Oswiu over Penda failed to secure the ascendancy of Northumbria over Mercia, as we have seen. But it sealed the downfall of Paganism. Christianity became the State religion of England at large, the worship of Woden only holding its ground among the benighted South Saxons, behind the thickets of the Forest of Andered.[6]

The rule of Oswiu from first to last was identified with missionary work; and to this doubtless he owed his triumph over Penda. Bishop Aidan having died in 651, as already mentioned, he appointed Finan, another monk from Iona, as his successor.[7] Through his influence the East Saxons, who had remained without a Bishop since the expulsion

[1] *M.H.B.*, 76; Rhys' *C.B.*, 131. It is suggested that having previously been known as "Cadavael," 'Battle-seizer,' he now received the extra name of "Cadommedd," the two making 'Battle seizer who Battle shuns.' Rhys.

[2] Bæda, III. 24; Chron. A.

[3] "Dicens contemnendos esse eos . . . qui Deo suo in quem crederent obedire contemnerent." Bæda, III. 21.

[4] He killed Ecgrice and his brother the ex-king Sigberht about the year 635; and again about the year 653 or 654 he put to death Anna, who had been allowed to succeed Ecgrice. Bæda, III. 18; A.D. 654 Chron. A; A.D. 653 Chron. E.

[5] A.D. 653. Bæda, III. 21; Chron. A.

[6] Green, *Making of England*, 310.

[7] Bæda, III. 17.

of Mellitus, were induced to accept Cedda, an Angle, as the second Bishop of London;[1] and when Penda fell, Oswiu sent Diuma, another Scot, to be the first Bishop of 'the Middle Angles and Mercians,'[2] with his seat at Lichfield.

Diuma Bishop of Lichfield.

To Oswiu must also be given the credit of having settled the Easter question, and settled it at the expense of the traditions in which he had been brought up. According to Bæda, public opinion inclined to the adoption of the Roman practice; but respect for the personal characters of Aidan and Finan had allowed the question to remain an open one. Till it was settled all union between the churches of the different kingdoms was impossible; and even within the limits of an individual kingdom the interests of the Church could not but suffer when men saw the king and his wife holding their Easter Feasts on different days. Finan having died in 661, was succeeded by Colman, another Scot, under whom the contention entered on a new stage. A great champion of the Roman cause had arisen in the person of the distinguished Wilfrith, chaplain to the king's younger son Alchfrith,[3] and Abbot of Ripon.

Wilfrith.

Born about the year 634, Wilfrith, at the age of fourteen, had been introduced to Eanfled wife of Oswiu, by whom he was sent to school at Lindisfarne. Fired with the ambition of going on pilgrimage to Rome he was sent by Eanfled to her relative Erconberht of Kent, who again placed him under the charge of Biscop Baducing, (*i.e., son of Baduca*), better known as Benedict Biscop, who was going to Rome. Wilfrith travelled with Biscop as far as Lyons, but parted from him there, remaining with Annemundus the Archbishop and his brother, "Dalfinus"[4] Count of Lyons. Dalfinus wished to marry Wilfrith to his daughter; but Wilfrith declined the offer, and went on to Rome, where he was fully instructed in the Easter question. Returning to Lyons he stayed three years with the Archbishop, from whom he received the Roman tonsure (655–658). Returning to Northumbria he was taken up by Alchfrith, who established him at Ripon; Abbot Eata of Melrose and a band of Scottish monks being turned out to make place for him (661).[5]

Journey to Rome.

Agilbert, late Bishop of Dorchester,[6] having come to Northumbria on

[1] He was consecrated by Finan in 654; *Id.*, 22; Stubbs' *Reg. Sacrum.* Cedda, brother of Ceadda (St. Chad), had already been on a mission to the Middle Angles.

[2] Bæda, III. 21. Stubbs, *sup.*

[3] Alchfrith must have ruled a province under his father, as Bæda styles him "rex." So too Ædde, *Vita Wilfredi.*

[4] One is inclined to ask if "Dalfinus" may not really have been the man's title as "Dauphin" de Vienne, he being also Count of Lyons. This might be the earliest notice of a Dauphin.

[5] See his life by Ædde or Eddi, Raine, *Historians of Church of York*, vol. I. cc. 1–8 (Rolls Series). Bæda, V. 19, Ædde joined Wilfrith as choir-master in 669, and apparently remained with him most of his life after that.

[6] Agilbert, appointed Bishop of Dorchester about 650, in succession to Birinus, retired

a visit to Alchfrith was introduced to Wilfrith, who took advantage of the opportunity for effecting a settlement of the Easter question. For this purpose a conference was held in the newly founded convent of "Streoneshalch," now Whitby. 'Both kings' (Oswiu and Alchfrith) were present. Bishop Agilbert and Wilfrith appeared for the Roman cause, with the support of one James, formerly deacon under Paulinus, who had remained ever since in charge of church interests in Deira. Bishop Colman and his clergy defended the Scottish use, with the support of Bishop Cedda of London, who had been ordained by the Scots, and the Lady Hild, great-granddaughter of Ælle and Abbess of Streoneshalch.

Colman relied on the practice of his spiritual ancestors and the authority of St. John. Wilfrith appealed to the practice of the whole world as against that of 'the Picts, the Britons, and the dwellers in two remote islands of the western sea.'[1] St. John, he urged, had only followed the Quarto-deciman[2] rule to indulge the Jews; his practice had been deliberately overruled by St. Peter at Rome. After sundry rejoinders Wilfrith finally declared that the authority of St. Peter must be conclusive, as he, and he alone, had the Keys of Heaven. At this Oswiu enquired eagerly whether such authority had really been given to Peter and to him alone. Colman admitted that it was so. 'Then,' said the King, 'I tell you that I will not go against my doorkeeper, lest when I come to the gates of Heaven there be no one to open unto me.'[3]

The Roman rule for Easter was now formally accepted for Northumbria; Cedda gave in his adhesion on behalf of the East Saxons, but Colman refused to be convinced. He resigned his See and went home. Tuda, a Scot who followed the Roman use, was appointed in his stead.[4] Tuda however died within the year of a pestilence which was then devastating Europe; whereupon Wilfrith, at the instance of Alchfrith, was named for the See of York. Objecting

Roman Easter Adopted.

from Wessex about 662, in consequence of an attempt made to divide his See, and went back to Gaul, where he became Bishop of Paris. Bæda, III. 7. *Reg. Sacrum.*

[1] "De duabus ultimis oceani insulis." The Irish, or at any rate the Southern Irish (gentes Scottorum . . . in australibus Hibernæ insulæ partibus) had conformed 640–642 at the instance of Pope John IV. Bæda, II. 19, III. 3; H. & S., III. 82. As for the British Easter they simply followed the old Roman rule, counting as Easter Day the Sunday after the equinox that fell between the fourteenth and the twentieth days of the moon, as calculated by the cycle that had been in use at Rome down to 458, Easter Day at Rome since being counted as between the fifteenth and the twenty-first days of the moon, and that calculated by a different cycle: H. & S., I. 152, *q.v.*, as to tonsure and other points of difference. For the Pascal cycles see Bond's *Handy Book for Verifying Dates.*

[2] So called because, following the Jewish rule for the Passover, they took as Easter Day the 14th of the moon on whatever day of the week it fell.

[3] A.D. 664. Bæda, III. 25, 26. Ædde, *Vita Wilfridi*, cc. 9, 10.

[4] Bæda, III. 26. Tuda had been ordained by the Southern Irish — "Scottos australes" — who conformed to Rome.

to the English bishops, as being all more or less tainted by intercourse with Quarto-deciman schismatics, Wilfrith went over to Gaul, and was consecrated by his friend Agilbert, at Compiègne, in the year 665.[1] Meanwhile however Oswiu, who, perhaps, was not quite so partial to Wilfrith as his son was, and who certainly was more under the influence of the Scots,[2] had appointed Ceadda (St. Chad) to be Bishop of York. He went to Canterbury to seek for consecration at the hands of Archbishop Deusdedit,[3] but found that Deusdedit was dead.[4] The archbishop also had probably been carried off by the plague. Eventually Ceadda was consecrated by Bishop Wine of Dorchester and two Welsh bishops, about the year 665, and was duly installed at York, Wilfrith being still absent.

The See of York.

St. Chad.

For the appointment to be made to the See of Canterbury, Oswiu took counsel with Ecgberht, King of Kent, and they agreed in making choice of one Wighard, an English priest, whom they sent to Rome (A.D. 667). But Wighard also fell a victim to the pestilence; and the Pope, Vitalian, treating the presentation as having lapsed, nominated and consecrated Theodore of Tarsus, a Greek monk.[5]

Theodore of Tarsus.

"A philosopher and divine of Eastern training," the new archbishop, to qualify himself for his mission, had submitted to the Roman tonsure.[6] Having entered Canterbury on the 27th May, 669, he undertook at once a visitation of all England to fill up the vacancies caused by the plague,[7] to establish the Roman rule, and generally to reorganize the churches. The first question that confronted him was that of the right to the See of York. Ceadda was in possession, but Wilfrith had been appointed first. Theodore however had no difficulty in deciding, as in his eyes Ceadda's ordination was vitiated by the concurrence of schis-

St. Chad Translated.

[1] Bæda, III. 28; Ædde, *Vita Wilfr.*, cc. 11, 12. H. & S., III. 106-108.

[2] Ædde represents both kings as concurring in the choice of Wilfrith; Bæda puts it as the sole doing of Alchfrith. But Ædde adds that the counter appointment of Ceadda was made under the influence of the Scottish party. c. 14.

[3] Archbishop Honorius died 30th September, 653. Deusdedit, the first Saxon archbishop, whose original name is said to have been Frithonas, was consecrated as his successor 26th March, 655. See Haddan & Stubbs, III. 82, 99.

[4] Bæda, IV. 1 gives the date of the death of Deusdedit as 14th July, 665 (*prid. Id. Iul.*). On the other hand the duration of the primacy of Deusdedit is given as nine years, seven (or four) months, and two days (Bæda, III. 20). This would imply that he died either 28th July or 28th October. H. & S., III. 99.

[5] 26th March, 668. Bæda, III. 29, IV. 1; Chron. E. Flor. Worc.

[6] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, I. 218.

[7] Bishop Cedda of London had died of the plague soon after the conference at Whitby; so had Ithamar of Rochester. Wine, originally established at Winchester, having quarrelled with Cenwalh, left Winchester and went to Dorchester in 663, and to London in 666. Boniface of Dunwich died about 669. Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr.* Thus there were at least three or four sees vacant. Wine had been appointed to Winchester in 662. *Reg. Sacrum*; Bæda.

matic Welsh bishops. St. Chad bowed meekly to his word. 'I never thought myself worthy of the office,' said he; 'all unworthy, at the bidding of others, undertook I it.'[1]

Theodore was so touched with his humility that he reconsecrated him, and sent him to fill the vacant bishopric of Mercia, with his see at Lichfield.

In this matter again it must be said for Oswiu that not every king would have allowed the man of his own choice to be set aside for the sake of church unity. Wilfrith became bishop of York—not archbishop, as Theodore contemplated the subjection of all England to one Primate; but the see of York extended to the borders of the distant Picts.[2]

Wilfrith Bishop of York.

Within the course of the years 669 and 670 bishops were consecrated by Theodore for the vacant sees of Rochester, Dunwich, and Wessex;[3] and in 673 the unity of the English church was proclaimed to all by the holding of a Synod at Hertford (*Herutforda*), "the first council properly so called of the English church." Of the six suffragan bishops five attended,[4] either in person or by deputy. The Canons passed dealt mainly with questions of church government. Bishops were forbidden to interfere in the sees (*parochiam*) of their episcopal brethren; secular clergy were forbidden to leave their own bishops, monks to leave their monasteries; while monasteries were declared wholly exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. Bishops and clergy on journeys were required to be content with such hospitality as might be offered to them. Lastly to ensure "permanent co-operation" in the future it was resolved that a Synod should be holden annually on the 1st August in a place called "Clofeshoch."[5]

Synod of Hertford.

Theodore would have liked a resolution for the subdivision of Sees, but the Bishops were not disposed to move in the matter, and no resolution was passed.[6] But Theodore was determined not to let the matter drop, being sensible of the urgency of the case. He took the matter into his own hands, and, by way of a beginning, deposed Bisi the East-Anglian Bishop, on the ground of infirmity, and consecrated two Bishops in his place, one for Elmham and one for Dunwich.[7]

Division of the East-Anglian See.

[1] "Neque me unquam hoc esse dignum arbitrabar, sed obedientiæ causa jussus," etc.

[2] Bæda, IV. 1-3. Like other prelates of the Columban school, Ceadda performed his rounds on foot; Theodore urged him to ride; he refused, till the archbishop took him by force and seated him on a horse. *Ib.*

[3] See Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr.* H. & S., III. 118.

[4] Wine, then of London, accused of simony, was the absentee.

[5] The place has not been identified, but must have been in or near Mercia. H. & S., III. 122. On the Thames we have Clifton-Hampden, Cleeve, and Clieveden.

[6] 24th Sept., 673. Bæda, *Ib.* Flor. Worcest. *Reg. Sacr.*

[7] Bæda, *Ib.* Flor. Worcest. *Reg. Sacr.*

When the church of Rome received, through Theodore, its nominee, the allegiance of the English churches it certainly reaped the fruits of much that it had not sown. The mission of Augustine had proved "a comparative failure." East Anglia had been converted by a Burgundian; Wessex by a Lombard. But the real life and energy of the new Christianity were concentrated in the North, and the North looked for its religious centre, not to Rome, but to Ireland.[1]

For the work of primary conversion the Irish were specially fitted by their poetic fervour, their command of language, and, it must be added, their unlimited faith in signs and wonders. But all powerful to stir up emotion, they were helpless to mould things into "ordered form." Disciplined organization was a thing they could neither understand nor tolerate. The ultimate predominance of their ideas would have led to mere congregationalism and confusion.[2]

In connexion with this we may notice the resolute abstention of the Welsh from any participation in the work of converting the hated Saxon.

[1] Green, *Making of England*, 312, and the passage from Bæda there cited.

[2] See *Id.*, 317.

CHAPTER XII

A.D. 643–757

Affairs of Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria—Cenwahl—Wolfhere—Ecgfrith—Ealdfrith—Wilfrith Bishop of York—Ceadwalla—Ine—Eadberht—Æthelbald—Saints of the Seventh Century

IN 670 Oswiu had been gathered to his fathers, the first English king to be canonised—"Saint Oswiu." His dominion must have been as extensive as that of either Oswald or Eadwine, because we hear that even some of the Picts recognised his sway.[1] His son Ecgfrith succeeded him.

Affairs of Wessex. Cenwahl.

Cenwahl of Wessex died in 672. Wessex as yet gave no promise of the position to which it was destined to attain. If we go back to Cenwahl's accession (643) we find that he clearly had to share the kingdom with a relative, Cuthred son of Cwichelm.[2] His first act as king was to renounce Christianity, and discard the sister of Penda for another wife. He was promptly punished by expulsion from his dominions.[3] He took refuge with Anna of East Anglia, who brought him back to the pale of the church. Having been recalled to Wessex in 648 he founded St. Peter's Minster at Winchester, but was unable to withdraw the episcopal seat from Dorchester. In 661 his dominions were overrun by Wolfhere, who sought to break them up by handing over the Jutish population, *i.e.* the Isle of Wight and the Meonwaras, to the King of Sussex.[5] Next year Cenwahl made another effort to sever the connexion with Dorchester and Mercia by establishing Wine as Bishop of Winchester. But the Bishop and he soon quarrelled. Wine deserted to Wolfhere, and obtained from him first the see of Dorchester (663), and later that of London (666). But money was said to have passed between him and the king.[6] Again a few years later Cenwahl made a fresh effort to get a bishop of his own. He applied to Agilbert at Paris, who sent his nephew Hlothere. Theodore consecrated him, but the influence of Wolfhere still kept the see at Dorchester.[7]

See of Winchester.

Not till the year 676 did the continuous series of Winchester Bishops begin with the appointment of Hedde.[8]

[1] Bæda, II. 5, III. 24, IV. 3. [2] Chron. A, A.D. 648, 661.
[3] Bæda, III. 7. Chron. A, 645.
[4] Chron. F (ed. Thorpe); Flor. W.; H. & S., III. 106.
[5] Chron. A. Bæda, IV. 276. [6] Bæda, III. 7.
[7] A.D. 670. Bæda, *sup.* Chron. A. Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr.*
[8] Chron. A; *Reg. Sacr.* But see H. & S., III. 127: "The point of time at which

Cenwahl on the other hand had been able to extend his borders at the expense of the Britons. In 652 he gained a victory over them at Bradford-on-Avon (Wilts), expelling them from the Frome valley; and again in 658 he defeated them at "Peonnum"; perhaps Pen Selwood near Castle Cary, perhaps one of the Mendip hills. The Britons were driven across the Parret, and this became the West border of Wessex.[1]

Wolfhere of Mercia died in 675; his hand had been heavy on the kings of Wessex; but in his last days (after 670) Lindsey had been wrested from him by Ecgfrith of Northumbria; in other respects however he seems to have handed down a well-to-do kingdom to his brother and successor Æthelred. Surrey (*Sudergeona*) must have formed part of his dominions, as Chertsey Abbey is said to have been founded by Eareonwald, or Erkenwald, afterwards Bishop of London,[2] under the protection of Frithewald, a Mercian ealdorman.[3] It must have been through Surrey that Æthelred in 676 invaded Kent, and sacked Rochester.[4] In 679 again he defeated Ecgfrith on the Trent and recovered Lindsey.[5]

Æthelred of Mercia.

But Church history must still engross the bulk of our attention. In the course of some ten years of episcopate Wilfrith, partly through his own character and ability, partly through the liberality of patrons, had attained to a very commanding position in Northumbria. We are told that Ecgfrith and the Bishop kept on good terms so long as Æthelthryth, the sainted Queen, remained with her husband; but that when she finally left Ecgfrith for the cloister, and a new Royal consort, Irmenburh, was set up, she instilled into her lord a jealousy of the popular and influential Bishop.[6] Anyhow the king resolved to curtail Wilfrith's See. Wilfrith not being disposed to submit, Theodore was invited to York; and, Wilfrith being still impracticable, a council of some sort was held, in which he was utterly deposed, and his See broken up and given away. Eata was consecrated Bishop of Lindisfarne or Hexham for Bernicia, while Bosa was consecrated Bishop of York for Deira. Lindsey, which being then under Northumbrian rule, might be considered part of Wilfrith's See, was made into a third diocese under one Eadhæd.[7]

Wilfrith,

Driven from York.

Wilfrith at once appealed to Rome and left the country. Sailing from the East coast, he was driven among the Frisians, where he spent the

Dorchester ceased to belong to Wessex, and Winchester became the only seat of the Wessex bishop is uncertain."

[1] Chron. A, and Earle's notes.

[2] Bæda, IV. 6.

[3] So the Life in Smith's *Christian Biogr.*

[4] Bæda, IV. 6; Chron. A.

[5] Chron. A and E. Peace was negotiated by Theodore, Ecgfrith receiving the *Wergyld* for his brother Ælfwine killed in the action. Bæda, IV. 21.

[6] So Ædde, by far the best authority on this point.

[7] A.D. 678. Ædde, *Vita Wilf.*, cc. 19, 24; Bæda, IV. 12; H. and S., III. 125.

winter, preaching to the people and laying the foundations for a mission to be afterwards carried on by his pupil Willibrord.[1] Resuming his journey in the spring (679), he made his way to Italy, *viâ* Gaul, and laid his case before Pope Agatho. He asked that he might be fully reinstated, as having been deposed without just cause of any sort; and that the intruding[2] Bishops should be turned out. He was willing however that his See should be divided, if thought proper; only he prayed that fresh Bishops, with whom he could act in harmony, might be appointed. Agatho accepted this alternative, and a decree to that effect was promulgated in a council held at Rome in the Basilica of Constantine. Theodore was ordered to reinstate Wilfrith and to consecrate new suffragan Bishops,[3] to be chosen by Wilfrith with the concurrence of an Anglican council.[4]

Appeal to Rome.

Wilfrith remained some time in Rome, probably to allow of negotiations with Theodore. These having failed, he made his way back to Northumbria armed with his Papal decree. Ecgfrith treated him and his decree with equal contempt. The Northumbrian Witenagemôt voted the decree spurious; and the king put Wilfrith into prison where he remained nine months.[5]

He is imprisoned.

Meanwhile Theodore was steadily carrying out his scheme of church extension. About the year 679 he subdivided the Mercian See at the request of King Æthelred and his vassal the under-king of the Hwiccas. Bosel became Bishop of the Hwiccas, with his See at Worcester; Cuthwin became Bishop of the Middle Angles, with his See at Leicester; Saxwulf, the existing Bishop, being allowed to remain at Lichfield, with his See cut down to Mercia proper. Lindsey remained an independent Diocese, but as the country had been recovered by Æthelred, a new Bishop, Æthelwin, was ordained, with his See at Sidnacester.[6] In 680 Theodore held the second of his "great historical synods" at Hatfield, to declare the orthodoxy of the English church, and its acceptance of the recognised General Councils.[7] In 681, again, he subdivided the Bernician See, establishing Tunberct as Bishop of Hexham, and Trumwine as Bishop of the Picts, with his See at Abercorn.[8]

New Sees.

[1] "In Freis pervenit." Æddę, cc. 25, 26. [2] "Invasores."

[3] "Adjutores episcopos." [4] Æddę, cc. 27–32: he was doubtless present.

[5] 680–681? *Id.*, 33–39. Wilfrith was imprisoned first in "urbs Bromnis," afterwards in "Dynbaer," Dunbar.

[6] See Flor. W., Append. *M. H. B.*, 622, comparing H. and S., III. 128, and the *Reg. Sacr.* Florence represents Dorchester as having been a fifth See, now carved out of Mercia, evidently on the authority of Bæda, who names one Ætla as having been Bishop of Dorcester (IV. 23). Ætla is not named elsewhere, so that the arrangement must at any rate have been a short-lived one. In the *Registrum Sacrum* the appointments are placed in the year 680.

[7] 17th Sept., 680. Bæda, IV. 17, 18; H. & S., III. 141, The council was held in view of "the Œcumenical Council (6th) of Constantinople held the same year."

[8] Bæda, IV. 12, 26; H. & S., III. 165. As Abercorn is in West Lothian or Linlith-

Wilfrith was eventually released from bonds at the intercession of the king's aunt, Æbbe (St. Ebb), Abbess of Coldingham.[1] He retired first to Mercia, then to Wessex, and finally to the remote corners of Sussex. There at last he found a refuge, and scope for the exercise of his active charity behind the thickets of the Andered's Weald. The Sussex king (Æthelwald) had embraced Christianity some years before; but the bulk of the population were still heathen, and so ignorant of the simplest arts of life as to be unable to catch sea fish, and that at a time when a lengthy drought had reduced them to the brink of starvation. The king gave Wilfrith a residence at Selsey, where Wilfrith founded a monastery, which received an endowment said to amount to eighty-seven hides,[2] the germ of a future Bishopric. Wilfrith remained some five years on the South coast, in fact till after the death of Ecgfrith, instructing and civilising the people.[3]

Wilfrith in Sussex.

Ecgfrith's reign had opened with successes, and might have ended in glory, had he been content to act with common prudence. His inheritance must have included our North Lancashire and the Lake district, native rule having been crushed in those parts.[4] In one of his first years[5] the subject Picts, by whom we must understand Picts South of the Forth, with the help of friends from the North, attempted to throw off his yoke; but were promptly quelled by an army under Beornheth, the under-king or Ealdorman of Lothian.[6] The Picts can have given no further trouble, as we have seen that a bishop was established among them at Abercorn in 681.

Ecgfrith of Northumbria.

Ecgfrith then conquered Lindsey (670–675), but this acquisition was lost, as already stated, in 679, when we hear of a battle on the Trent, in which he lost a brother.[7] In 684 he broke into furious war against the Celts. It would seem that he sent an expedition under the Ealdorman Berht or Berhtred into Ireland, where they landed on the East coast, destroying even monasteries and churches without mercy.[8]

gowshire we see that the Northern Picts extended south of the Forth. The *datum* here supplied may be connected with that supplied by the name "Pentlands," *i.e.* Pechtlands, or Pictlands.

[1] She was daughter of Æthelfrith and sister of Oswald and Oswiu.

[2] "Mansiones," "familiæ." [3] Ædde, 39–41; Bæda, IV. 13.

[4] Ecgfrith gave Cartmel in Lancashire to St. Cuthberht, "et omnes Britannos cum eo." Sym. Durh., *Hist. Cuthb.*, I. 141 (Surtees Soc.), cited Raine, *Ædde*, c. 17. Cuthberht, of whom anon, used to visit Carlisle in his rounds; and we hear of a friend of his, an English priest, Hereberht, living in an islet in Derwentwater. Bæda, IV. 29.

[5] "In primis annis ejus, tenero adhuc regno." Ædde.

[6] Ædde, *Vita Wulf.*, c. 19. Mr. Skene would connect with this war the expulsion of the Pictish King Drost, and the burning of "Bennchair Britonum," recorded by Tighernac A.D. 672. [7] Chron. A and E.

[8] "Misso Hiberniam exercitu . . . insulani," etc., Bæda, IV. 26; "On Scottas," Chron. E; "Saxones Campum Breg vastant"; *Ann. Ulster.*, A.D. 685, *i.e.*, Magh-Breg, or the plain between the Liffey and the Boyne; Joyce, *Irish Names*, 423; Skene, *Celtic*

Next year (686), against the advice of his best friends, including St. Cuthberht, who had just been ordained Bishop of Lindisfarne, he led an army against the Northern Picts; he was drawn onward as far as "Dun Nechtain," Dunnichen in Forfarshire, by his opponent Brude or Bruide, son of Bile, King of Fortrenn, *i.e.* Strathearn. On Saturday, 20th May, Ecgfrith was defeated and killed, the flower of his army falling with him.[1]

His Fall.

This reverse was a great blow to Northumbria. Picts and Britons, previously subject for a time, threw off their allegiance, and became independent. Bishop Trumwin was chased from Abercorn. The vacant throne was filled by the election, as we may suppose, of the late king's natural brother Ealdfrith, a man of studious habits, well versed in the Scriptures,[2] and perhaps better fitted to rule a convent than a kingdom.

Ealdfrith.

The death of Ecgfrith cleared the way for the restoration of Wilfrith. Theodore held out the hand of reconciliation to his Episcopal brother. They had an interview in London, in the presence of Bishop Erkenwald, and Theodore undertook to intercede with Ealdfrith on behalf of Wilfrith. But the latter had to concede the whole point at issue between himself and the Archbishop, undertaking to accept the See of York as limited by Theodore. Accordingly in the course of the year 686 Wilfrith was reinstated at York, Bosa being turned out; but Hexham, Lindisfarne, and Lindsey remained separate Sees, to say nothing of the lost Pictish territory in the North.[3]

Wilfrith Reinstated.

Theodore lived to establish one more See by consecrating Tyrhtel to be Bishop of Hereford, for the Magesætas, in the year 688;—if in fact the Bishopric had not been established before.[4] The establishment of this Diocese, by the way, proves that the Mercian conquests had already crossed the line of the Severn. Next year the Archbishop passed away, at the great age of eighty-eight (19th September, 690).[5]

See of Hereford.

Founded by aliens, and organized by an alien, the English Church was

Scotland, I. 265. Berhtred was apparently the son of Beornheth. *Id.*, 261. It is suggested that Ecgfrith attacked the Irish for having harboured his brother Ealdfrith, who in fact succeeded him. Stevenson, notes ad Bædam, *sup.*

[1] Bæda, *sup.* Tighern., A.D. 686, where however he gives the day of the week correctly for 685, not for 686. Symeon in his *Hist. of Durham* calls the place "Nechthanesmere. A drained lake can still be traced at Dunnichen. Skene, *sup.*

[2] Bæda, *sup.*, and *Vita Cuthb.*, c. 24, cited Stevenson.

[3] Ædde, 43, 44. "Secundo anno Aldfridi," Bæda, V. 19; H. and S., III. 169–171. Wilfrith was allowed to hold the See of Hexham vacant by the death of Eata, but only till the appointment of John of Beverley in 687. The monastery of Ripon and its revenues were also restored to him.

[4] *Reg. Sacr.* It may be that Putta, Bishop of Rochester, who left Kent when it was ravaged by Æthelbert in 676, became acting bishop in Herefordshire under Sexwulf. Bæda, IV. 12. See H. and S., III. 128–130.

[5] Bæda, V. 8.

now a national institution. Theodore had induced the petty States, jealous as they were of each other in all other matters, to act together for Church purposes. The ecclesiastical unity thus introduced pointed the way for that civil unity that was not destined to be fully realized for three centuries to come. This united Church Theodore left as well organized and endowed as any other church of the West.[1] The seven bishoprics that he found in England he had raised to the number of fifteen, all under the Metropolitan Primacy of Canterbury. By the establishment for the most part of these Sees in villages or country monasteries, the bishops were "saved from the infection of court-life and corruption which forms nearly the whole history of the early Franco-Gallican church."[2] In other ways too Theodore worked for the cause of civilisation and culture by educating the clergy and raising the standards of life and morality. He left a Penitential, the first compiled in Britain.[3] We also hear of a school at Canterbury, where arithmetic, astronomy, Latin, and Greek were taught, besides Scriptural subjects and music. Especial stress is laid on the thanks due to Theodore for diffusing a knowledge of Gregorian music, till then restricted to the kingdom of Kent. In all his educational work he had the help of his friend and companion the Abbot Hadrian, a native of Africa, who had studied in Southern Italy.[4]

Fifteen Sees.

No sooner had Theodore been laid in his grave than Wilfrith began to rebel against the position so recently accepted by him. He complained of lands withheld from his church; of invasions of his rights at Ripon;[5] but his real grievance was the curtailment of the See of York, which he contended ought to be restored to its pristine dimensions. Ealdfrith insisted that the decrees of Theodore must be respected. Wilfrith refusing to stand by them was again sent into exile. Æthelred of Mercia received him with open arms, and installed him as Bishop of Leicester, the See falling vacant.[6] Between 691 and 693 we find him consecrating bishops, Canterbury being still vacant.[7] On the 29th June, 693, a new archbishop was consecrated, Berhtwald, previously abbot of Reculver in Kent.[8]

Wilfrith again in Exile.

For the next nine years we hear nothing of Wilfrith's case; but he must

[1] See Bishop Stubbs' Life of Theodore in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography.*

[2] Stubbs, *sup.*, and *Const. H.*, I. 219.

[3] See this, H. and S., III. 173.

[4] For Theodore and Hadrian see Bæda, *H. E.*, IV. c. 1, and V. *passim.*

[5] Eadhæd, the ex-Bishop of Lindsey, had been established by Ecgfrith at Ripon, circa 680; he may have continued to exercise episcopal functions there. Bæda, IV. 12.

[6] See Ædde, c. 45; where however the exact point of the quarrel is rather slurred over. It is worthy of note that Æthelred gave Wilfrith only one of the Mercian Sees, though two, if not three of them fell vacant.

[7] *Bæda*, 23: *Reg. Sacr., H. and S.*, III. 220.

[8] Bæda, V. 8. He was consecrated at Lyons by the archbishop.

have contrived to alienate Berhtwald, as in 702[1] we hear of a Synod at Austerfield, on the confines of Yorkshire and Notts, held by the Archbishop under the protection of Ealdfrith, to judge Wilfrith. When Wilfrith appeared he was required to subscribe an absolute submission to the decision of the assembly. He declined to do so, except subject to the Canons of the Church, and the decrees of Pope Agatho. He was offered the abbey of Ripon if he would abdicate his episcopal functions. Wilfrith refused with scorn. He had established in Britain the Roman Easter and the Roman Tonsure; he had introduced the Benedictine Rule. How could he abdicate, who was not conscious of one single dereliction of duty? Again he appealed to Rome.[2]

Third Journey to Rome.

In the seventieth year of his age, and the fortieth of his episcopate, Wilfrith undertook his third journey to Rome (704).[3] The matter was carefully sifted, the investigation extending over four months. But the decision of the Pope (John VI.) was much less favourable to Wilfrith than that of Agatho. John simply directed Berhtwald to make the best compromise that he could between Wilfrith on the one hand, and John of Beverley Bishop of Hexham, and Bosa, who had returned to the See of York, on the other hand.[4]

Under these circumstances Wilfrith would have preferred to end his days abroad; but the Pope ordered him to return to his duties. On landing in Kent he had a friendly reception from the Archbishop, and the two apparently entered London together.[5]

Wilfrith at Hexham.

Events occurred to facilitate a settlement of the long protracted dispute. Bosa, the rival Bishop of York, was dead. Ealdfrith died soon after Wilfrith's return.[6] The Government of his son and successor Osred, a boy of eight, agreed to reinstate Wilfrith in the See of Hexham, but not in that of York, though York was vacant and Hexham was not. To make a vacancy at Hexham, John of Beverley was translated to York. The whole matter was finally settled in a Synod held by Archbishop Berhtwald on the banks of the Nidd[7] (Yorkshire, West Riding).

Within four years Wilfrith passed away in peace at his monastery of

[1] Twenty-two years from A.D. 680; Æddé, c. 46, p. 66.

[2] Æddé, 46, 47, comparing Wilfrith's speech at Rome, c. 53.

[3] On his way Wilfrith paid a visit to the English mission in Frisia under Willebrord, Bishop of Utrecht. Bæda, III. 13. Willibrord was a native of the Yorkshire coast. For his work see Bæda, V. 9, 10, 11; H. and S., III. 225; and his Life in Smith's *Christian Biography*.

[4] Æddé, c. 54. For the date see H. and S., III. 262.

[5] Æddé, c. 55–57.

[6] 14th Dec., 705; Chron. D and E. Bæda, V. 18. Stevenson suggests that the date should be 16th May, 705. Note to Bæda.

[7] A.D. 706. Æddé, cc. 58–60. Bæda, V. 3.

Oundle;[1] a grand and interesting personality, in fact the Becket of his age.

Ealdfrith apparently handed down the kingdom of Northumbria to his successors much as he had received it, without substantial loss or gain. But during the twenty years of his rule "the literary and artistic impulse" received from the Celtic and Roman churches produced striking results. Benedict Biscop brought books from Rome to be mastered and popularised by the patient industry of Bæda; while Cædmon turned Scripture history into English verse. Thus Northumbria became, for the time, quite a "literary centre."[2]

Ealdfrith.

The death of Ealdfrith had been preceded by a year by the abdication of his contemporary Æthelred of Mercia, who retired to the monastery of Bardney,[3] leaving the crown to his nephew Coenred, son of Wulfhere. The material progress of Mercia seems to be shown by its currency. Æthelred was the first of English kings to issue coins stamped with his own name. But in the latter years of his reign the growing strength of Wessex had deprived him of all control over London, Essex, and the South coast.

Wessex had sunk to its lowest at the death of Cenwalh (672), being broken up among petty kings. For a year after his death his widow Sexburh had actually held rule;[4] a startling innovation for a kingdom where even the position of a Consort-Queen was not recognised. With respect to the weakness of the Western kingdom it has been pointed out that this may have been due partly to the struggle for the headship between the Houses of Ceawlin and Cutha, partly to the practice of appointing under-kings of the Royal Family to rule the successive conquests from the Welsh.[5] The period of disruption was brought to a close about the year 685 when Ceadwalla of the House of Ceawlin fought his way to supremacy. In 686 we hear of his ravaging Sussex and proposing to put the whole Jutish population of the Isle of Wight to the sword: the whole island was treated as confiscated property, and one-fourth part of it, estimated at 300 hides (*familiæ*), was assigned as a thank offering to Wilfrith, then still in Sussex, the Bishop having harboured Ceadwalla when he was in exile.[6]

Affairs of Wessex.

Ceadwalla.

From Sussex Ceadwalla pushed on into Kent, invading it two years running; but there in 687 he lost his brother Mul, burnt to death in a house that he was plundering.[7] Next year Ceadwalla threw down his bloodstained crown and retired from Britain, to die on pilgrimage at

[1] Ædde, 44, 45. Frid., 12th Oct., 709, *Reg. Sacrum.* He was buried at Ripon: for the inscription on his tomb see Bæda, V. 19.

[2] Green, *Making of England*, 397.

[3] 704, Chron. A; Birch, *Cartularium Sax.*, I. 163. [4] Chron. A.

[5] Freeman, *Somerset Archæol. Proc.*, XVIII., cited Green, *sup.*, 384.

[6] Bæda, IV. 12, 15, 16. Ædde, c. 42. Chron. A.

[7] Chron. A; W. Malm., *G. R.*, I., s. 14, 19, ed. Hardy.

Rome.[1] His kinsman Ine, also of the House of Ceawlin, succeeded him, and ruled with considerable success for some eight and thirty years.

Ine.

In his code of Laws, published about the year 690,[2] Ine speaks of 'Eorconwold' of London as 'mine biscep,' just as he calls Hedde of Winchester 'mine biscep,' indicating an assumption of supremacy over Essex. In 694 the men of Kent under Wihtræd formally accepted his supremacy; and agreed to pay a heavy *wer* for the death of Mul.[3] Ine would thus be lord of the whole South coast from Thanet to Dorset. In 710 Ine took up the work of Western conquest where it had been left by Cenwalh, and attacked Geraint King of West Wales or Dyvnaint "Shrunken as it was from its old area, the realm of Dyvnaint still stretched from the Quantocks to the Land's End, and its king seems to have exercised some supremacy across the Bristol Channel over the princes of the opposite coast."[4] But Geraint was unable to withstand the onslaught of the Gewissas, and Ine wrested from him a tract of land along the Tone, with the districts of Crewkerne and Ilminister. The conquest was secured by the construction of a border fortress, Taunton (*Tone-Tun*). placed in a strong position in a fen district, at the junction of the Tone and a small affluent called the Potwater.[5]

Taunton founded.

The expansion of Wessex elicited a challenge to a trial of strength, on the part of Mercia. In 715 Ceolred, king of the latter state,[6] invaded Wessex, marching through Oxfordshire, and across the Thames, into Wilts. Ine met him at Wamborough on the Downs above the Vale of White Horse. The battle would seem to have been a drawn one, as no issue is recorded,[7] but Ceolred established no footing in Wessex.

Ine must have attempted too much, or lost *prestige* in some way or other, in the latter years of his reign, as they were marred by domestic revolts—"the curse of Wessex." In 721 we hear of the Ætheling Cynewulf being put to death by Ine; and in 722 we hear of the king's consort Æthelburh—we must not speak of a Queen of Wessex—laying siege to Taunton, and destroying it on one side, while the king was

[1] Chron. A, A.D. 688. Ceadwalla died in April, 689. Inscript.; Bæd., V. 7; Flor. Worc. [2] H. & S., III. 214.

[3] The Chronicle gives the sum paid as 'thirty thousand,' the denomination of the coin being omitted. Kemble would read 'thirty thousand scættas'=1,500 shillings. *Saxons*, I. 283.

[4] Green, 387, citing Freeman, *Somerset Archæol. Proc.*, XVIII. For a letter of Abbot Ealdhem of the year 705 to Geraint urging church union, see H. & S., III. 268.

[5] Chron. D & E. "The existing earthworks, though mutilated, are beyond question original": they enclose about seven acres, and are surrounded by water. Clark, *Military Architecture*, II. 488.

[6] Ceolred, son of Æthelred, came to the throne in 709, on the abdication of his cousin Coinred, son of Wulfhere, the elder brother of Æthelred. Bæda, V. 19.

[7] Chron. A, etc. Green, 392.

pursuing Ealdberht, another rebel Ætheling, through Surrey and Sussex on the other side. A fresh invasion of Sussex in 725 resulted in the death of Ealdberht; and then in 726 Ine "laid down his troubled crown, and like his predecessor Ceadwalla sought peace and death in a pilgrimage to Rome."[1]

Abdication.

Ine was distinctly a friend of the church. At the death of Heddi Bishop of Winchester in 705 he completed Theodore's scheme by dividing the Diocese. Daniel was consecrated Bishop of a reduced See of Winchester, while the Western districts were assigned to Ealdhelm, the scholarly Abbot of Malmesbury, as Bishop of Sherborne.[2] Ine was liberal in his benefactions to Winchester and Malmesbury;[3] and the stamp of ecclesiastical influence is impressed as distinctly on his Laws as on any other of the Anglo-Saxon Codes. Baptism of infants and payment of Church dues (*ciric-sceattum*) are made compulsory, Sunday labour is prohibited; so is the selling of bondsmen over sea.[4] An ealdorman allowing a thief to escape from custody forfeits his "scire," 'unless the king will show him grace.'[5] The references to Welshmen are numerous. We have the Welsh slave (*theow wealh*) estimated at a 60*s.* *wer*; the Welsh freeman with one hide of land, and the Welsh rent-paying tenant (*gafol-gelda*), both rated at 120*s.* The king's mounted Welshman (*hors-wealh*), 'who can go on errands' (*gegerendian*), is worth 200*s.*; and the Welsh gentleman with five hides is rated as a "six-hynde" man, namely, at 600*s.*,[6] like the Englishman of the same estate.

Sherborne a Bishopric.

At the death of Ealdfrith, the star of Northumbria seemed about to pale under a series of feeble kings. Ealdfrith, as already stated, was succeeded by his son Osred, a boy of eight, who, after a wild career of some ten years, was made away with by kinsmen of his own (A.D. 716).[7] But his lieutenants could hold their own against the Picts, who suffered a severe defeat in 710 or 711 'in the plain of

Affairs of Northumbria.

[1] Bæda, V. 7; Chron. A, etc.; Green, 393.

[2] Bæda, V. 18. *Reg. Sacr.*, H. & S., III. 275, 276. Sherborne took in Wilts, Berks, Dorset, and the conquered parts of Somerset. Hants, Surrey and Sussex remained under Winchester.

[3] See Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, I. pp. 148, 149; also 166, 177. The numerous charters in favour of Glastonbury however are considered spurious.

[4] Schmid, *Gesetze Ine*, c. 2. 3, 4, 11. [5] *Id.*, c. 36.

[6] *Id.*, cc. 23, 24, 33, 74.

[7] Bæda, V. 18, 22; Chron. A; Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Regg.*, II. 15 (Rolls Series); and the letter of Boniface to Æthelbald, H. & S., III. 355. Symeon, Precentor of Durham, was probably born about the year 1060. He was in a monastic house at Jarrow for some time before its removal to Durham in 1083. He was present at the opening of St. Cuthberht's tomb in 1104; he probably died about 1130. He is a primary authority on Northern affairs. His *Historia Regum* incorporates from 731 to 802 an old Northumbrian chronicle not extant in any other shape. See Mr. T. Arnold's Introduction to the Rolls edition of his works, and Bishop Stubbs' Preface to *Roger of Hoveden* in the same series.

Manann'; or 'between Hæfe and Cære,' by which "the rivers Avon and Carron are probably meant."[1] This identification if correct would imply that West Lothian had been recovered by the English. Osred was succeeded by Coenred,[2] a collateral said to be descended from a natural son of Ida.[3] In two years' time he died (718), and was followed by Osric, of whose parentage nothing is told us. Osric died 9th May, 729, leaving the crown to Ceolwulf, brother of the late Coenred.[4] Ceolwulf, we are told, came to the throne under unfavourable auspices. Eight years he reigned, and then he was shorn and sent to Lindisfarne.[5] Yet his reign was marked by two events of interest. In 730 Whithern was made an independent See for Galloway, Pechthelm being its first Bishop. Of course he was appointed under Northumbrian influences.[6] In 735 again the See of York was re-established as an Archbishopric, in the person of Ecgberht, cousin to Ceolwulf, who received a pall from Gregory III., a distinction conferred on no previous occupant of the See since Paulinus.[7]

See of Whithern.

The year 735 was also marked by the death of our great chronicler Bæda, fondly known to after ages as "the Venerable Bede."

Bæda was born about the year 673, of unknown parents, probably on the very lands that afterwards formed the endowment of the Jarrow monastery where so much of his life was spent. At seven years of age he was placed in the hands of Benedict Biscop who had already built his monastery at Wearmouth, but not that at Jarrow. At nineteen (A.D. 690), Bæda received deacon's orders from John of Beverley, then Bishop of Hexham; and at thirty (A.D. 702) he received priest's orders from the same hands. "There is no evidence that he ever wandered from the banks of the Wear further than to York, which he visited shortly before his death." His whole life was spent between the twin foundations of St. Peter's, Wearmouth, and St. Paul's, Jarrow, under the rule, first of Biscop himself, and then of his successor, Abbot Ceolfrith. Apart from the performance of his monastic duties Bæda led the life of a scholar—the father of English scholars—dividing his time between reading and writing and teaching. "*Semper aut discere aut docere aut scribere dulce habui.*"[8] By patient industry he made himself master of all the science of his time. A list of thirty-seven works attests his diligence as a writer; while as a teacher he could boast that 600 monks, besides laymen, had

Bæda.

[1] *Tighernac*, 711; Chron. A, 710. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 270. For "Manann" compare the hills of Slamannan on the one side, and the county of Clackmannan on the other side. [2] Bæda, V. 23; Chron. A, A.D. 716.

[3] Flor., A.D. 716, 729, comparing 547. [4] Bæda, V. 23.

[5] A.D. 737, Chron. D and E. Symeon, *Hist. Regg.*, A.D. 731–737 (vol. II. 30, 32). Bæda, *Cont.*, *M.H.B.*, 288. [6] Bæda, V. 23; *Reg. Sacr.*

[7] Ecgberht was apparently consecrated in 734, and received the pall in 735; Chron. D and E; Symeon, *sup.*, and *Hist. Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ*, p. 49 (Rolls Series, Arnold, No. 75). Haddon & Stubbs, III. 335. [8] Bæda, *H.E.*, V. 24.

availed themselves of his tuition.[1] His history of his own times was an "imperishable legacy"[2] to posterity; but not the only one worthy of remembrance, if indeed we owe to him the introduction of the Era of the Incarnation, for the purposes of historical chronology. He wrote on the subject, and his *Historia Ecclesiastica* is said to have been the first work based on that system.[2]

Ceolwulf on his retirement was succeeded by a cousin, Eadberht, brother to Archbishop Ecgberht, to whom doubtless he owed his election.[3]

Eadberht King.

Twenty-one years Eadberht ruled, with distinct success. Toward Mercia friendly relations were maintained, save on one occasion, namely in 740, when his restless neighbour Æthelbald basely took advantage of his being away on an expedition among the Picts to invade and harry Northumbria.[4] On the other hand Eadberht was able to make considerable acquisitions at the expense of the Strathclyde Britons, who appear to have been hard pressed by the Dalriads and the Picts.[5] In 750 he conquered 'the plain of "Cyil" and other districts'—"evidently Kyle in Ayrshire."[6] This success was probably helped by the war between the Britons and the Picts of which the Celtic Annals tell us under this same year, a Pictish king or under-king, Talargan, falling in battle.[7] In 756 Eadberht completed the seeming overthrow of the Britons by capturing their great stronghold, Ailcluyth or Dunbarton, this success being effected with the help of the Pictish king "Unust," otherwise Ængus of Fortrenn.[8] We are bound to add that ten days after the army was nearly cut off on its homeward march.[9]

Conquests in the North.

Of wider interest was the establishment by Archbishop Ecgberht of a school at York, with a library, understood to be the largest in Britain. Like Theodore, Ecgberht himself took an active part in the work of his school, which had the glory of turning out so distinguished a scholar as Alcuin.[10] It was probably the reputation of this school that gained for Northumbria the honour of

School at York.

[1] *Vitæ Abbatum*, 328 *q.v.*

[2] On this point see Earle, *Land Charters*, xxxii. In the Saxon charters the era A.D. is first found after the time of Bæda. Nennius did not use it systematically, though he refers to it and to the Passion as eras in one or two places. For Bæda's life generally see Bishop Stubbs' article in Smith's *Christian Biographies*.

[3] Bæda, *Cont.*, *sup.*; Symeon.

[4] Bæda, *Cont.*, *sup.* The Chronicle E records the fact under the year 737.

[5] Tighernac records defeats of the Britons by the Dalriads in 711 and 717; and Symeon under the year 744 has "Bellum inter Pictos et Britones."

[6] Bæda, *Cont.*, *sup.*; Skene, I. 294.

[7] Tighernac, *Ann. Camb.* Mr. Skene supposes Talargan to have been a brother of Ængus ruling under him.

[8] 1st Aug., 756, Sym.

[9] Between "Ovania" and "Niwanbirig, id est ad novam civitatem," Symeon. Mr. Skene suggests that "Ovania" may be Avendale.

[10] See Green, *M. of E.*, 405–408.

diplomatic overtures from the Frankish king Pepin, distinguished by French writers as "*Pepin le Bref*" (*Short*).[1] Interesting evidence of the joint character of the brothers' rule in Northumbria has been adduced from the inscriptions on the "stycas" or copper pieces coined by them at York, which show the legend of the king on one side and that of the Primate on the other.[2] In the Pontifical of Ecgberht we seem to find our Coronation Oath in its earliest form.[3]

But Eadberht at the height of his prosperity giving way, against the advice of his friends, to the infatuation of the times, threw up his royal dignity and his sphere of usefulness to devote himself to the vain repetitions of the cloister, there to live on, a shaveling monk, for ten years more.[4]

With the abdication of Eadberht the political influence of Northumbria came to an end. The son Oswulf, in whose favour Eadberht had abdicated, was discarded at the end of a year; and revolution followed revolution with bewildering rapidity, nine reigns being crowded into the space of thirty-eight years; of which reigns the longest without a break covered nine years, and the shortest twenty-seven days.[5]

Decline of Northumbria.

To return to Mercia and Wessex. The central kingdom after the retirement of Æthelred had gone through a period of depression. His successor was his nephew Coenred, son of Wulfhere (A.D. 704), as already mentioned; but Coenred again in 709 threw up his sceptre, and went to Rome to make way for his cousin Ceolred, the son of Æthelred. This alternation seems to prove the reality of the elective principle in Mercia; and all the more so in this case as we are told that under Coenred the functions of government had been discharged by Ceolred.[6]

Affairs of Mercia.

The great event of Ceolred's reign was the invasion of Wessex, and the battle of Wamborough, already noticed; next year he died, at the dinner table, in the hall of an Ealdorman, in a drunken orgy.[7] Mercia then hailed a real king in the person of Æthelbald, a prince descended from a brother of King Penda,[8] a man whose talents

Æthelbald.

[1] Sym., *Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.*, p. 48.

[2] See these in the British Museum. At an earlier date however pieces with the joint names of the king and archbishop had been struck at Canterbury.

[3] For the Pontifical (a collection of episcopal services) and other works of Ecgberht see his Life by Canon Raine, Smith's *Christian Biog.*; Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, II. 77.

[4] A.D. 758. Bæda, *Cont.*; *M.H.B.*, 289; Symeon, *H. R.* and *H. Dunel.*, II. c. 3. A.D. 757, Chron. D and E. These retirements were not always voluntary, but that of Eadberht appears to have been such. His brother Ecgberht was still Archbishop.

[5] For these kings see Table below.

[6] Bæda, V. 19; Chron. A.D. 704, 709. The student will note that Coenred of Mercia reigned 704–709; Coenred of Northumbria 716–718.

[7] Chron., A.D. 716. *Boniface to Æthelbald*, H. & S., III. 355.

[8] Chron., *sup.*; Flor., App., *M.H.B.*, 638. Kemble assigns to the year 734 a charter of

and ambition had already excited jealousy, and who had been forced to find a hiding place at Crowland with the hermit Guthlac.[1]

Æthelbald reigned for the lengthy period of forty-one years, in itself a speaking fact. When Bæda closed his History in 731 Æthelbald was recognised as being supreme over all England south of the Humber,[2] Ine being no more. As Eadberht worked Northwards against the Strathclyde Britons, so Æthelbald worked Southwards against the men of Wessex and the West Welsh, the boundary of the Humber being mutually respected, except on the one occasion already noticed, when Æthelbald invaded the Northern Kingdom. In their time there were in fact but two centres of political influence in England, York and Lichfield.

In 733 Æthelbald began his conquests by winning Somerton; perhaps Somerton in Oxfordshire, as Wessex still retained some lands North of the Thames;[3] but perhaps more likely Somerton in Somerset, as the capture is spoken of as an important event; and in the ensuing year we find Æthelbald disposing of lands at Maiden Bradley, within twenty-five miles of Somerton.[4] Again in 739, when Cuthred succeeded Æthelheard as king of the Gewissas,[5] we hear of constant aggression on the part of Æthelbald, sometimes openly, sometimes by underhand intrigue.[6] It was probably as a vassal that about 742 or 743 Cuthred marched with Æthelbald to attack the Welsh.[7] Cuthred however also proved successful as a king. About the year 749 he put down a dangerous rising under one Æthilhun distinguished as 'the proud ealdorman'; and put it down so judiciously as to win back Æthilhun to his service.[8] A change of attitude towards Æthelbald immediately followed;[9] and in the twelth year of his reign (751?) Cuthred finally shook off the yoke of Mercia by defeating Æthelbald at "Beorgfeorda," Burford in

Cuthred King of Wessex.

Æthelbald dated "mense Septembrio die indic. II. anno regni nostri XVII." *Cod. Dip.*, No. 78. If this is correct Æthelbald began to reign in 717.

[1] Green, *sup.*, 394; Flor., A.D. 716.

[2] Bæda, V. 23. In a charter of the year 736 Æthelbald styles himself "Rex Britanniæ," and "Rex non solum Marcensium sed et omnium provinciarum quæ generale nomine Sut Angli dicuntur," *Cod. Dipl.*, No. 80. The customs of the Port of London were his. *Cod. Dipl.*, No. 78.

[3] Chron. A and C; Freeman, *O.E.H.*, p. 75.

[4] *Cod. Dipl.*, No. 79; Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 26.

[5] Bæda, *Cont.*; Symeon. Ine was succeeded by his kinsman Æthelheard (brother to Æthelburh, Freeman, *O. E. H.*, 74), who reigned fourteen years; the A. S. Chronicles make his reign end in 740 or 741, but the date of the Northern authorities is the only one that falls in with the statement of the Chronicles, that Æthelheard reigned 14 years and Cuthberht 16 years; and this again makes for 626 as the date of the abdication of Ine as against the 628 of Chronicle A.

[6] Chron. C, D, E, A.D. 740; H. Hunt. and Chron. A, A.D. 741.

[7] Chron., H. Hunt., A.D. 743. [8] Chron., H. Hunt., A.D. 750.

[9] "*Anno DCCL. Cuthred rex . . . surrexit contra Edilbaldum regem et Oengusum* (?)" Bæda, *Cont.* The name *Oengusum* is mysterious. I rectify the dates in the Chronicles and Huntingdon by taking 739 as the year of Cuthred's accession.

Oxfordshire. Æthilhun himself as Standard-bearer supported the Golden Dragon of Wessex. The victory was a very glorious one for Cuthred, as we are told that Æthelbald had the support of East Anglia, Essex, and Kent.[1] But coalition armies were seldom successful in those days.

Cuthred then resumed his attacks on the Welsh; but in 755 he passed away, having reigned sixteen years. A kinsman Sigeberht succeeded him[2] for a year or so, to be then deposed by the Witan in favour of Cynewulf (757).[3] That same year Æthelbald came to an untimely end, being assassinated at night by his own bodyguard (*a suis tutoribus*) at "Seccandune," probably Seckington in Warwickshire, four miles North-East of Tamworth.[4]

Æthelbald had something of an ecclesiastical policy. In 737 at the death of Aldwine *alias* Wor, Bishop of Lichfield, he broke up the see, appointing Hwitta to be Bishop of Lichfield for the Mercians proper; and Torthelm or Totta to be Bishop of Leicester for the Middle Angles.[5] In 716 and 742 he held councils at "Clovesho" and confirmed the 'Privilege' of Wihtræd, King of Kent, apparently introducing it into Mercia. The 'Privilege' in question exempted churches and their lands from all secular control (*dominium*), and all liability to secular services. It also guaranteed to monasteries free canonical election of abbots and abbesses, subject to the consent of the bishop of the diocese. The question of the appointment of bishops was passed over in silence, that being a prerogative that no king could forego.[6] It may be noticed that Æthelbald's charter makes an express reservation of the well-known *trinoda necessitas*,[7] a reservation not contained in the original 'Privilege.'

Leicester, a Bishopric.

Councils.

A third important council, also held at "Clovesho," under the presidency of Æthelbald, is recorded in September, 747, when all the prelates

[1] Chron., H. Hunt., A.D., 752. [2] Symeon.

[3] The accession of Cynewulf is apparently given by the *Continuation* of Bæda under the year 757, the event however being misrecorded as his death (*obiit*), *M.H.B.*, 289. The A.S. Chronicles with one accord place the death of Cuthred in 754, and the accession of Cynewulf in 755. They make his reign last 31 years and end it in 784. So too Florence and H. Huntingdon. Symeon however places his death in 786, which seems more correct, as he certainly lived till that year. (See below.)

[4] 757. Bæda, *Cont.*, *sup.*; Symeon. For the proof of the date as against the 755 of the A.S. Chronicles, see Stubbs' *Howeden*, I. xci. [5] Sym., *Reg. Sacr.*

[6] See H. & S., III. 238, 300, 340. The charters on the whole seem genuine: no reference to bishops occurs in the best copy of the original, but it is interpolated into later copies. For the immunities of the Church, cf. Bæda's letter to Archbishop Ecgberht of York, H. & S., III. 321, and the letter of St. Boniface, *Id.*, 354; and for Wihtræd's attitude towards the church see his Laws enacted in 696, Schmid, p. 14; H. and S., III. 233.

[7] "*Exceptis expeditione pontis et arcis constructione*," *Id.*, p. 341. The duties of military service (*fyrd* or *fyrd-færeld*), repairing roads and bridges (*brycg-bôt* or *brycg-geweorc*), and repairing fortifications (*burh-bôt*) were burdens appertaining to all lands in whatever hands.

South of the Humber attended. Thirty Canons for the regulation of the church were passed.[1] A friendly letter however from St. Boniface of Mentz to Æthelbald informs us that while the king maintained strict order in his dominions, there was much to amend in his private life, and that the nunneries were liable to be made the scenes of great irregularities.[2]

The death of Æthelbald was followed by a short period of civil strife; 'a tyrant,' Beornred, seizing the throne till he was suppressed by the 'bloody sword' of Offa, cousin to the late king. So Beornred died and Offa reigned.[3]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XII

Saints and Churchmen of the Seventh Century

Hild (St. Hilda) was the grandniece of King Eadwine, being daughter of his nephew Hereric, the son of a brother whose name has not come down to us. She was born in the year 614, shared the vicissitudes of Eadwine's early life, and like him received baptism at the hand of Paulinus, perhaps on the same Easter Day (627). At the age of 33 she resolved to embrace a monastic life, and went to East Anglia intending to follow her sister Hereswith, widow of an East Anglian prince, to the monastery of Chelles in France. Bishop Aidan, however, induced her to return to Northumbria, and established her in a small Religious House of one hide on the North bank of the Wear. After a year she was transferred to a nunnery at "Heruteu,"[4] Hartlepool, of which she became Abbess. After the victory of Winwæd Field (654) Hild received from Oswiu an endowment of 120 hides for Hartlepool, with the care of his infant daughter Ælfled, whom he had dedicated to Christ; but for reasons not stated Hild after two years' time left Hartlepool to found a new monastery at Streaneshalch (*Lighthouse Bay*), now Whitby, where she received ten hides of land as an endowment.[5]

There the celebrated conference of 664 was held. Her own feelings were with the Scots, but she bowed to the decision of Oswiu, and adopted the Roman Easter. The sympathy of her character gained for her from all who held intercourse with her the appellation of 'Mother.' She must have been a woman of superior judgment as she was largely consulted even in matters of state. Her monastery became a perfect training school for bishops, as no less than five monks who had been under her attained to the Episcopate. She died on the 17th November, 680.[6]

Botulf must have been one of the most venerated of Anglo-Saxon saints, as fifty churches are said to have been dedicated to him. But the only definite fact that can be given of his life is that recorded by the A.S. Chronicle, namely that in the year 654 he began to 'timber' his minster at Icanhoe. This place must be identified with Boston, properly Botulfston, which takes its name from the sainted Abbot. It also appears that Ceolfrith, afterwards Abbot of Jarrow, was his pupil. See the anon. *Life of Ceolfrith*, printed by Mr. Stevenson, Bæda, II. 319. For facts alleged in a Life by Folcard, Abbot of Thorney after the Conquest, see *Acta SS.* and Smith's *Christian Biographies*.

Equally obscure is the history of St. Mildred, Midrith or Milthryth. It appears however that she was daughter of Merewald, a younger son of Penda, who ruled the West Angles, or Mercians proper, as under-king. Her mother was a Kentish princess, Eormenburh, daughter of Eormenred, grandson of Æthelbirht. Eormenburh eventually went back to her own country, and founded a nunnery there, at Minster in Thanet, in

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[1] See H. and S., III. 360–376.

[2] *Id.*, 350, A.D. 744–747. For monasteries in name, established merely to obtain exemption from secular law, see Bæda's Letter, *sup.*, p. 320, 321.

[3] Bæda, *Cont.*; Sym.; Chron. A. Offa signs a charter as if recognised heir to Mercia in anticipation: "Nondum regnó Merciorum accepto." *Cod. Dipl.* No. 102.

[4] "Insula cervi," Bæda, III. 24; IV. 23. [5] Bæda, III. 24.

[6] Bæda, *sup.* Hild also founded Hacanos or Hackness near Whitby. Flor., A.D. 680. In the times of the Danish inroads her relics were translated to Malmesbury. W. Malm., *G.R.*, I. p. 77.

honour of the Virgin Mary. Mildred succeeded her, and gained such a name that the nunnery was called after her ever afterwards. See Florence A.D. 675, and Symeon, *H. R.*, 3, 12.

Cuthberht was born of humble parents about the year 625, a native of East Lothian. As a youth he kept sheep in the valley of the Leader above Melrose. About the time of the death of Aidan (651) he had a vision, and went down to Old Melrose, then a mere mission station from Lindisfarne. At Melrose Cuthberht made so good an impression that Eata the Abbot of Lindisfarne took him with him when he went to Ripon to found a monastery on land given by Ealchfrith the son of Oswiu. From this monastery they were turned out in 661 by Wilfrith. Cuthberht went back to Melrose, where he became Provost. In 664 he was promoted to be Provost of Lindisfarne. There he had to reconcile his brethren to the new Roman rule of Easter. After twelve years at Lindisfarne he retired first to a cave on the mainland near Howburn, and then to one of the small Farne islands, near Lindisfarne, for the sake of privacy and freedom to devote himself to a sterner asceticism. From this seclusion he was dragged in 684 to be made a Bishop. As he refused to go to Hexham, the vacant See to which he had been appointed, his friend Eata, then Bishop of Lindisfarne, threw up that See in order that Cuthberht might have it, and himself went to Hexham. Cuthbert died on the 20th March, 687. He was buried at Lindisfarne, of which he became the patron saint. In the time of the Danish inroads the body was removed from Lindisfarne (A.D. 875) and after many wanderings and several translations was finally settled at Durham in 999.[1]

It is clear that Cuthberht's great reputation was due not merely to his ascetic practices, but to the sweetness of his character, and his success as an itinerant missionary and preacher.

Æbbe (St. Ebb) was daughter of Æthelfrith of Northumbria by his second wife Acha. It is said that she was established by her brother Oswiu first at the old Roman station of *Vindomora*, renamed after her Ebchester; then at Coldingham (*Coludi*[2] *urbs*), founded by her. She interceded for Wilfrith when in prison at Dunbar, and procured his release.[3] She died 25th August, 683. Her name is preserved by St. Abb's Head near Coldingham.[4]

Æthelthryth (St. Etheldreda) was daughter of Anna, king of East Anglia, killed by Penda in 654. Before her father's death she had taken as her first husband Tondberht, Ealdorman of the South Girwas, who gave her as her 'morning gift' the Isle of "Elge," or Ely. Tondberht having died about 655, Æthelthryth was induced some five years afterwards to take Ecgfrith of Northumbria as her second husband. With him she lived about twelve years, but, according to Bæda and Wilfrith, as reported by Ædde, only as a sister with a brother. In 671 or 672 she left Ecgfrith to take the veil at Coldingham under Æbbe (St. Ebb), her husband's aunt. Bæda states that Ecgfrith made large offers to Wilfrith to turn Æthelthryth from her purpose, but that he refused, and, in fact, he consecrated her as a nun. It does not appear however that the quarrel between Ecgfrith and Wilfrith can have originated in this matter, as the quarrel did not break out till 678, six years after the retirement of Æthelthryth, and some time after Ecgfrith's marriage with his second wife, Irmenburh. Ædde taxes her with the quarrel, and asserts that Æthelthryth kept her husband on good terms with the Bishop. After a year at Coldingham Æthelthryth went to Ely, where she built the monastery of which she was made abbess. She died 23rd June, 679, her sister Sexburh succeeding her.[5]

Earconwald, or Erkenwald, deserves a word on account of his intimate connexion with St. Paul's, London, of which he became the local patron saint. He may have been born A.D. 635–645. He founded the monasteries of Berking and Chertsey. Berking he committed to his sister Æthelburh. Chertsey he ruled himself.[6] He became Bishop of London in 675, and died 30th April, 693 (?).[7] Down to the Reformation his shrine was the *Palladium* of St. Paul's. An engraving of the shrine (that of 1148) is given by Dugdale.

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[1] See his Life by Canon Raine in Smith's *Christian Biographies* from Bæda, and below, A.D. 999.

[2] Bæda. [3] *Ædde*, c. 37. [4] See her Life by Canon Raine, *sup.*

[5] Compare her Life by Canon Raine in Smith's *Christian Biographies*.

[6] Bæda, *H.E.*, IV. 6. The oldest charter of Chertsey Abbey appears to be that of Offa, *Codex Dipl.* No. 157. The charters purporting to be granted under the protection of Frithewald, under-king of Surrey for Wulfhere, are marked as spurious; *Id.* Nos. 986, 987, 988. [7] *Reg. Sacr.*

Caedmon of Streaneshalch or Whitby may be called the Father of the English Christian Lyre. An illiterate man, a lay brother, employed at a grange or farm belonging to the monastery in the time of Abbess Hild, Cædmon being then of ripe years, was inspired with an idea, a genuine inspiration, namely, that of paraphrasing passages from Scripture History in the vernacular for popular use, a lay folk's Bible done in rhyme. The story ran that the inspiration came to him by night, in a dream, and that when morning came he found himself in possession of a new and unsuspected gift of poetry. His compositions were reported to the abbess, who made him take orders, and had him more fully instructed in Scripture and Theology. He died apparently between 680 and 684.[1]

Biscop Baducing (*i.e.*, Biscop son of Baduca), generally known as Benedict Biscop, was born about the year 628 of good family, if not of royal blood. He appears first as a *minister*, or thegn, at the court of Oswiu. At the age of twenty-five he determined to renounce the world, and made his first pilgrimage to Rome, Wilfrith going with him as far as Lyons, as already mentioned (653–654). He visited Rome a second time, 665–668. During this absence from England he took monastic Orders at Lerins in the South of France, "then the seat of monastic discipline in its purest form." He returned to England with Theodore in 669, remaining in Kent for two years. He then went for the third time to Rome, apparently to buy books. Returning to England in 672, he went back to Northumbria, and received from Ecgfrith seventy hides of land on the Wear, where he founded St. Peter's Monastery, Wearmouth (674). For this work masons were brought from Gaul, with glass-workers to provide glazing for the windows. To complete the furnishing of his church he made his fourth journey to Rome (not earlier than 678). He returned in 679, bringing a large collection of books, relics, pictures, etc.; also John the archchanter, from St. Martin's, Rome, to instruct his monks in church music. Ecgfrith was so pleased with the monastery at Wearmouth that he gave Biscop forty hides of land to found a second house at Jarrow-on-the-Tyne, to be dedicated to St. Paul (680–682). Ceolfrith was made the first Abbot of this monastery. To procure books and pictures for Jarrow Biscop made his fifth journey to Rome. He became paralysed in his last years, and died 12th January, 690, a man whose merits have hardly been fully recognised by posterity. To his enlightened zeal the world owes Bæda, the school of York, and the great Alcuin.[2]

Ealdhelm (St. Aldhelm), a scion of the Royal House of Wessex, was born about the year 650. He was educated by the Scot Maildulf, the founder of Malmesbury. For further teaching he went to Theodore's school at Canterbury, returning to Malmesbury, where he became Abbot in succession to Maildulf (670–676). He did much to spread Christianity in Western England: he founded monasteries at Frome and Bradford, and advised Ine in his restoration of Glastonbury. When the great Diocese of Wessex was divided in 705 Ealdhelm became Bishop of the western half, with his See at Sherborne. In the history of English literature and English education he occupies a very important place. "He was the first Englishman who cultivated classical learning with any success, and the first of whom any literary remains are preserved." He "filled Wessex" with monastic schools. "He was a fluent writer of very involved Latin"; his knowledge of Greek was but moderate. Hymns of his in the native language were popular in the time of Ælfred, but none of them have come down to us. His work *De Laudibus Virginitatis* is specially mentioned by Bæda. He died on the 25th May, 709.[3]

Guthlac, presbyter and hermit, was born of a good Mercian family in 673 or 674. His youthful tastes were martial, and the first years of his manhood were spent in predatory warfare against the Welsh, though he himself, we are told, was the bearer of

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[1] See Bæda, IV. 24. Poems conjecturally attributed to Cædmon have been printed by Thorpe from a unique MS. in the Bodleian Library. The dialect is West Saxon, and of a later date than that of Cædmon; but the close correspondence of the first twenty-three lines with the paraphrase given by Bæda of the beginning of Cædmon's chief song, the story of Genesis, warrants the belief that we have here, with modifications and interpolations, a substantial relic of the Whitby poet.

[2] See Bishop Stubbs' Life of Biscop in Smith's *Christian Biographies* from Bæda's *Vitæ Abbatum*.

[3] See his Life, which fills the fifth book of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontt.*; also his *Gesta Regum*, ss. 29–31; and Bishop Stubbs' article in Smith's *Christian Biographies*.

a Welsh name.[1] We may note that tribal warfare was evidently still part of the daily life of the upper classes. But Guthlac at the early age of twenty-four threw up these pursuits, and retired to the monastery of Ripon. Two years later, in 699, he migrated to Crowland, or Croyland, an uninhabited isle in the Fens of our South Lincolnshire, where he founded a cell. He seems to have spent the rest of his life there, and died in 714.[2]

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[1] So Felix, his biographer.

[2] Florence W. ; Chron. A. See the article by the Rev. C. Hole in Smith's *Christian Biographies*. Guthlac's Life by Felix is interesting, as being a native composition of the 8th century. *Acta SS.*, 11th April, II. 37.

CHAPTER XIII

A.D. 757–829

Offa King of Mercia—First landing of Northmen—Ceonwulf King of Mercia—Ecgberht King of Wessex—Annexation of Devon—Incorporation of Kent—Supremacy of Wessex over South Britain

UNDER Offa the kingdom of Mercia reached its zenith. He himself was quite the greatest English potentate of the century. Among European princes his figure seems to loom in the hazy distance as the most imposing after that of the mighty Karl, "Charlemagne." In fact when we consider the position to which Offa attained we may wonder that the final hegemony among English states did not rest with Mercia. Probably its inland situation and its composite character as an agglomeration of tribes severed from each other by rivers and forests may be taken as leading causes of its ultimate failure.

The policy of Offa, like that of his predecessor, will be found directed towards the South, Northumbria being left to its own troubles. Of the first fourteen years of his reign we hear little; but in 771 we are told that he subdued the "Hastingas."[1] This was followed by grants of Sussex land, to which Cynewulf of Wessex, and Ecgberht of Kent were attesting parties, a clear proof of their submission.[2] Ecgberht however must shortly have grown restive, as in 774 we hear of the men of Kent being defeated by Offa at "Ottanforda," Otford:[3] and this success again is followed by grants of Kentish land to Archbishop Jaenberht.[4] Three years later Offa deprived Cynewulf of his last foothold North of the Thames, driving him from Bensington opposite Wallingford.[5] But Offa's chief wars were those against the Welsh. As early as 760 we hear of fighting between Britons and 'Saxons' near Hereford; and of the death of Dunnagual, son of Teudubr.[6] But Offa did not go to work in earnest till 778, when he invaded and harried South Wales.[7] Six years later he

Attacks on Sussex,

Kent,

Wessex,

[1] Symeon; R. Hoveden.

[2] 15th August, 772; Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, I. p. 294. H and S., III. 402.

[3] Chron. C, D, E; Flor.; H. Hunt.; A.D. 773, Chron. A.

[4] *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 121, 122. H. and S., *sup.* For further dealings with lands in Kent by Offa see *Cod. Dip.* No. 1019. Earle, *Land Charters*, 66, 67. For the succession of Archbishops from Berchtwald to Jaenberht see append. B to this chapter.

[5] A.D. 777, Chron.; H. Hunt.; A.D. 778, Flor. [6] *Ann. Camb.*

[7] "Vastatio Brittonum dextralium." The Celts reckoned the points of the compass

crossed the upper Severn, which till then had been the boundary; drove the Prince of Powys from his capital, previously known as Pengwyrn, but afterwards as Scrobbesbyrig or Shrewsbury; and advanced the frontier of Mercia to the Wye, the conquest being secured partly by the establishment of English colonies, partly by the construction of a great defensive rampart, ever since known as Offa's Dyke, or in Welsh Clawdh Offa. This earthwork ran from the estuary of the Severn to that of the Dee, along a line that has practically remained the boundary between England and Wales ever since.[1]

And Wales.

Offa's Dyke.

Of Offa's internal policy the most interesting fact was his attempt to detach the Mercian Bishops from Canterbury, and to establish a third Archbishopric at Lichfield. This may be taken as a proof that with him, as with Penda, consolidation rather than extension of territory was the aim; and that he accepted a triple subdivision of England as the "permanent basis" of her political system. It cannot be doubted that his scheme if it had maintained itself would have added a fresh obstacle to the ultimate unification of the kingdom.[2] The proposal naturally met with opposition both at Canterbury and Rome. Offa was so incensed with the resistance of the Pope, Adrian I., that he actually sounded Karl the Great as to the possibility of deposing Adrian, and appointing a Frankish Pope. Karl, a man of wider views than Offa, conveyed a hint of this intrigue to Adrian, advising him to indulge Offa in his wish. Adrian at once did as he was told,[3] and sent George, Bishop of Ostia, and Theophylactus, Bishop of Todi, on a Legatine mission to England, the first since that of St. Augustine. They landed in 786[4] and shortly had a meeting with Offa and Cynewulf of Wessex.[5] To save time the two Legates then parted company; Theophylactus making a tour through Mercia and Wales, while George pushed on into Northumbria. Considerable time elapsed before a Northern Synod could be convened; but

Papal Mission.

with their faces to the East. The South therefore was the right-hand side, the North the left-hand side. The south and north sides of Loch Tay are still known as "deschyra" (right) and "tuya" (left).

[1] *Ann. Camb. Brut-y-Tywysogion* (Rolls Series). Asser, *De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi, M.H.B.*, 471. Green, *M. of E*, 420. Freeman's *O.E.H.*, 82. Asser was invited to the court of Alfred about 885, and died about 908. The Brut-y-T. or Chronicle of the Princes of Wales is supposed to have been compiled by Caradog of Llancarvan before 1150. Offa's Dyke ran from Caedwyn in the parish of Mold (Pennant, II. 273), past Rhuabon, to Wynnstay, Chirk and Selathyn, then past Oswestry (w. side) to Montgomery, and so on by Knighton and Kington, finally joining the Wye near Bridge Solers, some 6 miles w. of Hereford; from thence it followed the left bank of the Wye down to Chepstow.

[2] See Green, *sup.*, 423, who points to the influence of the Archbishopric of York in keeping the North apart from the South in much later days.

[3] See his letter to Karl, H. & S., I. 440. [4] Symeon.

[5] He was assassinated later in the year; Sym. (A.D. 784, Chron.) For details of the deed see append. A to this chapter.

eventually one was held on the 2nd Sept., 787, at "Pincanhala," Finchale, near Durham,[1] King Elfwald and Archbishop Eanbald of York being present. The Legate produced a set of cut and dry Canons or 'decrees' for the ordering of Church and State, which were accepted by all without demur.[2] A Mercian Synod followed either in the same year or the next, being held at "Cealchythe," Chelsea.

Synods of Finchale, and Chelsea.

Again the Legates tell us of the acceptance of their Canons; but of the stormy discussions to which the prickly question of the new Archbishopric gave rise they say nothing. That the debates were of an animated character appears from the fact that the Synod lived in English traditions as the 'contentious Synod' of Chelsea.[3] Archbishop Jaenberht however must have given way, as the Legates received from Offa a grant of 365 *mancus* a year for the lighting of St. Peter's;[4] while in due course a Pall came from Rome for Offa's protégé Bishop Higberht, who thenceforward for some thirteen years ruled the See of Lichfield as its first and last Archbishop.[5]

Frankish envoys had accompanied the Legates in their journey to England. Karl took a keen if not altogether an unselfish interest in the affairs of Britain. He was doubtless anxious that the island should not become a harbour for political exiles; he might be afraid of support to his great enemies, the continental Saxons, cousins of the English; possibly he hoped to include Britain in his empire. At any rate he lost no opportunity of bringing Englishmen of influence into personal relations with himself. With Northumbria friendly intercourse had been established by his father Pepin. After Pepin's death we find the Northumbrian King Alchred and his Queen Osgeofu writing to the Archbishop of Mentz, Lullus, successor to Boniface, to bespeak his good offices on behalf of an embassy going to the court of 'the most glorious King Carl.'[6] A close correspondence with Northumbria was kept up by Karl all his days, mainly through his literary secretary, the celebrated Alcuin or

Relations with Charlemagne.

[1] Syn.

[2] See the Legates' report to Adrian, with a copy of the decrees, H. & S., III. 447–459. Bishops are required to visit their sees once, to hold synods twice, in each year. Regulations are given for the due election and hallowing of kings; tithes are to be paid; usury is forbidden, so are all pagan rites, including tattooing and the eating of horseflesh.

[3] "Geflitfullic senoth." All the versions of the A.S. Chronicle, with Florence and Henry of Hunt., give the year as 785, but it is clear that the Chelsea Synod took place after that at Finchale in September, 787.

[4] See the letter of Leo III. to "Kenulfus," Ceolwulf of Mercia, Offa's successor, reminding him of the benefaction. H. & S., III. 445. The mancus or quarter mark was worth thirty pennies, eight going to the pound of silver. Schmid, *Gesetze*, 593.

[5] Higberht had been Bishop of Lichfield since 779. In 788 he signs one charter as Bishop, another as Archbishop, so that clearly he received the pall in the course of that year. H. & S., 446. In 801 he resigned and retired to an Abbey.

[6] A.D. 771–774. H. & S., III. 434, from *Epp. S. Bonifac.*, ed. Jaffe.

Alchwine, the pride of the school of York. Further North still we are told he had the Scottish (qy. Pictish?) kings regularly in his pay.[1]

In Wessex after 786 when Cynewulf fell, assassinated by Cyneheard—brother of the deposed Sigeberht—and Beorhtric succeeded, some trouble seems to have been given by young Ecgberht, whose father Ealmund had been, and perhaps still was, reigning in Kent.[2] Beorhtric expelled Ecgberht, probably through the help of Offa, whose daughter Eadburh he subsequently married.[3] But Ecgberht at once found a refuge at the Frankish Court.

In 790 we hear of a breach between Karl and Offa, commercial intercourse cut off, and war expected.[4] If we can trust a tradition preserved in the Abbey of Fontanelle, Karl's ire had been excited by the presumption of Offa, who met an application for the hand of one of his daughters for the younger Karl, by a counter-demand for the hand of Karl's daughter Bertha for his own son Ecgferth.[5] Peace however was not broken;[6] and two years later we find Karl corresponding with the English Bishops on the subject of the decrees of the second Council of Nicæa (A.D. 787); and obtaining from them, through Alcuin, a declaration in support of his own views against Image Worship.[7] Two years later again (794) we are told that 'British' (*sic*) Bishops attended a council of the Frankish clergy convened at Frankfort by Karl to condemn Image Worship and the 'Adoptionist' heresy of the Spanish Bishops Elipandus and Felix.[8]

The English Bishops.

In this same year, probably, Offa committed the act which has left on his memory "its one great stain"; namely the execution of Æthelberht, king of East Anglia, presumably for insubordination.[9] Later legend sought to blacken the deed by introducing charges of treachery and breach of hospitality, with a set-off throwing the whole responsibility on Queen Cynethrith.[10] The fact of the execution

Æthelberht of East Anglia.

[1] Eginhart, *Vita Caroli*, c. 16. Conf. the letter of Alcuin to Offa, H. & S., III. 498, and that of Karl to Offa, requesting him to forward a delinquent Scottish priest to his own country, there to be duly tried, *Id.*, 486.

[2] Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, I. p. 337. A.D. 784. Ealmund the king disappears from this time, but we have an "Ealmund abbas" attesting charters.

[3] Probably in 789, though the event is recorded by the Chronicles under 787. Eadburh signs as "Virgo" in 787, but the charter is doubtful. H. & S., III. 463.

[4] See the contemporary letter of Alcuin to the Scot Colcu. *Epp.* No. 3 (Migne, vol. 100, col. 103).

[5] So the Life of Abbot Gerwold, collector of customs at "Quintawich," (*Etaples*) in the time of Offa; Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, II. 291. Karl was peculiar in his treatment of his daughters, none of whom he ever allowed to marry. Eginhart, *Vita Caroli*, c. 19.

[6] The grant made by Offa in this year (790) to the Abbey of St. Denis may have been an *eirenikon*. Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, I. 360 (12th April).

[7] H. & S., III. 468.

[8] H. & S., III. 481.

[9] Chron., A.D. 792; Flor., A.D. 793.

[10] So the *Vita Offæ* II., attributed on slender grounds to Matthew Paris, and printed by Wats with the *Historia Major*. The composition however is of no historical value.

however is not open to doubt; and here again we find fugitives from the wrath of Offa, probably followers of Æthelberht, receiving shelter at the Frankish Court.[1]

Still more questionable, as touching his relations with Offa, appears to have been Karl's conduct in the matter of that mysterious personage in Kentish history, Eadberht surnamed "Præn." This man first appears as an 'apostate' priest, flying for his life from Britain. Karl, writing in answer to remonstrances from Offa, assures him that he had listened to no tales against him; but that as opinion seemed divided as to the merits of Eadberht's case he had sent him to Rome, to be judged by the Pope.[2] As a matter of fact Pope Leo III. had emphatically condemned Eadberht for resistance to his Archbishop.[3] But immediately afterwards Eadberht returns to Kent, to enjoy for a short period the dignity of king.[4] A probable explanation suggests that Eadberht was a troublesome Ætheling, leader of a national Kentish party in opposition to the Mercian supremacy; and that he had been tonsured to incapacitate him for rule. His 'apostacy' therefore would consist in resistance to his spiritual superior, Archbishop Æthelheard, who was devoted to Offa.[5] It is certain that about this time Æthelheard was in great trouble, and inclined to throw up his office.[6] Eadberht's proceedings may also be connected with the fact that Offa had apparently suppressed the Kentish monarchy, as, with numerous Kentish charters, we have no signature of a Kentish king from the year 784 till 801; only signatures of "*principes*," Ealmund the last recorded King having apparently retired to an abbey.[7]

Eadberht Præn

King of Kent.

Offa however died about this time;[8] and Eadberht was left in peace for a couple of years. The suppression of the kings of Kent and of the under-kings of the Hwiccas,[9] proves that Offa had a policy of centralisation, though he may not have risen to the conception of one united England.

Death of Offa.

[1] See the letter of Karl to Archbishop Æthelheard on their behalf, excusing them as having acted under the orders of their lord, one Umhringstan, since dead. H. & S., III. 487. Archbishop Jaenberht died in 791; Æthelheard was elected his successor, but was not consecrated till 793. H. & S., III. 403, 467.

[2] H. & S., III. 497. A.D. 796. [3] See his letter to Coenwulf, *Id.*, 524.

[4] Chron., Flor., H. Hunt. (given as A.D. 494).

[5] See Stubbs' Life of Eadberht in Smith's *Christian Biogr.* H. & S., III. 496. Henry of Huntingdon asserts that Eadberht was a relation of Ecgberht and rightful king of Kent. A.D. 823.

[6] See the letter of Alcuin dissuading him from his purpose. H. & S., 495. A.D. 796, also those *Id.*, 509, 518.

[7] Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, I. p. 355. A.D. 789.

[8] A.D. 796, 26th July (VII. Kal. Aug.), Symeon; 29th July (IV. Kal. Aug.), Chron. E; Flor.

[9] The last signature of a Hwiccan under-king (subregulus) is found *Cod. Dip.* No. 146, A.D. 778–781.

Offa was the traditional founder of St. Alban's Abbey, but the charters adduced as evidence, dated in 792 and 793, are not considered genuine.[1]

The Saxon School at Rome.

Offa was also reputed the founder of the Saxon School at Rome, near St. Peter's. The institution was a hospital for the entertainment of English pilgrims, with a church and a burying ground attached to it.[2] It must have been as old as the time of Offa, as it suffered from fire only a few years later.[3] Offa left a Code of Laws, "now unfortunately lost." His fondness for reading is attested by Alcuin; his artistic taste is proved by the beauty of his coins, which stand quite alone; the number and variety of the types is also remarkable.[4]

By Cynethyrth Offa had one son, Ecgferth, who succeeded him; and four daughters, namely Æthelburh an abbess; Æthelfled married to Æthelred of Northumbria (29th September, 792); Eadburh married to Beorhtric of Wessex, probably in 789;[5] and Æthelswith of whom nothing seems to be recorded.

Issue of Offa.

Three months before the death of Offa, his son-in-law, Æthelred of Northumbria, had fallen a victim to domestic faction.[6] His dismal reign had been marked by the first clearly recorded landing of the Northmen in Britain. In 793 they plundered the church at Lindisfarne. Next year they returned and plundered Jarrow, also a monastery at the mouth of the Don (the old Don?).[7] These ravages made a deep impression, inspiring well-founded alarm for the future.[8]

After Offa came his son Ecgferth. To ensure his succession he had been 'hallowed to king' in the lifetime of his father, in the 'contentious' Synod of Chelsea, the first instance of the performance of this rite in England. But his reign lasted only 141 days. He died before the close of the year; and then the crown of Mercia passed to a distant cousin,

Ceonwulf King of Mercia.

Ceonwulf, representative of another branch of the house of Pybba.[9] After giving a year to the consolidation of his authority at home, Ceonwulf marched against the unfortunate

[1] *Codex Dip.* Nos. 161, 162. See H. & S., III. 469, 478. W. Malm., *G.R.*, I. p. 118.

[2] W. Malm., *G.R.*, II. p. 153, ed. Hardy. See Lappenberg (Thorpe), I. p. 204.

[3] Chron. A, A.D. 816.

[4] See Ruding, *Annals of Mint*; Hawkins, *Silver Coins*, etc.

[5] *Cod. Dip.* No. 151. Sym. D., A.D. 792. Chron., A.D. 787.

[6] 18th April, 796, Sym. For Karl's indignation at the Northumbrians see a letter of Alcuin to Offa, H. & S., III. 498. Æthelred was killed for having put away his wife and taken another. So R. Wendover, A.D. 796.

[7] Symeon, *Hist. Dunelm.*, II. c. 5; *Ann. Ulster.*

[8] See the letters of Alcuin, H. & S., III. 472, 476, etc. According to the *Ann. Camb.* the Danes landed in Ireland in 795. Another letter of Alcuin of the year 797 speaks of the ravages as continuing, H. & S., 510.

[9] 14th–17th Dec., 796; Sym.; Flor., *Id.*, *Geneal.*, *M. H. B.*, 630. Apparently Offa and Ceonwulf were descended from two brothers of Penda, all three being sons of Pybba.

Eadberht Præn, put out his eyes, and carried him off to Mercia, his ecclesiastical character protecting him from capital punishment.

Kent was then practically incorporated with Mercia, Ceonwulf, we are told, placing the crown of Kent on his head with his own hands.[1] But to indulge the feeling for local sovereignty he appointed his brother Cuthred king of Kent.[2] The strength of local feeling among the English of the time may be gathered from the fact that down to the time of Offa the Hwiccas of Worcestershire, though an integral part of Mercia from an early period, had been indulged with a regular succession of under-kings.[3]

Incorporation of Kent.

In the matter of the Archbishopric of Lichfield Ceonwulf deliberately undid the work of Offa; and that apparently from purely conscientious scruples.[4] In 801 Archbishop Æthelheard went to Rome with his approval, and obtained from Leo III. a confirmation, or rather a re-grant of all the 'old' metropolitan rights of the See of Canterbury; the privilege being so worded as to imply a distinct supremacy over all English churches, thus of course including York.[5] The Papal decree was formally accepted by a council held at Clovesho with Ceonwulf's consent, and there the Lichfield controversy ended.[6]

In 802 another of Offa's circle passed away, namely Beorhtric of Wessex[7]; accidentally poisoned it was said by partaking of a cup prepared by his wife for another man. Eadburh is described as a jealous, ambitious woman, determined to rule, and unscrupulous in getting rid of rivals. She retired to the Frankish court. Asser tells us that at her presentation to the Emperor, he said, 'Choose now, Eadburh, whether of us twain thou wilt have for husband, me or my son there?' Eadburh rather imprudently answered that if she might have her choice she would rather take the younger man. Karl answered with a scornful laugh, 'If thou hadst chosen me thou shouldst have had my son, but now thou shalt have neither me nor my son.' By way of a suitable provision she was appointed abbess of a nunnery. But her life there became a scandal, and she was expelled. "Her second fall was irretrievable," and she died a beggar in the streets of Pavia.[8]

Beortric and Eadburh.

Beorhtric having passed away, the Ætheling Ecgberht, who for thirteen

[1] A.D. 798, Symeon; A.D. 796, Chron., Flor., H. Hunt.

[2] See Stubbs, *C. H.*, I. 172. Cuthred signs in the year 805, calling it his eighth year. *Cod. Dipl.* No. 190.

[3] See the signatures to the charters in the *Codex Dip.*

[4] See his letter to Leo III. opening up the question. H. & S., III. 521, A.D. 798.

[5] 18th Jany., 802: "Omnes Anglorum æcclesias sicut a priscis temporibus fuere, in perpetuum in ipsa tua metropolitana sede, per subjectionis cognitionem irrefragabili jure concedimus obtinendas." Archbishops as well as bishops are threatened with deposition if they resist. H. & S., 536. [6] 12th Oct., 803. H. & S., 542.

[7] Sym., *H. R.* (A.D. 800, Chron., Flor., H. Hunt.).

[8] Asser, *M. H. B.*, 471, 472. These facts were apparently derived from King Ælfred.

years[1] had been kept in exile, was then recalled and hailed King of Wessex.[2] The period of sojourn abroad had not been lost time to him. At the Frankish court he could profit by the store of learning which, gathered together in Northumbria by Biscop and Bæda, had by a strange reflux in the tide of civilization been carried back to Gaul by Alcuin. Still more might he profit by lessons in diplomacy and the art of ruling men under a centralized system. It may be doubted if any Anglo-Saxon born and bred could have risen to the conception of an England united even under the nominal suzerainty of one man.

Affairs of Northumbria.

For some thirteen years however after the accession of Ecgberht we hear little of Wessex. About the year 806 another revolution broke out in Northumbria, Eardwulf being expelled, perhaps by clerical influence, after ten years' reign, when Ælfwold was raised to the throne.[3] The event may be noticed because it shows us once more the attention paid by the great Karl to English politics. Eardwulf joined the Emperor at Nimeguen in 808, went on to Rome, and returned home escorted by envoys from the Pope (Leo III.) and the Emperor. According to the Imperial annalist their intervention was successful.[4] But our domestic writers know nothing of any restoration of Eardwulf. From our best authority on Northern affairs we gather that a compromise was effected, Ælfwold being discarded, and Eanred, son of Eardwulf, raised to the throne, there to reign for three and thirty years.[5] The Pope's letters in connexion with these matters exhibit Karl as corresponding with the King of Mercia (Coenred); the Archbishop of York (Eanbald II.); and Wada, a turbulent Northern 'duke' (*dux*).[6]

Eanred King.

Advance of Wessex.

In 814 or 815 Ecgberht first comes forward as a conqueror in the old Wessex style, drawing the sword against the West Welsh, the natural prey of the House of Cerdic. We are told that he

[1] The A. S. Chronicles (A.D. 836) give the exile as of "III" years' duration. But this must be read "XIII" years. Ecgberht, as already mentioned, was son of Ealmund, who had reigned in Kent (Chron. A.D. 784), and descended from Ingild, brother of Ine. Florence, *Geneal.*, *M. H. B.*, 633. Asser, *Id.*, 468.

[2] Jan.–April, 802. The year is fixed by several charters. For the time of the year we have one (*Cod. Dip.* No. 236) which tells us that Easter day, 835 (18th April) fell in Ecgberht's 34th year. Symeon also gives the year as 802, the Chronicles, etc., as 800.

[3] Sym., *Hist. Dunelm.*, II. c. 5 (p. 52); Chron. D and E. According to a letter of Alcuin preserved in Leland, *Coll.*, II. 398, the revolt against Eardwulf was occasioned by an act of adultery. H. & S., 564.

[4] A.D. 808: Eginhart, *Ann.*, Pertz, I. 195; extracted H. & S., III. 561.

[5] Sym., *sup.*

[6] H. & S., III. 562, 565, 567. Wada had taken the leading part against Æthelred in 796; and again he was in opposition to Eardwulf, whom he fought (unsuccessfully) in 798. Sym., *in annis.*

'harried' their land from Eastward to Westward.[1] The annexation of Devon probably dates from this time.

Some ten years later we find Ecgberht at "Creodan treow," probably Crediton or some other place on the river Creedy, preparing to invade Cornwall (15th August, 825).[2] An action was fought at "Gaful-forda"—Camelford—in which the Cornishmen were defeated.[3] The power of the West Welsh was now for ever broken. "But the effectual conquests of the English stopped at the line of the Tamar." Beyond that the Cornishmen retained for centuries their Celtic tongue and a semi-independence.

Down to this time the hostility of West Wales had hampered the men of Wessex in any advance against their English neighbours to the North.[4]

Affairs of Mercia.

But just at the time when Wessex had been strengthened by the reduction of the South-Western peninsula, Mercia began to fall into difficulties. For five and twenty years Ceonwulf had wielded the sceptre of Offa with undiminished sway. East Anglia, Essex, Surrey, and Kent acknowledged his supremacy; but his hold on Kent may have been weakened by a quarrel of some years' duration with Archbishop Wulfred.[5] Wales on the other hand must have been reduced to the lowest ebb. Three petty kingdoms now divided the land—Gwynedd, Powys, and Dyfed (St. David's). All three were overrun by Ceonwulf, and Powys reduced to subjection.[6] Ceonwulf however was gathered to his fathers either late in 821 or early in 822[7]; and, according to church traditions was succeeded for a few months by his son, the boy-king Cenelm (St. Kenelm), who was said to have been 'martyred,' *i.e.* assassinated, by the orders of his sister the Abbess Cwenthryth (17th July? 822).[8] Be this as it may have been, by the month of September, 822, we find our-

Subjection of parts of Wales.

The Boy-King Cenelm?

[1] Chron., Flor., A.D. 813. They give this as the year of Archbishop Wulfred's return from a journey to Rome; but that happened in 814. R. Wendover.

[2] See the charter, *Codex Dip.* No. 1033; Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, I. p. 540.

[3] Chron., A.D. 823. The year however is clearly fixed by the charter above.

[4] Green, *Making of E.*, 434.

[5] The cause of the quarrel is obscure; the only point that comes out clearly is that there were lands in dispute between them, lands at Reculver and South Minster. See H. & S., III. 586.

[6] "In sua potestate traxerunt." *Ann. Camb.*, 816–822. *Brut-y-T.* In the north the 'Saxons' invaded the 'Mountains of Ereri'—*i.e.* Snowdon—and captured "Arcem Decantorum," otherwise Degannwy, now Tegannwy, near Llandudno. Rhys, *C. B.*, 258, etc.

[7] He signs in 821, as in his 25th year. *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 214, 1029. According to H. Hunt, he reigned 26 years. *M. H. B.*, 735.

[8] Flor., A.D. 819. W. Malm., *G. R.*, I. p. 132. R. Wendover, A.D. 821. The last quotes an old couplet: "In clent coubethe Kenelm Kynebearn lith under thorne hævedes bereaved." *Latine*: "In pastura vaccarum Kenelmus regis filius jacet sub spina capite privatus." The earlier writers do not mention Kenelm. The 17th July is his day in the Calendar. The couplet however by calling him "Kynebearn," king's son, negatives his having been king. For "clent" coubethe, I would read "clene"=a 'fair' meadow.

selves on firm, historic ground, as about the 17th of that month Ceolwulf, brother of Coenwulf, was hallowed King of Mercia.[1] At the end of a year or so however Ceolwulf was deposed in favour of one Beornwulf.[2] The new king lost no time in bringing the dispute between Archbishop Wulfred and the House of Coenwulf to an end, himself making sacrifices for the purpose.[3] That done he led the forces of Mercia to attack Ecgberht, just as he was returning from his victorious campaign in Cornwall. A pitched battle ensued at a place called Ellendune or Ellandune.[4] The action was sanguinary, but it ended in the utter defeat of Beornwulf.[5]

Ceolwulf.

Beornwulf.

His Defeat by Ecgberht.

Ecgberht at once seized the firstfruits of his victory by sending his son Æthelwulf, duly escorted by an Ealdorman and a Bishop, to make sure of Kent. King Baldred, who, two years before, had been set up in opposition to Mercia, was quickly driven 'North over Thames.'[6] Surrey, Sussex and Essex submitted without a struggle. So seemingly ended the year 825.

Encouraged by this collapse of Mercia, the East Angles, apparently in 826, threw off the yoke; Beornwulf marched against them, to be defeated and killed. Not four full years had he reigned.[7] The Mercians however had not yet lost heart, and a fresh king, by name Ludecan, was set up (A.D. 827).[8] Ludecan reigned something more than a year,[9] and then succumbed to a coalition effected between Ecgberht and the East Angles. The fighting must have been severe, as we are told that five Ealdormen were killed, besides Ludecan.[10] As a last effort Wiglaf was raised to the Mercian Throne, but he too was speedily chased away by Ecgberht.[11]

Collapse of Mercia.

[1] H. & S., III. 589.

[2] Chron., Flor., H. Hunt. (A.D. 821). Ceolwulf signs 26th May, 823. Birch., *Cart. Sax.*, I. pp. 511, 512. Beornwulf signs in 825 as his 3rd year, *Cod. Dip.* No. 220. But he also signs in 822, *Id.* No. 1030. Perhaps he was a rival king at first.

[3] A.D. 825: *Cod. Dip.* No. 220; H. & S., III. 596.

[4] Apparently somewhere on the Wilts Downs; a charter associates Ellandune with Malmesbury, Charlton, and Wotton. *C. D.* No. 1048; H. & S., III. 631.

[5] A.D. 825, R. Wendover; A.D. 823, Chron., Flor., H. Hunt. These writers however agree in placing the battle after that at Gafulforda. Huntingdon here again seems to translate a scrap of an old ballad, "Ellendune rivus cruore rubuit, etc."

[6] Chron., Flor., Hunt. (A.D. 823). Baldred had set himself up in 823. *Cod. Dipl.* No. 240; Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, I. 235. Before him we have a Sigred, or Sigered, attesting Kentish charters sometimes as "Rex," sometimes as "Subregulus," under the Mercian kings, A.D. 811-823. *Cod. Dipl.* Nos. 196, 198; Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, I. pp. 475, 511. In the act of flight Baldred made a grant of Malling to Archbishop Wulfred, as if to secure him. *Cod. Dipl.* No. 240.

[7] R. Wend., A.D. 823, 826 (Chron., etc., A.D. 823).

[8] H. Hunt. Wendover places the accession of Ludecan in 826, making it the year of the election of Pope Eugenius II.; but this should be 827.

[9] W. Malm., *G. R.*, II. p. 132. [10] A.D. 828, Wendover; Chron. (A.D. 825).

[11] A.D. 828, Wendover; A.D. 825, Chron., etc.

The defeat of Mercia in a fair trial of strength with Wessex seems strange considering the extent and seeming compactness of her territory. The result must in part be ascribed to the personal talents of Ecgberht. But we must also bear in mind that Mercia was a federation of five distinct folks, separated by forests and rivers, as we have seen. It has been pointed out that Mercia had no real capital, such as Winchester or York. "Tamworth was simply a royal vill at which the Mercian kings dwelt more frequently than elsewhere."[1] The crown was the only real link, and the crown in the hour of trial had fallen into weak hands.

Ecgbert Lord of Mercia.

Next year (829)[2] Ecgberht made a progress through Mercia as its acknowledged lord. But he was not disposed to rest there: a challenge was forwarded to Northumbria.

Eanred had sat on the throne for one and twenty years—a long period for the Northern kingdom. But Northumbria, distressed by piratical landings of Northmen, and enfeebled by fifty years of previous discord, had no heart for a struggle with the triumphant Lord of Wessex. Eanred came to Dore, in Derbyshire, on the borders of Mercia and Northumbria, and there formally accepted the supremacy of Ecgberht.[3] Finally in 830 Ecgberht led an army against the North Welsh, and 'did them to humble submission.'[4]

And of North Wales.

His supremacy in some form or another was now recognised by every race and people from the Esk, possibly from the Forth, to the Land's End, except the Strathclyde Britons and probably the Galloway Picts.[5] But the supremacy was a mere suzerainty, a step we might say in the right direction, but only a step. Eanred remained king of Northumbria; and Wiglaf was restored to Mercia in this same year.[6] The Royal House of East Anglia was not interfered with. Kent was the only kingdom that Ecgberht attempted to incorporate. From this time onwards his style is that of 'King of the West Saxons and of Kent.' But even in this annexed

[1] Green, *Conquest of England*, 45.

[2] In the A. S. Chronicles the year is given as that following an eclipse of the moon, which happened on 'mid-winter's mass night,' *i.e.* Christmas Day, in the year 827, as they thought. But the eclipse in question happened 25th December, 828. Wendover gives the right year.

[3] A.D. 829; R. Wendover, A.D. 827; Chron.; Flor. Here the A. S. Chronicles dub Ecgberht 'the eighth Bretwalda,' a title apparently extemporised by the compiler of the Winchester Chronicle (*circa* 887), and copied by the other Chronicles and those who copied them. The previous seven 'Bretwaldas' were the kings who, according to Bæda, had held the most extensive rule before his time, a list already criticised; but the title is not found in him.

[4] R. Wend., A.D. 830. Chron., etc., A.D. 828. The year is fixed as being that of Wiglaf's restoration: below.

[5] The last undoubted Bishop of Whithern of the Anglian succession was Badulf or Baldwulf or Bealdwulf, who does not appear to have lived after 803. H. & S., II. 7.

[6] In August–September, 831, Wiglaf signs as in the first year of his restoration; in 836 as in his seventh year. *Cod. Dipl.* Nos. 227, 237; Birch, *C. S.*, I. 550, 581.

kingdom the tradition of local sovereignty was humoured by the appointment of Ecgberht's son Æthelwulf as king of Kent.[1]

But however desirable a consummation the union of England under one head might seem to be, in point of time and circumstance Ecgberht's efforts in that direction must be pronounced unfortunate. The piratical descents on the British coasts, to which we have already alluded, were beginning to assume alarming proportions. The crying need of the time was resistance to foreign invasion. But here were the English fighting among themselves. Ecgberht's nominal suzerainty could not establish any machinery for central action, while in the vassal states action would certainly be hampered.

APPENDIX A TO CHAPTER XIII

Murder of Cynewulf

THE circumstances attending the death of Cynewulf are celebrated as an illustration of the devotion of an Anglo-Saxon vassal to his lord.

About the year 755 Cynewulf had ousted Sigeberht from the throne of Wessex, and eventually caused him to be assassinated when in exile in Sussex. Sigeberht left a brother, Cyneheard, whose life was certainly spared by Cynewulf. Thirty-one years after the death of Sigeberht (A.D. 786) Cyneheard began to give trouble, and was placed under a decree of banishment. Having heard that the king would spend a certain night at the house of a lady at "Merantune" (Merton in Surrey) he surrounded the place in the dark, and, entering the courtyard without opposition, succeeded in killing the king in the lady's 'bower' (*bur*), a detached building, before the king's guard in the principal hall could come to the rescue. The king's men were not a match for Cyneheard's band, but they refused to accept of their lives at his hands, and insisted on fighting it out in the vain hope of avenging their lord, till all were destroyed, except one man, a Welsh hostage, who happened to be in their hands. Cyneheard however had thus been kept at bay, and was obliged to remain in the place to abide the attack of the king's thegns, who soon came up in force, when the curtilage was stormed and he and his put to the sword, all offers of compromise being again refused.[2]

APPENDIX B TO CHAPTER XIII

Alcuin

(Ealchwine? Ealhwine, Ealwine, Alchwin)

ALCUIN was born about the year 735; a man of family and property, in fact the head of the House which had given to the world St. Willibrord the apostle of the Frisians. He was brought up at the school of York under Archbishop Ecgberht and Æthelberht "Coena" who succeeded him. Alcuin was tonsured at an early age, but did not take deacon's Orders till after 767. Before the year 780 he had been twice to Rome. He went thither for the third time in 780 for Archbishop Eanbert's Pall. On his way home he met the great Karl at Parma, at Easter, 781, and was pressed to abandon England and join the Frankish court. Alcuin eventually did so, namely about 782, and remained for eight years a member of Karl's Household in charge of the Palatine School which followed the court. He was also active with his pen compiling books, chiefly educational, and organizing schools. In 790 he paid a visit to Northumbria, returning to Gaul in 792 to take up the cause of orthodoxy as against the Adoptionist heresy of Felix and Elipandus, and also to deal with the question of Image worship. He took a leading part in the Council of Frankfort in 794. In 796 he retired from Court to the Monastery of St. Martin at Tours, of which he had been made abbot,

[1] *Cod. Dipl.* Nos. 224, 234, etc. Once and once only Ecgberht signs as "Rex Anglorum," A.D. 828 (given as 823). *Id.* No. 223.

[2] See the account in Chron. A copied by all the others; also Mr. Earle's note in his *Parallel Chronicles*.

though he himself never took the vows "of a true monk." His position in this respect made him "a bone of contention" between the rival orders of monks and canons. He died at Tours 19th May, 804. For posterity his letters were his most valuable compositions. In his correspondence with his literary circle he used to sign himself "*Flaccus Albinus*," the Emperor taking the name of "*David*," etc.[1]

APPENDIX C TO CHAPTER XIII

Archbishops of Canterbury and Kings of Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria, A.D. 690–802.

A.D.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Kings of Wessex.	Kings of Mercia.	Kings of Northumbria.
690	Theodore	Ine	Æthelred	Ealdfrith
— 19 Sept.	Death Theodore			
693, 29 June	Berchtwald Consecrated			
704			Abdication of Æthelred; his nephew, Coenred, son of Wulfhere, King	
705-6				Death of Ealdfrith; his son Osred King
709			Abdication of Coenred; his cousin Ceolred, son of Æthelred, King	
716			Death of Ceolred. Æthelbald (distant cousin) King	Murder of Osred. Coenred (distant cousin) King
718				Death Coenred. Osric King
726		Abdication of Ine. Æthelheard (kinsman) King		
729				Death of Osric, Ceolwulf, brother of late Coenred, King
731, Jan.	Death Berchtwald			
id., June	Tatwin Consecrated			
734, July	Death Tatwin			
735	Nothelm Consecrated			
737				Resignation of Ceolwulf. Eadberht (cousin) King, son of Eata, uncle of Ceolwulf. Sym., *Hist. D.*, II. c. 3

[1] See Bishop Stubbs' Article in Smith's *Christian Biographies.*

A.D.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Kings of Wessex.	Kings of Mercia.	Kings of Northumbria.
739	Death Nothelm, 17 Oct.	Death Æthelheard. Cuthred, brother, King		
740	Cuthbert, Archbishop (Translated)			
755		Death Cuthred. Sigeberht King; deposed; Cynewulf King		
757			Æthelbald assassinated. Beornred King killed by Offa. Offa King	
758	Death of Cuthbert. Bregowine Archbishop			Abdication of Eadberht. Son Oswulf King
759				24 July, Oswulf assassinated by his household. 3 Aug., Æthelwald Moll King. (A.D. 759, Sym., *Hist. Reg.* A.D. 760, *Id.*, *Hist. Dunelm.*, c. 4.)
765, Aug. 24–Sept. 1	Death of Bregowine			30 Oct., Death of Æthelwald Moll. Alchred (cousin) King
766, 2 Feb.	Jaenberht Archbishop			
774				Alchred deposed. Æthelred, son of Æthelwald Moll, King
779				Æthelred deposed. Elfwald, brother to Alchred, King
786		Cynewulf assassinated. Beorhtric King		
788, 23 Sept.				Elfwald assassinated. Osred (son of Alchred deposed in 774) King
790				Osred deposed and expelled. Æthelred, deposed in 779, again King

A.D.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Kings of Wessex.	Kings of Mercia.	Kings of Northumbria.
791, 12 Aug.	Death of Jaenberht. Æthelheard Archbishop (Consecrated 21 July, 793)			
792				Execution of Osred, attempting to return from exile
793				FIRST LANDING OF DANES. Sack of Lindisfarne
796, 18 April				Assassination of Æthelred. Osbald King 27 days. Then expelled. Eardwulf, son of Eardwulf, King (Symeon, *Hist. Dunelm.*, II. c. 5.
— 26 or 29 July			Death of Offa. Son Ecgferth, King 141 days	
— Dec. 14 or 17			Death of Ecgferth. Coenwulf King	
802		Death of Beorhtric. Ecgberht King		

CHAPTER XIV

(793–871)

Norse and Danish Invasions—Æthelwulf, King of Wessex and Kent—Æthelbald—Æthelberht—Æthelred I—Fall of English Kingdoms of East Anglia and Northumbria

CONQUERING Wessex had now her own troubles in store for her. Even under Ecgberht her resources were sorely taxed to stem the new tide of invasion. The movement was in fact but a repetition or revival of that by which Celtic Britain had been converted into Saxon England. The same stages are traceable in each process. First we have desultory plundering inroads; then territorial settlements; and lastly political wars for supremacy among the settlers.[1] Our conception of the earlier settlement may thus be fairly filled up by the fuller view we get of the details of the later one. The English had now to suffer at the hands of their barbaric cousins some of the miseries that they had inflicted on the Romanized Britons. The newcomers were known by different names in different countries. Their own term "Wicking" or "Vicking," meaning 'Baymen,' was used to denote private expeditions,[2] as distinguished from national armaments. In England they were called Danes; in Ireland Ostmen; on the Continent Northmen; but they were all of the Scandinavian branch of the Teutonic race, and so of near kin to the Low-German Angles and Saxons. By a curious coincidence the first to land in Britain would seem to have come from Jutland,[3] now become Scandinavian territory.

Northern Inroads.

The Wickings.

The life and institutions of these Northmen were simply those brought by the Anglo-Saxons into Britain. *Eorl*, *Ceorl*, and *Theow* appear as *Jarl*, *Carl*, and *Thrall*; the Northern *Thing* is the English *Gemôt*.[4] Our sketch of Anglo-Saxon mythology had to be filled up by references to Scandinavian lore. The difference in civilization between the two peoples in the 9th

[1] Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 12, 43.

[2] This is the received interpretation. I feel inclined to connect the name with the real headquarters of Norse expeditions, the great Wick or Bay of Christiania, the district round the head of the fiord being also known as Wick.

[3] The Worcester and Peterborough Chronicles (D and E) recording an alleged first landing of Danes in the year 787 (a doubtful statement), describe them as "Northmanna of Hærethalande." This is identified with Hardeland or Hardesyssel in Jutland; Green, *Conquest of England*, p. 50, citing Munch, *Norske Folk's Historie*. The Danes proper are said not to have come into action in Britain until a century later.

[4] *e.g.* the Danish "husthing" (whence hustings) is exactly the A.S. "hallmote."

century is the measure of the progress made by the Anglo-Saxons since their settlement in Britain; the difference being mainly due to the introduction of Christianity among the latter, the former being still pagans.[1]

The causes that would impel a hardy population, pent up among rocks and woods, fiords and lakes, to push their fortunes elsewhere are not far to seek. But the coincidence between the outbreak of these naval enterprises and the reduction of the continental Saxons by the great Karl can hardly be considered accidental. It would seem that a barrier having been set up against migrations by land, the superfluous population of the North was forced to take to the sea. At the very height of Karl's power their piratical ravages on the coasts of Frisia and Gaul had excited his most anxious attention.[2]

As already mentioned, the first unquestionable appearance of these Northmen in Britain was at Lindisfarne in 793. But according to our ideas of the route from Scandinavia to the Northumbrian coast, as already pointed out, a landing at Lindisfarne would imply prior appearances on the East Anglian and Kentish sea-boards. In fact the Winchester Chronicle does record an earlier landing, namely in the year 787; but as no locality is indicated, the statement has been thought to require confirmation. Two distinct streams of invasion may be traced as breaking upon our shores, the one old the other new. The new tide flowed from Norway across to the Shetlands, and thence turning southwards moved by the Western Islands to Ireland and the extreme south of Great Britain, where it seemed to die out. The other wave, following the course of the old Anglo-Saxon fleets, flowed along the Frisian and Flemish coasts down to the Channel. From thence the adventurers might either cross over to Kent, or else sail on along the coast of Gaul to Aquitaine, Spain, and the Mediterranean.[3] The northern route, of course, would be that of the Norsemen, styled by the Irish the "Fingall," or 'White Strangers.' The southern course would be that of the Danes, distinguished by the Irish as the "Dubgall," or 'Black Strangers.' The darker complexion thus attributed to the Danes seems to suggest a Slavonic element in their forces. Ireland was reached in 795, only two years after Lindisfarne.[4] The landing at Lindisfarne, in our view, implies prior visitations of the East Anglian coast, districts entirely wanting in historical records. During the ensuing five and twenty years the invaders are heard of on all parts of the Irish coast; while about the year 832 one "Turgeis," or Thorkil, established himself as King in the North of Ireland, with his capital at Armagh.[5]

Routes to Britain.

Norsemen and Danes.

Settlements in Ireland.

[1] For a brilliant sketch of Northern life and feeling see chap II. of Mr. Green's *Conquest of England*. [2] See *Id.*, p. 62.

[3] Compare Green, *Conquest of England*, 62, and the map there.

[4] *Ann. Camb.* Iona was ravaged in 802 and 806. Norse fleets, however, may also have moved southwards from the Shetlands down our East Coast.

[5] See Dr. J. H. Todd's *Introduction to the Wars of the Gaedhill and Gail*, xxxv.–xliv.

Thus in Ireland, where resistance was the weakest, the stage of territorial occupation had already been reached. In 833 a party landed in Sheppey (*Sceapige*) with five and twenty ships, and ravaged the island. These men were probably some of the marauders heard of in Frisia during the preceding years. In 834 Ecgberht had to fight five and thirty 'shiploads'[1] at *Carrum*—Charmouth in Dorsetshire—and was practically defeated, the enemy remaining masters of the field. Two bishops were numbered among the dead. As the invading vessels of the period appear to have carried some thirty-five men apiece, these two forces might be estimated, say, the one at eight hundred to nine hundred men strong, and the other at some twelve hundred men strong.[2] Again a year later a great armament came over to Cornwall, and, in concert with the natives, attacked the English. The allies, however, were signally defeated by Ecgberht at "Hengest dune," Hingston Down in Cornwall.[3] The pirates in this case probably had their basis of operations in Ireland. That the Irish Wickings had reached the English coasts by this time is proved by the discovery made at Delgany, in Wicklow, in 1874, of a hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins, mostly Kentish, and the latest being of the time of Beornwulf (823–826).[4]

Landings on the South Coast.

The victory at Hingston secured peace during the rest of Ecgberht's days. He passed away August–Nov. 839.[5]

One of Ecgberht's last acts was to seal a formal bond of alliance between his House and the Church of Canterbury, through Archbishop Ceolnoth, successor to Wulfred. The king confirmed a doubtful grant of Malling made by King Baldred at the time of his downfall, and received in return a promise of 'firm and unshaken friendship for ever.' Ecgberht again for himself promised 'perpetual peace and protection to the church.[6] A similar compact was made with the See of Winchester at the same time.[7] These curious transactions reveal the weakness of the nominal overlord of Great Britain, and the local strength of the clergy. Of the revolutions in Northumbria we have seen reason to suspect

Death of Ecgberht.

(Rolls Series). Limerick, properly Luimnech, appears to have been founded by the Northmen about this time; Dublin, 838–842; *Id.*, lxxviii. Waterford and Cork were "pirate settlements" of the next century.

[1] "Scip-hlæsta," *i.e.* of men.

[2] For the Northern vessels see Appendix A to chapter XV.

[3] R. Wend.; Chron.; Flor.; W. Malm., *G. R.*, II. p. 149. The dates are taken from the first of these. Hingston is 9 or 10 miles S.W. of Tavistock.

[4] J. Evans, *Academy*, 8th July, 1882.

[5] As shewn above, Ecgberht came to the throne in the year 802, and before the 18th April. The authorities agree that he reigned 37 years and 7 months. He was alive 19th Nov., 838; Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, I. p. 585. Æthelwulf was king before the end of 839; *Id.*, p. 590.

[6] Kingston-on-Thames, A.D. 838; *Cod. Dip.* No. 240; Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, I. p. 592.

[7] Birch, p. 593; H. & S., III. 619.

that more than one was due to clerical influence. The kings had heaped grants and immunities upon the clergy till the power of the Church rivalled their own. Perhaps the kings looked to the bishops as a counterpoise to the lay landed aristocracy. At any rate we may point out that the legislation of the Anglo-Saxon kings took upon itself the burden of enforcing not only payment of church dues, but also regard for church ordinances in matters of pure religion and morality, down to points that might be considered mere "counsels of perfection," such as abstinence from flesh on fast-days.[1] On the other hand, the clergy were becoming more and more secularized from interference in secular matters, while monasticism had almost died out.

Æthelwulf.

At the death of Ecgberht his son Æthelwulf at once became king of the West Saxons and of Kent[2]; of the transient supremacy over the other English states conceded to his father we hear no more.[3] Wessex alone was more than Æthelwulf had energy to rule. But in making over Kent to his eldest son Æthelstan he was only following his father's example and the custom of the times.[4] Æthelwulf was doubtless a charitable, well-meaning man, but a most incompetent king. With Norse invasions pouring on the coasts of Britain the king's thoughts were engrossed with pilgrimages to Rome, remissions of taxation[5]; and pauperising grants for the support of the idle poor. The man who might have been expected to take a lead in organising measures for the defence of all England was unable to devise anything for his own immediate kingdom; or even to take the field in person, except under extraordinary circumstances. Yet he certainly had one very capable adviser in Ealhstan Bishop of Sherborne, the man who had "acted as his general" in Kent in 825; and who, we are told, laboured strenuously to bring the king to act. But Æthelwulf had also another and probably a more congenial adviser in Swithun, said to have been his tutor,[6] and afterwards Bishop of Winchester, a man whose

His Incapacity.

[1] See the *Laws of Ine*, as noticed above, and those of Wihtræd of Kent, cc. 14, 15; Schmid.

[2] "Gratia Dei rex Occidentalium Saxonum seu etiam Cantuariorum"; Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, II. p. 17. Æthelwulf signs as king in 839; *Id.*, I. 590.

[3] Malmesbury notices the fact "avito West-Saxonum regno contentus," etc., *G. R.*, II. p. 150; conf. 277. Only one Mercian charter subsequent to this time receives confirmation from a Wessex king, and that was a grant by Queen Æthelswyth out of her private estates to which the consent of her brothers (Æthelred and Ælfred) might well be thought desirable, as well as that of her husband (Burgred); *Cod. Dip.* No. 298.

[4] Chron. A and C; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 252, 256; Asser, *M.H.B.*, 469. That Æthelstan was not brother to Æthelwulf, as alleged by Chronicles D and E, but son, is also clear from Æthelweard, *M.H.B.*, 511, 514, the best authority on Royal family history.

[5] See the preamble to his charter of the 5th November, 844; *Cod. Dipl.* No. 1048. He proposes remission of taxation as a "remedium" for the devastation of the country.

[6] So Florence, A.D. 827.

saintly virtues gained him a place in the Calendar.[1] His thoughts, we are told, were more in Heaven than on earth.[2]

Anyhow, Æthelwulf would not act, and so each district was left to its own ealdorman and its own bishop. Thus in the year following the king's accession we hear of the ealdorman Wulfheard fighting the 'loads' of thirty-five pirate vessels at Southampton; while Æthelhelm *dux* of the *Dornsætas* engaged another force at "Port," *i.e.*, Portland. Æthelhelm fell on the field; Wulfheard died soon after, presumably of wounds.[3]

Wicking Assaults.

In the following year a torrent of invasion burst on the East coast, Mercia now coming in for it. The Ealdorman Herebryht fell in the Fen district ("on Mersewarum"), while reverses are acknowledged in Lindsey, East Anglia, and Kent.[4] Next year again London and Rochester were sacked; also on the other side of the Channel "Cwantawic" or Étaples.

For some five years our annals are a blank, indicating we must hope a lull in the storm; but about 848 (?) we hear that Eanulf the Ealdorman of the Sumorsætas, and stout Bishop Ealhstan, and Osric Ealdorman of the Dornsætas gained a victory at "Pedridanmutha"—Parret-mouth.[5] After another blank interval we note a distinct step in the downward process when the 'heathen' first ventured to winter in England, establishing themselves in the Island of Sheppey; just as the Jutes had first established themselves in Thanet.[7]

Wintering in the Thames.

This apparently happened in the winter of 850–851; at any rate in 851 we have a great armament of 350 ships sailing up the Thames, and, with their basis of operations in Sheppey, 'breaking' Canterbury and London. Beorhtwulf of Mercia who had come to the rescue was routed and driven off.[8] The invaders then crossed the Thames into Surrey, as if to

[1] See W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 108. He distinctly asserts that whatever was done was done by one or other of these two. "Obsistebat tamen semper ærumpnis consiliariorum regis vivacitas . . . hi videntes regem crassioris et hebetis ingenii," etc.

[2] "Swithenus in terrenis nauseans regem ad cœlestia informabat"; W. Malm., *sup.*

[3] A.D. 840? Chron.; Flor.; H. Hunt. (all under 837).

[4] A.D. 841? *Id.* (A.D. 838).

[5] A.D. 842? "Cwantawic," Chron. A and the Canterbury Chron. (MS. Tiberius A VI.); "Cantwic," D and E; "Cantwarabyrig," C (all A.D. 839). The reading Cwantawic is not only the best supported by the MSS., but it is also confirmed by the fact that the sack of Étaples in 842 is recorded by foreign annals; *Ann. Bertin.* Bouquet, VII. 61, Thorpe. This again will support our date.

[6] Chron., Flor., H. Hunt. (all A.D. 845).

[7] Asser, Flor., Chron., A.D. 851. The Winchester Chronicle does not name the wintering place: the other Chronicles name Thanet; but Asser is very explicit in his description of Sheppey. He appears here to reproduce a lost original common to himself and the Winchester Chronicle, only he gives it more accurately than the chronicler does. The chronology of our authorities recovers itself apparently from the year 849.

[8] For the succession Mercian and Northumbrian kings after 803 see Appendix to this chapter.

penetrate the heart of Wessex. Then at last Æthelwulf appeared in the field,[1] with his second son Æthelbald to support him. They met the invaders at "Aclea," Ockley, and after a severe fight gained a signal victory. 'And there was made the greatest slaughter of the heathen that we have heard tell of up to the present day.' This success was followed up by the capture of six ships at Sandwich by Æthelstan, the under-king of Kent.[2]

An English Victory.

The result of the campaign would indicate that the Wessex "*fyrd*," if properly mustered and led, was still a match for any invading "*here*."[3]

In 852 Beorhtwulf the King of Mercia died, Burgred succeeding.[4] In the ensuing spring he married Æthelswyth, the daughter of Æthelwulf[5]; and the latter, to please his son-in-law, marched with him to harry the North Welsh. This might suit Mercia. But so far as the interests of Wessex were concerned no justification could be offered for such a waste of energy. At this very time, we hear that the ealdormen both of Kent and Surrey fell while attempting to rid Thanet of invaders.[6]

The king also, in the course of this same year, managed to send his youngest and favourite son Ælfred to Rome. The boy, as we shall see, may have been about ten years old at the time.[7] Our domestic writers tell us that Pope Leo IV. 'hallowed' the young Ætheling 'to king, and to bishop-son took him.'[8] A letter from the Pope himself to Æthelwulf informs us more exactly that he had invested Ælfred 'as his spiritual son with the girdle and vestments of the Roman consulship.'[9] We may fairly suppose that the Pope confirmed Ælfred. "If there was confirmation there would be unction"; and so it may be that when Ælfred came to the throne, this unction, and the honorary investiture with the insignia of consulship, were regarded by the English, "perhaps by Ælfred himself," as "an anticipation," of his coronation.[10]

Young Ælfred at Rome.

Papal Honours conferred upon him.

At the opening of the year 855 we again hear of a large heathen force wintering in Sheppey. Yet this was the happy juncture chosen by Æthelwulf for executing his long-cherished purpose of making out his

[1] In 840 the Chronicle make Æthelwulf fight 35 ships at "Carum"; but the entry seems a mere repetition of that of 833. [2] Asser, Flor., Chron.

[3] The Chronicles are very consistent in the use of these terms: the native force is always a "fyrd"; the invading force a "here."

[4] Flor.; *Cod. Dip.* No. 267.

[5] At Chippenham, after Easter, 853.

[6] Asser, Flor., Chron. [7] See below under his reign.

[8] "Unxit in regem et in filium adoptionis confirmavit." Asser. "To cyninge gehalgode ond . . . to biscepsuna nam." Chron. A.

[9] "Filium vestrum . . . quasi spiritualem filium consulatus cingulo, honore, vestimentisque, ut mos est Romanis consulibus, decoravimus." B.M., MS. Additional 8873, No. 31; extracted Stubbs, W. Malm., *G. R.*, II. xlii. *q.v.* (Rolls Ed.)

[10] Stubbs, *sup.*

own pilgrimage to Rome.[1] He went in great state, his sons Æthelberht[2] and Ælfred going with him. The Roman annalists have placed on record the costly gifts presented to St. Peter by the pious king. All classes of the community are said to have partaken of his munificence. He also rebuilt the Saxon School which for the second time had been destroyed by fire.[3]

Æthelwulf goes to Rome.

On his way home Æthelwulf paid a long visit at the court of Karl II., otherwise Charles the Bald, at Worms. During this visit, which took place in the month of July, 856, Æthelwulf was betrothed to Charles's daughter Judith, a girl of twelve or thirteen years at most.[4] On the 1st October he married her. Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims performed the service, and also crowned Judith as Queen,[5] an innovation on West-Saxon custom, where queens were not recognised.[6]

Æthelwulf sailed home (856) with his child-Queen, in happy indifference to the fact, of which he could not have been left in ignorance, that, in his absence, the kingdom had been taken from him, and given to his son. At his departure the people, unable to dispense with the presence of a governing king, held a meeting in Selwood, under the presidency of Bishop Ealstan of Sherborne, and Eanwulf, Ealdorman of the Sumorsætas, and proclaimed Æthelbald,[7] the eldest surviving son of Æthelwulf, king of Wessex. When the old king returned matters looked rather black at first, as Æthelwulf had his supporters. But, as the annalist puts it, through the 'clemency' of the king, and the kind mediation of the Witan, a compromise was effected, under which Æthelbald kept the Western and better half of the kingdom, Æthelwulf having to content himself with the Eastern half, or under-kingdom of Kent, Essex,

Return to England.

Partition of Wessex.

[1] Application had been made to the Emperor Louis by the "Rex Anglorum" for a safe conduct to Rome as early as 839, "post Pascha." Prudentius of Troyes; *Ann. Bertin.*; Pertz, I. 433. The expression "post Pascha" would imply that the application was made before Ecgberht's death.

[2] *Cod. Dipl.* No. 276.

[3] Lappenberg, *Anglo-Saxons*, II. 26; Anastasius, *Muratori*, III. 251; W. Malm., *G. R.*, II. p. 152. The offerings included a crown weighing 4 lbs., and two armlets of pure gold; a sword of state partly sheathed in gold; a tunic (saraca) of silk, etc.

[4] Charles was married to Judith's mother, Ermengard, on the 12th December, 842. Petrie, note to Asser, *M.H.B.*

[5] *Ann. Bertin.*; Pertz, I. 450; H. and S., III. 612. The service used on the occasion is extant; *Capitularies* of Charles the Bald; Baluze, v. II. coll. 209-212; also in Bouquet, VII. 621.

[6] See Asser, 471; where the withholding of royal honours from women in Wessex is represented as dating only from the time of Eadburh, the daughter of Offa. But the custom was doubtless primitive. Judith signs as Regina, but we get no such signature again till the time of Eadgar, A.D. 968; *Cod. Dipl.* Nos. 543, 557, etc.; E. W. Robertson, *Hist. Essays*, 168. In the Anglic kingdoms of Mercia and Northumbria queens were recognised.

[7] Æthelbald died in 860, having reigned five years; that would bring his accession to 855; H. and S., III. 612.

Surrey, and Sussex,[1] formerly held by his eldest son Æthelstan, and then actually by his third son Æthelberht.[2]

Death of Æthelwulf. Within two years' time Æthelwulf went the way of all flesh, having died, apparently, on the 13th June, 858.[3]

Æthelwulf and Tithes. The name of Æthelwulf is probably best known to most persons in connexion with his supposed grant of Tithes, the legal origin of which in this country has been traced to him.[4] But in the first place the grants ascribed to him really import nothing of the sort: and in the second place we have evidence of the legal recognition of tithes long before his time. The demand of one-tenth part of all that increases was advanced at an early time by the clergy "as heirs to the rights of the Levitical priesthood," and it is probable that the principle was introduced into England with Christianity. "It is clear from the genuine Penitential of Theodore that the duty of giving tithe to sacred purposes was regarded by him as a part of the common law of the church."[5] At any rate we have seen the payment of tithes throughout Northumbria and Mercia enjoined by the Councils of Finchale and Chelsea in 787 and 788. The canons there passed being approved by the kings and their Witan, would have, without doubt, the force of law.[6]

Evidence on the subject. If we turn to the records of what Æthelwulf actually did we find ourselves met by a certain conflict of evidence. Asser, whom for this period we must consider our primary authority, tells us very clearly that the king before his departure for Rome 'freed the tenth part of his kingdom from all Royal service and tribute . . . for the redemption of his soul . . . and as an offering to God.'[7] This statement is repeated *verbatim* by the careful Florence of Worcester. The Winchester Chronicle, however, giving, as we hold, a rough translation of the Latin original preserved by Asser, tells us that Æthelwulf 'booked,' *i.e.* granted away by charter, 'the tenth part of his land over all his kingdom for the love of God, etc.'[8] This statement is repeated by a string of chroniclers, the Latin writers rendering 'booked' ("gebocude") by *decumavit*.[9]

[1] Asser, *M.H.B.*, 470, 471; copied by Florence and W. Malm., *G. R.*, II. p. 168.

[2] Æthelberht signs as "rex" in 853 (given as 855), *Cod. Dipl.* No. 269. Æthelstan signs up to 850; *Id.* 1049.

[3] Florence. Most MSS. read "*Id. Jan*," but one reads "*Id. Junii*." If he had died on the 13th January he would have lived little more than a year after his return from Rome, whereas he is said to have died 'within two years' (ymb ii gear); again the 13th June will tally better with the duration of a reign of 18½ years, which had its beginning in September–December, 839. [4] So Selden, *History of Tithes*.

[5] See H. & S., III. 191, 203. [6] H. & S., III. 636, 637.

[7] "Decimam totius regni sui partem ab omni regali servitio et tributo liberavit . . . pro redemptione animæ suæ," etc.; *M. H. B.*, 470.

[8] "Gebocude teoban dæl his londes, etc.," A.D. 855.

[9] *e.g.*, Æthelweard, Symeon, H. Huntingdon, W. Malmesbury. The last says, "Decimam omnium hidarum infra regnum suum Christi famulis concessit."

To compare with these two versions we have a bundle of charters. If they had been clearly genuine their testimony would have been final, but all are open to question,[1] and the Malmesbury and Winchester repertories from whence they come are said to be of the lowest character. The whole may be divided into four groups. In three deeds falling under the first of these we have the announcement of an intended general grant to the church of one-tenth of the king's lands freed from all royal dues, together with certain other grants, the nature of which is not so clearly defined, in favour of the king's *ministri, i.e.* his thegns. With some variation in their language the three charters agree in intimating that the intended ultimate recipient of all the king's bounty was the church. "*Consilium . . . salubre profeci ut decimam partem terrarum per regnum non solum sanctis ecclesiis darem verum etiam et ministris nostris in eodem constitutis in perpetuam libertatem concessiris ita ut alis* (*qy. aliis?*) *donatio fixa et incommutabilisque permaneat ab omni regali servitio*, etc. (Easter Day, 22 April, 854)."[2] The two other charters which we place alongside of this one, in rather different words, express the king's purpose as contemplating a remission of crown dues on every tenth hide of land at least (*decimam mansionem ubi minimum*), in the hands of his *ministri*, but clearly only in the end for the benefit of the church, "*in libertatem perpetuam donari sanctæ ecclesiæ.*"[3] This quite agrees with Asser's account. As our second group we take two charters dated ten years earlier (5th Nov., 844), in which the king's purpose of remitting one-tenth of his crown dues is not limited to lands held by the clergy or by *ministri*, but to all lands by whomsoever held (*antea possidentibus*, etc.), and without any reference to the ultimate benefit of the church.[4] Thirdly, we rank two charters in which the king's purpose of 'tithing' his land (*decimans rura*) is made to preface grants of estates to the church at Winchester;[5] and fourthly, others again in which the 'decimation' (*pro decimatione*) is made to operate in favour of laymen.[6] On this evidence the view taken by Mr. Kemble, and since generally accepted, is that Æthelwulf in the first place released the crown dues over one-tenth of all lands in his kingdom, whether in the hands of churchmen or of others; and in the second place granted away, or intended to grant away, one-tenth of his private estates either to churchmen or to favoured thegns for their own private use and benefit. This account, no doubt, is that which the charters as a whole on the face of them seem to suggest. We would begin by putting on one side the charters falling under our three latter groups; those of the second group as clearly giving an unwarrantable extension to the king's grant, and

[1] The Indictions are wrong throughout. [2] *Cod. Dip.* No. 270.
[3] *Id.* Nos. 271, 1,050. [4] Nos. 275, 1,048.
[5] Nos. 1,051, 1,052. A reference to Frithegyth *Regina* of Wessex does not inspire confidence. [6] Nos. 276 (A.D. 855) and 1,054.

those of the third and fourth groups as applying the king's grant to private purposes. Taking our stand on Asser and the charters of the first group we venture to suggest a new interpretation of the king's action. The original and usual mode of paying tithe of course was by handing over in kind a tenth of the produce of the soil. But the Plans of Common Fields recently brought to light show that there was another mode of providing for tithe, namely, by allotting to the parish priest the 'tenth strip in each Common Field.'[1] With this fact before us we suggest that what Æthelwulf did was perhaps to introduce, perhaps only to adopt and encourage, this mode of securing tithe by devoting the tenth strip of every hide of land in his demesnes to the service of the Church; while to encourage others to do likewise he freed from all crown dues the tenth parts of all lands in the hands of magnates on condition of their being made over to the church. We may thus vindicate for Æthelwulf the traditional association of his name with the question of tithes, not by way of any original introduction of tithes, but of a new and more effectual mode of providing for their payment.

A Suggestion.

In Æthelwulf's Will, made a few months before his death, we have a further 'tithing' of a sort, in the shape of a direction that one poor man should be fed and clothed for every ten hides of his estate.[2] With respect to the Succession he directed the existing partition to be maintained, Æthelbald remaining king of Wessex, while Kent, Surrey, Essex and Sussex would devolve upon his second surviving son Æthelberht, who, as above stated, had at one time held this dominion under himself. His private estates and his goods Æthelwulf divided between his two youngest sons and his daughter Æthelswyth, the wife of Burgred of Mercia, subject however as to the land to a provision for survivorship between the two brothers.[3] Lastly, he bequeathed 300 mancusses a year to Rome.[4] It is possible that the well-known "Rome-feoh," or Peter's Pence may have originated in this bequest.

Peter's Pence.

By Osburh, daughter of Oslac, the king's cup-bearer,[5] Æthelwulf had issue, Æthelstan, who died before him; ÆTHELBALD; ÆTHELBERHT; ÆTHELRED; ÆLFRED; and Æthelswyth, married to Burgred King of Mercia. She died in 888 at Pavia.[6] By Judith he had no issue.

[1] See below in vol. II. the Plan of the Common Field of Burton Agnes, where the parson's strips are shaded, and Canon J. Taylor's article in *Domesday Studies*.

[2] "Per omnem heriditariam terram suam . . . in decem manentibus unum pauperem," etc.

[3] So I understand the reference to his father's Will found in Ælfred's Will; *Cod. Dipl.*, No. 314. The old English and Latin renderings of Ælfred's Will given in Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, II. 180, 184, introduce a survivorship as to the kingdom which does not appear in the Anglo-Saxon original.

[4] Asser, *M. H. B.*, 472. Conf. W. Malmesbury, *G. R.*, II. p. 170. The *mancus* was = thirty pennies, or one-fourth of a mark; while two marks at this time made a pound.

[5] Asser, 469.

[6] Chron.

By the death of Æthelwulf, Æthelbald, his son and successor, as we must call him, gained no accession of territory, retaining simply his kingdom of Wessex, as provided by his father's will. His first act was to marry his stepmother Judith,[1] a union not forbidden by Teutonic custom, though contrary to the laws of the Church. This is almost the only fact recorded of his reign. He died in 860, having reigned two and a half years since his father's death, five years in all.[2]

Æthelbald.

Judith, still a mere girl, then disposed of her "morgengifu" and other property in England, and returned to her own country. There she took as her third husband, Baldwin, first Count of Flanders, distinguished as Baldwin the Forester, by whom she had a family from which sprang Matilda the wife of the future Conqueror.[3]

At the death of Æthelbald his brother Æthelberht, the King of Kent, succeeded to Wessex, without surrendering Kent, which thereby was merged, and, as a separate kingdom, came to a final end, a distinct step in the direction of unification.[4] This, it would seem, was contrary to the provisions of their father's will, who sought to keep Kent severed from Wessex by directing that the latter kingdom at the death of Æthelbald should pass not to Æthelberht but to Æthelred, the next brother. The Witan however doubtless had overruled the impolitic direction.

Æthelberht.

The mark of Æthelberht's reign was the sack of Winchester by the 'heathen.' Ultimately, we are told, the invaders were intercepted and cut off by the men of Hampshire and Berkshire.[5]

Winchester sacked.

We are tempted to ask why were they not in time to save Winchester? But the English, as we have seen, had brought from their continental homes an unfortunate contempt for fortifications; and the fyrd in the nature of things was slow to arm. Rapidity of movement was one of the characteristics of the Wicking forces. Except in the personal courage in which they placed their trust the natives were no match for the invaders. As assailants with the command of all the coasts and waterways the natural advantages of the latter of course were great. They could land where they liked, and fall back on their ships when they had had enough of it. But in the mingled caution and daring of their movements, their promptness and resourcefulness, and their careful use of fortifications and entrenchments, they shewed a real genius for the art of war.[6] "Outnumber them as they might, a host of farmers hurried from their ploughs, armed with what

[1] She signs as "Judith regina" in 858; *Cod. Dip.* No. 1058; the first genuine West Saxon charter so attested. [2] Asser, p. 472, 473; Chron., etc.

[3] Lapp., II. 28. Hincmar in Pertz, I. 456.

[4] Asser: he adds, "ut justum erat." Chron., etc.

[5] Asser, Chron., etc., 861?

[6] See all this well brought out by Mr. Green, *Conq. of E.*, 88–90.

weapons each found to hand, were no match for soldiers such as these." But the worst of it was that there was not even a substantial class of farmers to fight for the land. So far as we can see the bulk of the agricultural population must already have been in a condition of practical serfdom.

The sack of Winchester must have happened early in the reign of Æthelberht,[1] as it is the first event recorded. After that Asser seems to say that Æthelberht reigned five years 'in peace.'[2] Yet within that time we have the 'heathen' again wintering in Thanet (864–865). The men of Kent attempted to buy them off with the promise of a subvention. But no sooner was the treaty sealed than the enemy 'bestole them away by night and over-harried all Kent Eastwards.'[3]

In 866 Æthelberht died, apparently without issue, whereupon the next brother, Æthelred I., became king of the United Kingdom of Wessex and Kent. His five years' reign witnessed the final downfall of the Heptarchic system. The invading hosts were beginning to form permanent settlements on English soil, and the native dynasties outside of Wessex fell before them never to rise again.

Æthelred I.

In the year of Æthelred's accession a mighty host alighted on the shores of East Anglia, apparently under the leadership of three great captains, Healfdene, Ingvar or Ivar, and Ubba. The two first were brothers, "Skioldungr of the royal race of Seeland"[4]; Ubba is represented as a Frisian chief.[5] These are the first Northern leaders whose names have been handed down to us[6]; and, as usual, legend has sought to enhance the glory of the two of them, namely Healfdene and Ivar, by making them the sons of a hero of romance, Regnar Lodbrog.[7] At any rate we have here the first unquestionable appearance of the Danes proper[8] in Great

[1] Lappenberg suggests that the leader was Weland, the terror of the Seine and the Somme in 860–861; *Anglo-Saxons*, II. 29.

[2] "Pacifice." [3] Asser; Chron.

[4] Robertson, *Scotland under Early Kings*, II. 430. Asser, 481.

[5] Sym., *Hist. Dun. Auctarium*, pp. 203, 204, 229.

[6] Sym., *Hist. Dun.*, 54; *Hist. R.*, 104. Æthelweard only gives the name of "Igware" or "Iwar"; *M.H.B.*, 512, 513. Asser gives the name correctly "Ivar." *Id.*, 481.

[7] So at least Chron. Eric, Langebek, I. 149, compiled circa 1288, and *Ann. Roskild. Id.*, 373 (826–1157). *Wars of Gaedhill*, liii., lvi. Regnar is supposed to have reigned over Denmark and Norway at some time between 809 and 865, the dates of the different writers differing.

[8] Asser (copied by Florence) writes "de Danubio classis advenit," evidently meaning "Dania" or "Danemarchia." The Danes are traced to the South-West of Sweden, from whence they had recently passed across Zealand into Jutland; Green, *Conq. of E.*, 88. In their descents on Britain they had been joined by Frisians and others. "Infinita multitudine Danorum scilicet et Fresorum aliarumque gentium paganarum"; Sym., *Hist. D.*, *sup.* It is not clear that Ivar had not come from Ireland in the last instance. His comrade Olaf of Dublin was devastating the Pictish kingdom of Fortrenn or Strathearn this very year. *Ann. Ulster*; *Chron. Picts.*

Britain. In Ireland they had already made themselves terrible for some fourteen years under the leadership of this same Ivar and one "Amlaiph." Ivar is identified with Ivar "Beenlos" (the Boneless) of Northern lays[1]; while the trustworthy *Annals of Ulster* style him the chief king of all the Northmen in Great Britain and Ireland.[2] Amlaiph, otherwise Olaf the White, became King of Dublin.[3] By the Irish writers their people were called "Danarda" and "Dubgall," 'Black Strangers,' to distinguish them from the "Fingall" or 'White Strangers,' who came from the land of "Lochlann," *i.e.* Norway.[4] The darker complexion ascribed to the Danish hosts suggest the presence of a Slavonic element as already pointed out.

To the work of invasion they brought a strength of numbers and a systematic action not yet witnessed. The East Anglians, powerless to resist, at once 'made peace,' *i.e.* submitted; supplying the invaders with everything they wanted, including horses.[5] Accordingly next spring the bulk of the force took the field on horseback, with greatly increased powers of locomotion and action. Here again we may notice the quickness of these men in seizing opportunities and adapting themselves to circumstances. Northwards they moved across the Humber. The Northern kingdom was in no fit state to resist them. Osbert, who had come to the throne in 850, had been dethroned in 863 in favour of one Ælla, a man said not to have been of Royal birth, though bearer of a royal name. Osbert however had not been made away with, and he must still have had a party. Between Ælla and Osbert the Danes were allowed to overrun the whole of Deira. Churches and monasteries were given to the flames. The conquest was completed by the capture of York on the 1st November, 867. Then the Northumbrian parties agreed to sink their differences. Early in 868 an army was raised which comprised contingents under eight ealdormen. At their approach the Danes prudently withdrew within the fortifications of York. The Northumbrians, with reckless courage, assaulted the city and effected a partial entrance, but only to be cut down in the streets. Both their kings fell, and the whole army was dispersed (21st March, 868).

Landing in East Anglia.

Conquest of Deira.

Northumbria submitted. The Danes however, for the moment, not wanting to meddle with Bernicia, set up a puppet king, by name Ecgberht, to rule in their name North of the Tyne; Healfdene apparently retaining the kingdom of Deira.[6]

Having thus mastered Northumbria, the Danes turned Southwards into Mercia, Ivar leading them.[7] They established themselves at "Snotting-

[1] *Wars of Gaedhill*, lvi. Green. [2] A.D. 873.

[3] *Ann. Ulster.* Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 324.

[4] *Wars of Gaedhill*, p. 19. [5] A.D. 866, Asser, Chron., Flor., H. Hunt.

[6] Symeon, *Hist. Dunelm.*, II. c. 6; conf. Asser and the Chronicles, who confuse the two attacks on York of the 1st Nov., 869, and 21st March, 868. [7] Sym., *sup.*

ham," Nottingham, on the ford of the Trent. But the Midland kingdom did not fall so easy a prey as Northumbria. Burgred sent a pressing call for help to the court of Winchester, and Æthelred and his brother Ælfred hastened to the rescue. At their coming the Danes withdrew into Nottingham, 'so there was no heavy fighting.' A truce was signed, the Wessex men returning home, while the Danes wintered at Nottingham.[1] Next year they returned to York, remaining there over winter.[2]

Mercia Holds Out.

The year 870 proved a dark one in the annals of the English Church. The Northumbrian Danes extending their dominion drove Archbishop Wulfhere into exile, and dismissed King Ecgberht, setting up one Ricsig in his place.[3] The See of Hexham came to an end—if it had not fallen before.[4] Another force marched southwards under Ivar to complete the reduction of East Anglia. Every minster on their track was destroyed. Burgheard, the Bishop of Lindsey, had to fly.[5] The abbot and monks at Medehamstede (Peterborough) were put to the sword. Bardney, Croyland, and Ely doubtless fared no better.[6] On entering East Anglia the Danes established themselves at Thetford, where their earthworks may yet excite the wonder of the sightseer.[7] In face of a permanent occupation King Eadmund (the Martyr) led out a forlorn hope to strike a last blow for homes and altars. He was utterly defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death. Tradition had it that he was bound to a tree and shot with arrows, a domestic St. Sebastian. Bishop Humbert of Elmham suffered with him (Monday, 20th Nov., 870).[8] The See of Dunwich passed away for ever: Lindsey and Elmham remained vacant for upwards of 80 years.[9]

King Eadmund the Martyr.

So ended the native East Anglian succession. The indomitable Ivar went off to the North, from whence he returned to Dublin, there to die in peace some three years later.[10] Another chief, by name Guthrum, became

[1] A.D. 868–869, Asser, Chron., etc.

[2] A.D. 869, *ib.*; Sym., *sup.* [3] Symeon, *sup.*

[4] The last recorded Bishop of Hexham, Tidferth, died in 821. Stubbs, *Reg. Sacrum.*

[5] He signs last in 869; *Cod. Dip.* No. 299. In the *Registrum Sacrum* the name is given as Berhtred.

[6] See Chron. E, the Peterborough Chronicle. Circumstantial details of the war in Lindsey are given by the Chronicle of Ingulf, for which see Lapp., II. 36; but this work is an undoubted forgery of late date.

[7] The central conical mound is one of the largest "made hills" in England: it is enclosed by triple lines of ramparts and ditches of horseshoe shape, the open side abutting on the river Thet. One side of the enclosure has been demolished: what remains covers 13 acres of ground: the whole must have enclosed some 24 acres. Blomefield, *Norfolk*, II. 27.

[8] Asser; Chron.; Symeon, *sup.*; H. Hunt.; and the so-called Annals of Asser or Chronicle of St. Neots, *M. H. B.*, 475; *Reg. Sacr.*; Abbo, *Vita Eadmundi*; *Acta SS.*

[9] *Reg. Sacrum.*

[10] *Ann. Ulster.*, A.D. 873. These Annals represent Ivar as acting with Olaf in an

the first king of a Danish East Anglia, the only "strictly Danish kingdom" that lasted any time, though apparently not a district specially selected by them for agrarian settlements.[1] Probably the land was not good enough to tempt them as colonists. But when the mound forts at Norwich and Cambridge had been added to that at Thetford, the country would be fettered with a band of iron.

With respect to the Danish settlements we may point out that as the Anglo-Saxons had possessed themselves of the best of the lands previously owned by the Britons, so of the lands held by the English the Danes seem to have picked out the best grass lands.

Northumbria having been knocked to pieces; East Anglia subjugated; and Mercia largely cut into, the invaders now proceeded to attack Wessex. But the Southern kingdom justified its *prestige* by the spirited resistance it offered.

Wessex Attacked.

Early in 871 an invading army came down on Reading, and entrenched itself between the Thames and the Kennet; doubtless on the tongue of land now occupied by the ruins of the abbey and the gaol.[2] The force was led by two kings, Healfdene and Bagsecg, and a host of jarls ("eorlas"). We may suppose that they had marched from East Anglia more or less along the Icknield way. The camp having been fortified, on the third day part of the force rode out to forage, but were checked by the Ealdorman of Berkshire at Englefield, some five miles to the South-West of Reading. Four days later Æthelred and Ælfred came up and drove the Danes into their camp. Not content with that, they attempted to storm the entrenchments, but were beaten off and had to retreat. The Danes following, a battle ensued on "Æscesdune," or the Berkshire Downs, the name being more especially connected with the East end, abutting on the Thames. We are told that the Danes managed to occupy higher ground than the English, and, apparently, between them and home.[3] It has been suggested that the English retreated up the Thames to Streatley, or a little farther, and that the Danes in their pursuit striking upwards from Streatley by the Ridgeway, or some other road, took up a commanding position from which the English felt bound to dislodge them. That is all that we know.[4] The enemy marshalled themselves in two

attack on Ailcluyth (Dunbarton) in 870. It is impossible to decide as to his exact movements.

[1] Lapp., II. 39. Freeman, *O.E.H.*, p. 109, calls attention to the fact that Danish names are much less common in East Anglia than they are in Lincolnshire or Yorkshire.

[2] Asser. He adds that the Danish "valfum" was placed "a dextrali parte . . . villæ regiæ." In the mouth of a Celt the 'right hand' would mean the South, as they reckoned the points of the compass with their faces to the East: but the Danish position must have been to the East of the town. The conical mound called Forbury Hill may be identified with the Danish fort. As a rule the modern gaol will be found in proximity to the primitive fort, a curious instance of continuity. [3] So Asser.

[4] See the Paper laid by Mr. James Parker before the Oxford Antiquarian Society in 1871, and the authorities there cited for the Eastern site of "Æscesdune" as against

divisions, one under the two kings; the other under the many jarls. The English adopted a similar formation, assigning one command to Æthelred and the other to Ælfred. All was ready: the Danes were coming down with levelled spears and locked shields—the *testudo* of the Romans, the 'boardwall' of Anglo-Saxon lays—but Æthelred refused to quit his tent till Mass had been celebrated. The moment was critical: Ælfred seeing that in a few minutes all might be lost took upon himself the responsibility of ordering the whole line to advance without waiting for the king. His decision was crowned with success; charging fiercely he gained a complete victory: King Bagsecg and five jarls of name fell on the field.[1]

Battle of Æscesdune.

The Danes must have fallen back on Reading to recruit their forces, as we hear of an action fought within a fortnight at Basing, in which they had the best of it.[2] Again, we have yet another action fought before Easter (15th April) at "Merantune," Merton in Surrey. There Bishop Heahmund of Sherborne fell (22nd March?)[3]: and there ended the public career, if not the life, of King Æthelred I. He died on the 24th April[4]; worn out no doubt by the fatigue and anxiety of the campaign, if not actually done to death by wounds. The youngest and last surviving son of Æthelwulf, Ælfred the Great, was then hailed by acclamation King of the West Saxons and of Kent[5]; the sons of Æthelred being passed over.[6]

Death of Æthelred I.

But welcome as the accession of Ælfred must have been, there was no time for rejoicings, hardly time for the obsequies of the late king. The Danes were again advancing from Reading and in fresh force. Within a month of his accession Ælfred had to withstand their onslaught on a hill near Wilton, on the South side of the Wily. Favoured by their position the English with inferior numbers kept the enemy at bay, till the invaders with their superior generalship feigned a retreat, and so luring the natives from their vantage ground, eventually won the day.[7]

But both sides had had enough of it. Within five months eight or nine pitched battles had been fought South of the Thames, besides untold

the Western site adopted by earlier writers. After examining both sites I must hold the Eastern site the most likely in all respects.

[1] See Asser (copied by Florence). Asser had the details from men who had been in the action; he also visited the spot, and was shewn a thorn bush round which the fight had raged. Conf. Chron. A (copied by the others). [2] Asser, Chron.

[3] Chron.; Flor.; Æthelweard. The 22nd March is Bishop Heahmund's Day in the Anglo-Saxon Calendar. This action is not noticed by Asser. [4] Flor.

[5] "Rex occidentalium Saxonum necnon æt Cantuariorum"; *Cod. Dip.* No. 307; Birch, II. p. 158; again *Cod. D.* No. 314, "West Seaxena cinge."

[6] Æthelred apparently left two sons, Æthelhelm and Æthelwold, both mentioned in Ælfred's will; *Cod. Dip.* No. 314. Æthelweard the chronicler claimed Æthelred as his great-great-grandfather. *M.H.B.*, 514. See *Id.*, Preface, 81.

[7] Asser, Flor., Chron. Æthelweard, who must have been well informed in court traditions, asserts that Ælfred was not in the action, being still detained by the obsequies of his brother at Wimborne. *M.H.B.*, 514.

skirmishes and beatings up of quarters. If the English had trouble in keeping their men together, the invaders were far from their base of operations. The Danes signed a truce and evacuated Wessex, retiring to Reading.[1] It is likely however that Ælfred had to pay heavily for this deliverance.

A Truce.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIV

A.D. 802–874

A.D.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Kings of Wessex.	Kings of Mercia.	Kings of Northumbria.
802	Æthelheard	Ecgberht	Coenwulf	Eardwulf
805, 12 May	Death of Æthelheard (H. & S., III. 467); Wulfred Archbishop			
106				Deposition of Eardwulf; Ælfwold King.
808				Deposition of Ælfwold; Eanred King
822?			Death of Coenwulf; his brother Ceolwulf King	
823			Deposition of Ceolwulf; Beornwulf King	
826			Death of Beornwulf (killed in battle)	
827			Ludecan King; death of Ludecan (killed in battle)	
828			Wiglaf King; deposition of Wiglaf by Ecgberht of Wessex	
830			Restoration of Wiglaf (as under-king)	
832	Death of Wulfred			
—	Feologeld Archbishop (?) (H. & S., III. 609)			
—	Ceolnoth Archbishop			
839		Death of Ecgberht; Æthelwulf King	Death of Wiglaf; Beorhtwulf King	

[1] Asser; Chron.; Flor.; Æthelweard.

A.D.	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Kings of Wessex.	Kings of Mercia.	Kings of Northumbria.
841				Death of Eanred; son Æthelred II. King
850				Death Æthelred, assassinated; Osbert King
852			Death of Beorhtwulf; Burgred King	
858		Death of Æthelwulf; Æthelbald King		
860		Death of Æthelbald; Æthelberht King		
863				Deposition of Osbert; Ælla King
866		Death of Æthelberht; Æthelred King		
868				Death of Ælla (killed in battle). END OF ANGLE KINGDOM
870	Death of Ceolnoth; Æthelred Archbishop			
871		Death of Æthelred; Ælfred King		
874			Expulsion of Burgred. END OF ANGLE KINGDOM	

CHAPTER XV

ÆLFRED "THE GREAT"

(Born at Wantage *circa* 842.[1] Began to reign April–May, 871; died 28th Oct., 900)

Settlement of Danes in Mercia and Deira—Wessex overrun—Settlement in East Anglia—Reorganization of Wessex by Ælfred—Fresh struggle with army of Hasten—His ultimate expulsion—Death of Ælfred

ÆLFRED is certainly one of the most pleasing, and perhaps the most perfect character in history. "No other man on record has so thoroughly united all the virtues both of the ruler and of the private man."[2] Various deeds and institutions have been ascribed to him of which he cannot boast; but the outlines of his character are unquestionable; and in fact it is refreshing to find a great reputation that "so thoroughly bears investigation."[3] His ability has not been fully recognised, owing perhaps to the modest way in which he speaks of himself and his own accomplishments. He was a man of great breadth and clearness of vision; one who could rise above the surroundings in which he was born, and form a just estimate of his age and its deficiencies. To remedy these he laboured 'night and day' under the strictest sense of duty. A thorough reformer, he never allowed himself to be carried too far in any one direction, working, so to speak, evenly all round.

From his infancy his good looks and engaging manners made him the favourite of his parents and their court.[4] His mind must have been enlarged by his two journeys to Rome in 853 and 855, young as he was.

Imperfect Education.

But his schooling was neglected by his parents and guardians. Not till he was twelve years old and upwards was any attempt made to instruct him in letters[5]; and even then the instruc-

[1] The accepted date for Ælfred's birth, on the authority of Asser (copied by Florence), is A.D. 849. *M. H. B.*, 467. Asser repeats this assertion in several places, but again he tells us that 853, the undoubted year of Ælfred's first journey to Rome, was his eleventh year. *M. H. B.*, 469, 470. This is intelligible: a mission to Rome at four years of age passes belief. Again if we take Ælfred to have been eleven years old in 853 the story about his mother and the book harmonizes with the statement that he began to learn to read when he was twelve. *M. H. B.*, 473, 474. That would be after his return from his first visit to Rome. But if he was only four years old in 853 his mother cannot have lived to see him reach his twelfth year, as she must have died before 856, when Æthelwulf married Judith. See Bishop Stubbs, W. Malmesbury, *G. R.*, II. xli.

[2] Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 51. [3] C. Pearson. [4] Asser, A.D. 849, 866.

[5] "Usque ad duodecimum ætatis annum aut eo amplius, illiteratus permansit." Asser, A.D. 866.

tion was imparted in so desultory a manner as to yield little fruit. It was a matter of constant regret to him in after life that with all his endeavours he was never able to read properly.[1] His education was really limited to making him learn a few things by heart; such as native ballads, the daily Hours of Prayer, and a few Psalms. He constantly carried a devotional manual on his person. But his quickness in learning by rote was great.

Ælfred and his Mother.

Asser records the well-known incident of Ælfred and his mother Osburh. She was showing her sons a 'book' of Saxon poetry,[2] and said that she would give the book to whichever of them should 'learn it' first.[3] Ælfred, stimulated by the beauty of the illuminated capital at the beginning of the book,[4] took it to his tutor; mastered its contents with his help[5]; and then returning to his mother repeated his lesson and claimed his reward.

Field Sports.

For the deficiencies in Ælfred's education one reason assigned is the scarcity of 'good readers' in Wessex; another may have been the delicacy of his constitution, which was far from strong. On the other hand from an early age he was initiated in all the mysteries of the chase, on which he was held a great authority to the end of his days.[6] In 868, at the age of six-and-twenty, he married Æthelswyth, daughter of Æthelred, surnamed "Mucil," Ealdorman of the Gainas[7]; a match probably arranged by his sister the Queen of Mercia. In previous years he had been troubled with a *ficus*: the heavy carousals attendant on the wedding[8] were interrupted by an alarming attack, probably an epileptic fit, which for the time prostrated the young bridegroom. The fear of a recurrence of

[1] See the passage in Asser, very corruptly given in the *M. H. B.*, p. 474; the point however is clear, viz., that Ælfred was constantly lamenting "legere ut non poterat." Again we are told that his great delight was to get persons to read to him, p. 486, "non enim adhuc aliquid legere inceperat," 487. Here the "adhuc" may refer to the incident recorded of the 11th November, 887, when we are told that Alfred "legere et interpretari simul uno eodemque die primitus inchoavit," p. 491. But the incident as narrated was simply the starting of an album of Scriptural passages copied out by Asser for the king. Perhaps this was the first time that he thought of getting Latin writings translated.

[2] "Saxonicum poematicæ artis librum."

[3] "Quisquis vestrum discere citius istum codicem possit."

[4] "Pulchritudine principalis litteræ istius libri illectus."

[5] "Magistrum adiit et legit." Asser, *M. H. B.*, 474; Flor., *id.*, 556. The book need not have contained more than one lay; it need not have contained more matter than the "boke" of a charter contained. For Ælfred's age at the time see previous page, note 1. On the incident see Pauli, *Life of Alfred*, Wright's Transl., p. 86; Pearson, *Hist.*, I. 163; Green, *Conquest of E.*, p. 100.

[6] Asser, Flor.

[7] Asser, Flor., *in anno*. The name Mucil must not be taken as = *Muckle, Big*, nor must the district of the Gainas be identified with Gainsborough. H. Bradley, *Academy*, 1894, 2nd July; W. H. Stevenson, *Id.*, 30th June.

[8] "Post diuturna die noctuque convivia."

these attacks haunted him during the rest of his life.[1] But bodily infirmity seemed only to nerve the strength of his will.

The truce of Wilton gave Ælfred and Wessex a much needed breathing time of five years. In 872 the Danes removed from Reading to the neighbourhood of London, where they remained for a year under a truce with the Mercians.[2] The truce was doubtless an "appatisement"[3] such as we shall hear of in the 14th and 15th centuries, an arrangement under which the invaders agreed to respect a certain territory in consideration of a fixed subsidy or blackmail.

In 873, Middlesex having been well fleeced, Healfdene led his army northwards into Lindesey, where he wintered at "Turcesige," Torksey on the Trent.[4] In 874 he plunged westwards into the heart of Mercia. Burgred was driven from his throne, apparently without a struggle. Submitting tamely to his fate he retired to Rome, there shortly to die, the last of Mercian kings properly so called. But the Danes did not want to be troubled with the whole of Mercia. As on their first invasion of Northumbria they had set up a puppet king in Bernicia, so now they assigned part of Mercia to Ceolwulf, a Thegn or Minister of the late king.[5]

Break-up of Mercia.

The districts so assigned must have comprised Mercia proper, the territory of the Hwiccas, and Hecana, or Herefordshire; as we have an episcopal succession continuing at Lichfield, Worcester, and Hereford. On the other hand the See of Leicester removes to Dorchester, on the borders of Wessex; while that of Lindesey remains in abeyance for eighty years and upwards.[6] The lands appropriated by the Danes were grouped round Leicester, Nottingham, Derby,[7] Stamford and Lincoln; towns which became linked in a sort of confederation, known afterwards as the Five Burghs.[8]

The Five Burghs.

But the greater number of the Danes were not yet disposed to settle down as peaceful landowners. Having spent the winter of 874–875 at Repton, in the spring the more restless spirits divided into two bands, one moving northwards under Healfdene, the other southwards under Guthrum, Oskytel, and Amund.

Healfdene must have moved up the West coast, as we hear that, starting from Repton, he subdued all Northumbria, *i.e.* Bernicia; harried the Picts,

[1] Asser, 484, 485, 492. He describes the attacks as liable to recur up to the king's 45th year, the time when he was writing; but there is no evidence that they ceased after that time. Conf. Flor., *M. H. B.*, 556.

[2] Asser, Chron., Flor. [3] From the French *pâtis*. [4] *Id.*, and H. Hunt.

[5] Asser, Flor., Chron., A.D. 874; comparing the same, especially Florence, A.D. 877. [6] See *Registrum Sacr.*, pp. 12, 13, 163.

[7] The Danish "Deoraby" previously known as "Northworthige"; Æthelweard, *M. H. B.*, 513.

[8] Lapp., II. 48. These settlements however may not have been established till 876.

presumably the Galloway Picts; and the Strathclyde Britons.[1] We are also told that he destroyed Lindisfarne and all other monasteries from sea to sea, finally settling down for winter quarters at Tynemouth. At his coming Bishop Eardwulf of Lindisfarne fled with the precious body of St. Cuthberht, to wander from one refuge to another for some eight long years.[2]

To this year we may probably ascribe the destruction of Carlisle, which lay waste for upwards of 200 years, till rebuilt by Rufus in 1092.[3]

Throughout two-thirds of England the whole ostensible fabric of the Church had now fallen; and with it all the learning and civilization of the North. Of the art treasures of Benedict Biscop, of the libraries of Jarrow and York, we hear no more. The districts hitherto distinguished as the chief seats of English culture were once more reduced to barbarism.

Extinction of Civilization.

Nor had the districts North of the Cheviots escaped the visitation of the Scandinavian hosts, and more especially of those established in Ireland. Nay more the colonization of "Cait," or "Katanes" (Caithness), and "Sudrland" (Sutherland) would seem to have begun about this period.[4] Nevertheless to the South of Drumalban, otherwise the Month or Mount, *i.e.* the so-called Grampians, the nucleus of a kingdom destined to unite the later Scotland was beginning to emerge. About the year 842[5] Kenneth Mac Alpin, being king of the Dalriad Scots, succeeded to the Pictish kingdom of Fortrenn or Strathearn, and so united the two Thrones. In the seventh year of his reign he

Kenneth Mac Alpin.

[1] Æthelweard renders the Strathclyde "Wealas" of the A.S. Chronicles by "Cumbri," the first appearance of the Cumbrian name in this sense.

[2] See Asser, still the best account, copied by Florence; also Chron. A; Symeon, *Hist. Dunelm.*, II. c. 6. The slaughter of Picts by "Dubgallu," 'Black Strangers,' *i.e.* Danes, is also recorded by the Annals of Ulster under this year (875), Skene's *Chronicles of Picts and Scots*, p. 362. All the authorities make the year 875 begin with the winter quarters at Tynemouth, but the recorded winterings from 871 to 875 cannot be made out unless the winter 874-5 was spent at Repton.

[3] H. Hunt., A.D. 1092. Lindisfarne was certainly destroyed in this year. That Carlisle had been destroyed before Lindisfarne, may be inferred from the fact that when Bishop Eardwulf fled he was accompanied by Eadred, previously Abbot of Carlisle, who followed him for years. Sym., *sup.* The existence of an English monastery at Carlisle down to this period implies that so far Carlisle had not formed part of the kingdom of Strathclyde. Symeon expressly states that it was part of the diocese of Eardwulf; *Hist. Dun.*, II. c. 5. That in fact Anglican influence had extended northwards from Carlisle into Dumfriesshire may be inferred from the well-known crosses of English type at Thornhill and Ruthwell.

[4] *Circa* 875. See Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 326.

[5] The best datum for the chronology of Kenneth seems to be that afforded by the Annals of Ulster and Innisfallen, which state that he died in 858, correctly given as being also the year of the death of Æthelwulf. The various editions of the *Pictish Chronicle* give no date, but they all make Kenneth reign sixteen years. *Chron. Piets and Scots*, 8, 174, 361. Mr. Skene makes him reign 844-860: *Celtic Scotland*, I. 310, 313.

brought the relics of St. Columba from Iona 'to a church which he built.'[1] The church referred to appears to have been that at Dunkeld.[2] But in fact both Dunkeld and Kilrimont, otherwise St. Andrew's, had been founded before his time.[3] Kenneth, we are told, invaded 'Saxony' six several times, and burnt "Dunbarre," and "Marlos," obviously Melrose.[4] But he could not prevent the Strathclyde Britons from burning "Dubblain," or Dunblane; nor could he prevent the Danes harrying his kingdom and burning Dunkeld.[5] His dominions, however, must have included, besides his original Dalriada, or modern Argyllshire, the districts of Strathearn, Athole, Fife with Fothreeve (Kinross), Gowrie, Strathmore, Angus, and Kincardineshire.

Strathclyde. The kingdom of Strathclyde still held its own, as already shewn, although Ailcluyth had again been sacked, after a five months' siege, namely by Olaf the White, king of Dublin.[6] In the collapse of Northumbria it is not too much to suppose that the Britons had recovered the territory in Ayrshire wrested from them by Eadberht in 756. **Lothian.** Lothian, doubtless through the strength of its Anglic population, maintained its position as a semi-independent outlier of Northumbria. **Galloway.** Lastly, Galloway must have fallen back under native rule, the Anglican See of Whithern having come to an end about the beginning of the century, as already mentioned.

By the beginning of the year 876 the followers of Healfdene, having gleaned all there was to glean in the way of moveable property in the North, became disposed to settle down as owners or cultivators of the soil; and we are told that their leader began parcelling out the land among his people.[7] The districts appropriated lay in Deira, our Yorkshire, the contiguous parts of Mercia having been already occupied. The settlements in Cumberland probably fell later. But throughout a wide tract, from the bounds of Yorkshire to those of Warwickshire and Northamptonshire, the termination "by" (=burh=town) marks the lands taken by the invaders. In numberless cases the manor still retains the name of the original Scandinavian lord to whom it was assigned.[8]

[1] "Ad ecclesiam quam construxit." So the oldest MS. of the *Pictish Chronicle*, p. 8.

[2] Haddan & S., II. 118; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 310. With the Columban relics the primacy in the Scottish Church was transferred to Dunkeld. The Iona clergy, apparently disapproving of this, took part of the Columban relics to the recently founded church of Kells in Ireland, to be the chief Columban abbey. *Ib.*, *Ann. Ulst.*, 814–849.

[3] *Chron. Picts*, 173, comparing Skene, *sup.*, 296, 306; H. & S., 117. St. Andrew's must have been founded 731–747.

[4] *Chron. Picts*, 8. Under 761 Symeon records a battle between Æthelwald Moll of Northumbria and one Oswine at "Eldunum," which is glossed "Melros"; *Hist. Reg.*, 41. Melrose is quite near the Eildons.

[5] *Chron. Picts*, 8. [6] A.D. 870. *Ann. Ulst.*; *Ann. Cambriæ.*

[7] Asser; Chron., etc.

[8] See Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 48; Robertson, *Scotland Under Early Kings*, II. 434.

To return to the Southern column of the Danish force that broke up from Repton in the spring of 875. It marched into East Anglia, establishing itself for the winter at "Grantebrycge,"[1] Cambridge. The earthworks of the Castle Hill, piled up within the precincts of the Roman station, may date from this period.

But Guthrum was not yet prepared to settle down as a mere king of East Anglia. In 876 he embarked his army, largely reinforced from various quarters, and sailed down the South coast to join hands with a Western force.[2] Entering Poole harbour, he landed at Wareham, and established himself there again within old Roman works, between the Frome and the Piddle, adding a conical mound, as at Cambridge.[3] His 'Western' allies were probably connected with the men against whom Ælfred in the previous year is said to have contended at sea with some success. But it is clear that at this time the main tide of Northern emigration was setting on the coasts of Great Britain, Ireland and Gaul being left in comparative peace.

The Danes in Wessex.

From their post at Wareham the Danes overran all Dorsetshire. Ælfred met one band, and attempted to buy them out of the country. They closed with his terms, giving hostages, and pledging themselves to depart. The oath was sworn on a holy armlet dipped in blood,[4] their most solemn form of pledge. But when the money was paid they rode off to Exeter, and took up a fresh position there. In the spring the whole force came round from Wareham to Exeter, some by sea, and some by land. Ælfred followed the movements of the latter force without risking a general action. But the winds and the waves fought for him at sea, and the Danes lost 120 vessels off Swanage, in the Isle of Purbeck.[5]

Exeter.

But at Exeter again the Danes soon found themselves in straits for means, as fresh adventurers were perpetually coming in. About August part of the force marched northwards to Gloucester to harry the Mercian districts committed to Ceolwulf.[6] The rest stayed at Exeter till the 6th January, 878, when they departed to establish themselves at Chippenham. The natives then seemed to abandon the struggle in despair. Ælfred was driven to hide in the woods and swamps of Somerset; and Wessex for some months lay utterly prostrate. The prospect was indeed gloomy, as north of the Thames the Danes had advanced as far as the gates of London, holding the whole East coast.[7]

Chippenham.

The well-known tale of Ælfred and the cakes belongs to this period; but the original authority appears to be a legendary Life of St. Neot, of uncertain date.[8]

[1] Asser, Flor., Chron.

[2] "Conjecit statum communem cum occidentali exercitu"; Æthelweard, 515.

[3] Clark, *Mediæval Military Architecture*, I. 18.

[4] "On tham halgan beage": Chron. See the note in Thorpe's translation of the passage (Rolls edition).

[5] Chron., Flor.

[6] Asser, Chron., Æthelweard.

[7] H. Hunt.

[8] See *M. H. B.*, 480, and Preface, 79.

Affairs, however, soon began to take a turn. The Danes, out of reach of naval reinforcements, could not hold down Wessex for any length of time.

An English Success.

A brother of Healfdene and Ivar, after ravaging South Wales, ventured to land at Kenwith, near Bideford, on the coast of Devon, and was cut off.[1] The Raven banner, a precious trophy, fell into the hands of the English.[2] After Easter (23rd March) we find Ælfred fortifying a 'work,' as a rallying point, at Athelney, where the Tone, flowing northwards from Taunton, strikes the Parret, in the heart of a fen district impenetrable to cavalry. A jewel of blue enamel inclosed in a setting of gold, with the legend "ÆELFRED MEC' HEHT ĠEWYRCAN,"[3] found here in 1693, "recalls the memory of this gallant stand."[4] Adherents soon began to join the king. In the seventh week after Easter (5th–11th May), bursting from his hiding-place, he unfurled his standard at "Ecgbrihtestane," to the East of Selwood, a place identified with Brixton Deverill, near Warminster.[5] Here the men of our Hampshire could join the musters from Somerset and Wilts.

A day's march brought Ælfred from Brixton to "Iglea," probably Highley, just off the road to Chippenham, a mile and a half short of Melksham. Next day, leaving the road to Chippenham, Ælfred executed a flank movement to "Ethandune," now Heddington,[6] some eight miles off, where he took up his position on the slope of the Downs, facing Chippenham, to await the onslaught of the enemy. The struggle

Victory at Heddington.

proved long and obstinate, but the invaders were finally worsted, and obliged to fall back on their camp at Chippenham.[7] Fourteen days' beleaguerment brought them to terms. They gave hostages to evacuate Wessex. More remarkable was the undertaking given by Guthrum to conform to Christianity, doubtless as a pledge and earnest of his purpose of settling down as a peaceable English king. This promise was duly fulfilled within a few weeks.[8] Guthrum and thirty of his chief followers came to Aller, a few miles above Athelney, and were baptized, Ælfred standing sponsor for his rival, and giving him the name of Æthelstan. From Aller the party removed to Wedmore, near Wells, and there the chrysmal cloths of the neophytes were duly removed on the eighth

[1] Asser, Chron.

[2] "Thær waes se guðfana genumen the hie Hræfn heton." Chron. B, C, D. Mr. Freeman points out that "guthfana," 'battle-flag,' is the same word as "gonfalon." *O. E. H.*, 122.

[3] 'Ælfred bade me [be] wrought.'

[4] Green, *Conquest of England*, 110; Earle, *Parallel Chron.*, note. The jewel is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

[5] Earle, *sup.*

[6] For these and other less likely suggestions as to the sites of Iglea and Ethandune see Earle, *sup.* In Domesday Heddington appears as Edinton. *Ib.*

[7] Asser's narrative implies a retreat to an established position, as he tells us that Ælfred "ante portas Paganicæ arcis . . . castrametatus est." The Chronicles imply a retreat to some distance, as they say that Ælfred rode after the enemy.

[8] "Post hebdomadas septem." Flor., apparently from Asser. 'Within three weeks,' Chron.

day. Thus the pacification has since been known as the Treaty of Wedmore. For twelve days in all the Danes were entertained by the King of Wessex.[1]

Wessex Evacuated.

The evacuation of Wessex, however, was not effected in a day. The Danes remained at Chippenham over the winter of 878–879, of course living on the country. In 879 they moved to Cirencester, to quarter themselves on the unfortunate Ceolwulf. In 880 they finally went back to East Anglia. We are told that they proceeded to 'deal' out the land among themselves,[2] but, as already mentioned, the paucity of Danish names in East Anglia suggests that no extensive colonization took place in that quarter.

On the retirement of the Danes from South-Western Mercia Ælfred at once took possession of the country, placing it under the rule of the Ealdorman Æthelred,[3] to whom subsequently he gave his daughter Æthelflæd to wife. England was now roughly divided into three districts, Wessex, Mercia, and "Denalagu," or 'Dane-law,' *i.e.* the lands where Danish law prevailed.

The Tide Turned.

Thus the victory at Heddington, if not crushing, was at any rate decisive in its results. The tide of Danish conquest was arrested, and the future of Wessex, and through it of England, was assured.

For some fifteen years Wessex remained in peace, broken only by occasional hostilities.[4] In 882 we hear of a naval action with four hostile vessels: two were captured and two destroyed. Two years later a detachment from the forces that were overrunning the Netherlands sailed over from the Scheldt to the Medway, and laid siege to Rochester. Ælfred hastened to the rescue and drove the invaders back across the Channel.

An English Fleet.

Having a fleet at sea, he sailed on to punish the East Anglian Danes who had broken the truce. At the mouth of the Stour he destroyed thirteen "wicing" ships, but was finally repulsed by a superior armament gathered from various quarters.[5]

These actions give us a measure of what Ælfred could accomplish on the sea. He has been called the founder of the English Navy; he was certainly the first of English kings to attempt to defend his coasts at sea, but he had to enlist foreigners for the service:[6] and the reader may be

[1] Asser, Flor., Chron. The treaty between Ælfred and Guthrum, printed Schmid, p. 106, Thorpe, p. 66, and often called the Treaty of Wedmore, must be referred to a later date, probably 886. See Schmid's notes. For unction as part of the rite of baptism at this time see Earle's note, 307, citing Maskell. [2] Chron., etc.

[3] See *Codex Dip.* No. 311, A.D. 880; also No. 313; Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, II. p. 166, 172, etc. Oxfordshire, as well as the country of the Hwiccas, was under Æthelred's rule from the first. [4] Asser, Chron.

[5] A.D. 884, Asser. The Chronicles and Florence give the year as 885, but it must be read 884, as all agree that it was the year of the deaths of Pope Marinus and King Karlman. [6] Chron., A.D. 897.

told at once that down to the 16th century the existence of the Royal Navy was, at the best, but fitful and intermittent.

Within the next two years, however, Ælfred must have got the upper hand of Guthrum; as the well-known treaty between them, commonly supposed to have been executed at Wedmore in 878, seems to belong to this period. The Danish king agreed to keep to the East of a boundary line appointed to run as follows—namely, up the Thames to the mouth of the Lea; up the Lea to its source near Hertford; thence in a straight line to Bedford; and thence again up the Ouse to the Watling Street, near Stony Stratford.[1] Of any boundary further North nothing is said. That would be a boundary between Ælfred and the Mercian or Northumbrian Danes, and with that Guthrum was not concerned. Under this treaty London and the western half of the old kingdom of the East Saxons appear to have been made over to Ælfred. The treaty also provides for complete social equality between Englishmen and Danes, but forbids foreign enlistment, or intercourse with the other side except for commercial dealings. It was clearly by virtue of this treaty that Ælfred in 886 took peaceable possession of London, rebuilt it, and made it fit for habitation.[2] The Danes had left it a heap of ruins. As belonging to Mercia it was placed under the rule of Earldorman Æthelred.

Treaty of Wedmore.

London Rebuilt.

England South of the Tyne was now fairly ranged under two flags, if not divided into two kingdoms. All Angles and Saxons not under Danish subjection took Ælfred as their king. The Princes of South Wales accepted his supremacy to escape the hostilities both of his Mercian subjects, and of the North Welsh, who were allied with the Northumbrian Danes. But even the Princes of Gwynedd eventually found it politic to seek the court of the King of Wessex.[3] Moreover Ælfred had this further advantage, that his England was one state; the England of the Denalagu, as the Danish districts were collectively termed, was made up of many states, and within these the Christian element was beginning to assert itself. In 883 one Guthred, son of Hardacnut had been chosen King of Northumbria, that is to say of Deira, in succession to Healfdene, who had fallen on a last naval expedition. Guthred, we are told, was in slavery at Whittingham, near Alnwick, at the time of his election. He was, however, of royal birth, and owed his election to the Christians, his promotion having been moved by Eadred, the former Abbot of Carlisle, who was still with the relics of St. Cuthbert at Craik. Guthred at once rewarded his sup-

The England of 886.

Guthred King.

[1] See the treaty, Schmid, 106; Thorpe, 66. I agree with Mr. Green that it must have been executed about the year 886: *Conquest of England*, 149. Of the boundary between Ælfred and the Northern Danes nothing is said, as that did not concern Guthrum. [2] "Londoniam civitatem honorifice restauravit et habitabilem fecit." Asser. [3] Asser, 488.

porters by re-establishing the See of Lindisfarne, and the bones of St. Cuthbert, at Chester-le-Street, near Durham.[1] Lindisfarne would be too far from Guthred's seat of influence; it was exposed to inroads from the Scots; and Bernicia at this time was ruled by native chiefs in friendly relations with the House of Wessex, probably by Eadulf of Bamborough.[2]

The years of tranquillity that followed the retirement of Guthrum from Mercia enabled Ælfred to turn his attention to those peaceful labours with which his name is so intimately associated. The amount to be done was appalling. All regard for law and order had disappeared. Many of the towns were in ruins; whole tracts of land lay wasted. Learning had so utterly perished that even men who could read, at any rate men who could read Latin so as to understand what they read, were not to be found in Wessex.[3] In reorganizing his military system, rebuilding towns, building ships, and fortifying strongholds, Ælfred only did what other kings have been prompt to do. But we note as singularly characteristic of England the apathy on the part of his subjects with which Ælfred had to contend in his efforts to make them arm betimes against future contingencies. The possibility of foreign invasion has always been the thing that Englishmen are most loth to contemplate or provide against. So now Ælfred was the only man in his kingdom who was not lulled into false security by the clearing of the horizon. He and he alone saw that the storm might break out afresh at any moment. We are told that bishops, ealdormen, and thegns had not only to be sharply reprimanded, but even at times actually punished for wilful neglect of orders in these matters.[4]

Military Reorganization.

We may point out that the infliction of punishment on an ealdorman or a bishop implied an ascendancy hardly to be paralleled among Anglo-Saxon kings.

But Ælfred's zeal for education, for the diffusion of useful knowledge, for the cultivation of the mother tongue, were all his own. The writing of English prose dates from his time. Before him all prose writing was in Latin. After him we have a continuous succession of English prose writers. But for teachers for himself and his people Ælfred had, in the first instance, to look outside of Wessex. Among the first men of letters invited to his court were four Mercian priests—Western

Education.

[1] Symeon, *H. D. E.*, 68, 203; *H. R.*, 114, 377, etc. Eardwulf was still Bishop. *Reg. Sacr.* Guthred's donation is represented as extending to all the land between the Tyne and Wear to the East of "Deorestrete," *i.e.* the Watling Street—a debatable land perhaps between Deira and Bernicia.

[2] Sym., I. 209 (*Hist. S. Cuthbert*). We have seen that the Danes kept out of Bernicia, appointing under-kings there: first Ecgberht, then Ricsig, and lastly another Ecgberht (A.D. 876). Sym., II. 111. From the time of his death (878) we know nothing of Bernicia till we come to Eadulf, of whom we only know that he was allied with Ælfred (Sym., *sup.*), and died in 912 (Æthelweard, *M. H. B.*, 520). His son Ealdred succeeded him.

[3] So the Preface to Ælfred's Translation of S. Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, cited Stubbs, *C. H.*, I. 238; and Asser, 474.

[4] Asser, 492, 493.

Mercia having suffered less from Danish ravages than any other part of England. These men were Werfrith, Bishop of Worcester; Plegmund, appointed Archbishop of Canterbury (890–891); and two of lesser note, by name Æthelstan and Werwulf. The revival of learning began under the primacy of Plegmund. From across the Channel Grimbald, from the Abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer, and John 'the Old Saxon'[1] accepted invitations to the Court of Wessex. These two were monks; the former specially skilled in chaunting and learned in matters of ritual. He was made Abbot of the king's New Minster at Winchester, placed alongside of the Old Minster, or Cathedral Church. His acquaintance with Ælfred was said to date from the time of the king's first journey to Rome,[2] a further proof that Ælfred was more than five years old at that time. Lastly we have Bishop Asser, originally of St. David's, and afterwards of Sherborne,[3] Ælfred's biographer, who was brought from Wales to act as reader to the king.

Werfrith. Plegmund. **Grimbald.** **John the Saxon.** **Asser.**

Through these men Ælfred established his school, which the nobility were invited to attend; and through them he gave to the world the works that bear his name. None of these are original compositions; they are one and all translations of books of established reputation. The list comprises the *Epitome of Orosius*, as a manual of general history; the *Consolation of Philosophy* of Boethius, as an ethical work; the *Pastoral* of Gregory, as a theological text-book; the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bæda, as a national record. Passages clearly dictated by the king reveal his own co-operation in the work.[4]

To Ælfred's zeal for national history and native literature we owe the first of our vernacular chronicles, the Winchester Chronicle, which, whether originally composed in English or not, undoubtedly owes its actual form to Ælfred.[5]

The Winchester Chronicle.

A Code of Laws was also published by the king, compiled from the Codes of Æthelberht, Ine, and Offa, with some fifty provisions taken directly from the Book of Exodus.[6] But he attempted no original legislation, because, as he tells us with characteristic modesty, he knew not 'how it might like them that came after

Laws of Ælfred.

[1] "Of Corvey in Old Saxony." Lapp., II. 69. The reader will not follow William of Malmesbury in confounding John the Saxon with John Scotus Erigena, the great intellectual light of the age, an Irishman, as his surname indicates, though his history is connected with the Court of Charles the Bald.

[2] See Bishop Stubbs, W. Malm., *G. R.*, II. xliii., etc.

[3] After 892; *Reg. Sacrum.*

[4] See Green, *Conquest of England*, 162, 163; W. Malm., *G. R.*, II. s. 123.

[5] The Winchester Chronicle, prior to the year 887, at any rate the part common to Asser (849–887), appears to have been originally composed in Latin, as embedded in Asser. The Chronicle in several places obscures the sense by mistranslations, the text in Asser being free from ambiguity.

[6] Schmid, p. 58; Thorpe, p. 20.

him.'[1] But the mere fact of the fusion of 'dooms' from Kent, Wessex, and Mercia to make one common law for all Englishmen, marked a distinct step in the direction of unification.[2]

Judicial Work.

Judicial business occupied a large portion of Ælfred's time. Appeals to him must have been endless, as we are told that in the inferior courts the conflicting interests of the upper and the lower classes led to such contentions that no decisions gave satisfaction except those of the king.[3] In deciding cases we hear again, to his honour be it told, that Ælfred was most anxious to protect the interests of the down-trodden peasantry, 'because in that country the poor had no friend but the king.'[4]

In Asser's account of these matters two further points seem to come out clearly:

(1) That the ealdormen (*comites*) and reeves (*præpositi*) held office by the king's gift—"*Dei dono et meo.*"

(2) That however popular the forms of procedure might be, the king held the presiding officers (*judices*) and them only as responsible for the decisions of their courts.

Jealousy of Magnates.

Ælfred's interference with the patriarchal government of the magnates must have been bitterly resented by them. These feelings seem to find expression in the *Lives of St. Neot*, himself a kinsman of the king, where we notice a distinct disposition to disparage Ælfred.[5] In his own works he complains of 'sorrow' from his own kindred.[6]

The King's Expenditure.

In dividing his day between his numerous duties Ælfred had no clock to tell the hours for him. Time was marked by the burning of wax tapers of definite weight and length, the flame being protected from the draughts that pervaded hall and chapel by the wonderful contrivance of a horn lantern. His revenue was apportioned no less methodically than his time. Asser gives us the heads of the Royal expenditure, which in the first instance was broadly divided between civil and charitable purposes. The Civil List comprised three heads, namely Household, Public Works, Largess to Foreigners. The maintenance of the Royal School and the Royal foundations at Athelney and Shaftesbury ranked as charitable expenditure.[7]

[1] Schmid, p. 68; Thorpe, p. 26. [2] Green, *Conquest of England*, 145.

[3] "Propter nobilium et ignobilium utilitatem qui sæpissime in concionibus comitum et præpositorum pertinacissime inter se dissentiebant." Asser, 497. [4] *Ib.*

[5] See Gale, *Scriptores Quindecim*, I. 167; J. Whitaker, *Life St. Neot*, Append., 333, 348, 353. These *Lives*, however, are hardly worth quoting; one makes St. Neot a contemporary of Elphege of Winchester, another of St. Dunstan, both belonging to the 10th century.

[6] Ælfred's Boethius, in Sharon Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, II. 43, cited Green.

[7] Asser, 495. If only the good Bishop had given us the total of the Revenue for any one year our gratitude would know no bounds.

The king's difficulties at Athelney illustrate the complete decay of Monasticism in England. Having founded a monastery there, he could get no grown-up Englishmen to enter it. Boys he got to be trained up for the future, but for the immediate services of the church monks had to be brought over from the continent. John the Old Saxon was placed at their head. With his nunnery at Shaftesbury Ælfred had less difficulty, his daughter Æthelgifu being appointed abbess.[1]

Ælfred has been credited with the introduction into England of the divisions of our shires, hundreds and tithings.[2] The word "scir" or 'division' was applied in different parts of the country to very different things. But taking the word in its common acceptation as denoting a county, the original shires represented the primitive kingdoms or settlements; and so the shires in the South of England do to this day. Ælfred, of course, did not introduce these. In Mercia the original tribal subdivisions were effaced by the Danish conquest. The existing shire-divisions must have been introduced after the re-conquest by Wessex in the 10th century; the arrangement of the Northumbrian counties came still later, Yorkshire being "the only one of the existing subdivisions which dates as a shire before the Conquest."[3] In all this Ælfred can have had no hand. With respect to hundreds and tithings we have seen that these were part of the primitive Germanic constitution. William of Malmesbury, however, seems to ascribe to Ælfred the development of this organization, of which we shall hear as "frithborh," or 'peace-pledge,' mis-rendered 'frankpledge.'[4] Under this system the members of each tithing were made standing bail for the appearance of each member to answer any charge or demand. But this institution is clearly of later date than the time of Ælfred. Nevertheless in his legislation we seem to trace an intermediate stage between this, the latest development, and the original form of the arrangement under which the relations ("mægas"), and the relations only, were interested in the doings of the family-member to the extent of sharing in the fines due to or by him. Ælfred enacts that 'if a man who has no father-kin ("fædren-mægas") fights and kills a man, then, if he have mother-kin ("medren-mægas"), let them pay one-third of the "wer," the "gegyldan" another third, and for the remaining third let the man himself flee. If he have no mother-kin then let the "gegyldan" pay half and for half let him flee.'[5] This seems to be the first appearance of a class of "gegyldan," persons jointly interested in paying and receiving, outside the pale of the family.[6]

Ælfred's Enactments.

[1] Asser, 495. [2] Kemble, *Saxons*, I. 247.

[3] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, I. 122 (ed. 1883).

[4] "Centurias quas dicunt hundrez, et decimas quas thethingas vocant, instituit, ut omnis Anglus, legaliter duntaxat vivens, haberet et centuriam et decimam. Quod si quis alicujus delicti insimularetur, statim ex centuria et decima exhiberet qui eum vadarentur, etc." *G. R.*, II. p. 186. [5] *Laws*, c. 27.

[6] We have "gegyldan" mentioned in the *Laws of Ine*, cc. 16, 22; but there they are

If this was due to Ælfred it would account for the tradition attributing "frithborh" to him.

But the organization of the hundreds and tithings was also directly connected with the "fyrd" or host; and in this respect it is highly probable that Ælfred did introduce reforms, perhaps by rearranging the hundreds, but certainly by insisting upon the proper complement of defensible men being forthcoming in each district.[1] From the prominence given in the records of the later military operations of the reign to 'kings' thegns' we may further gather that Ælfred endeavoured to keep the force more under his own control by appointing the subordinate officers as well as the ealdormen, instead of leaving the appointment of the subordinates to the ealdormen. It further appears that he sought to arrange a system of reliefs by providing that one-third of the force should be liable for active service in the field; another third for garrison duty; while the remainder stayed at home.[2]

Military Reorganization.

Another development of the Royal authority may be traced in the gradual disuse as from this time of the recital of the sanction of the Witan in charters granting lands to be held as "bôcland." Hitherto the theory had been that the special privileges of booklands could not be conferred without the assent of the community. From the middle of the 9th century the king does it of his own sole authority.[3] Strangers and travellers were always welcome at the court of Ælfred. With Rome he appears to have kept up a more regular intercourse than any of his predecessors. From Pope Marinus he obtained sundry privileges in favour of the Saxon School at Rome.[4] We also hear of an interchange of letters with Abel, the Patriarch of Jerusalem[5]; and, most interesting to tell, of alms sent to the Christians of Southern India, known as the Christians of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew.[6] This must have been quite the first subscription sent by any Englishman to Indian missions.

Foreign Relations.

But Ælfred was not destined to end his days without further trouble. In 892[7] his peaceful labours were interrupted by the contingency to which he doubtless had looked forward with constant dread: that of the renewal of the Danish incursions. Gaul had never been free from their hateful presence. In fact for fifty years[8] she had endured them, now in the Garonne, now in the Seine, now in the

Fresh Inroads.

clearly identical with the "mægas." Kemble, *Saxons*, I. 200. On this most difficult subject the reader may compare the article "Rechtsburgschaft" in Schmid's Glossary to his *A. S. Laws*.

[1] See Gneist, *Engl. Const.*, I. 7, 48.

[2] Chron., A.D. 894. So with the officers of the Household; they were on duty by turns for one month in three; Asser, 495.

[3] See Earle, *Land Charters*, p. xx.

[4] Chron. A, A.D. 885, 888, 889.

[5] Asser, 492 (A.D. 882–884).

[6] Chron. E, A.D. 883. For these Christians Sir T. D. Hardy refers to La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, 1758. See also S. Wheeler, *Academy*, 27 August, 1892.

[7] Given as 893, Chron.

[8] Say from 843, the year of the Treaty of Verdun.

Somme or the Scheldt, with permanent head-quarters in the Loire. It was natural to anticipate that if at any time Gaul would no longer hold them, they might fall back upon Britain. In 890 an important division, expelled from Brittany, made their way round into Brabant, where they established a standing camp at Louvain. There again they were signally defeated by Count Arnulf[1] on the river Dyle (1 Sept., 891), a great day in Flemish history. In February, 892, they finally retired from Flanders, but only to turn up in England.[2]

Two forces landed on the South coast: one of 250 ships, perhaps commanded by Biörn Jærnside, "the pupil and companion in arms" of the celebrated Hasten[3]; the other of 80 vessels, led by Hasten himself. The former entered the old Roman Portus Lemanis, and, sailing up the river Limen, now silted up and dry,[4] established themselves at Appledore; while Hasten, entering the Thames, entrenched himself at Milton ("Middeltune"). In these quarters apparently the invaders spent the winter 892–893.[5]

Hasten.

The spring of 893 ushered in a struggle of a desperate character, hard to follow, though not badly recorded by the chroniclers. Ælfred had taken up a position between the two forces, to hold them in check, and prevent combined action. About Easter (31st March) the bulk of the Appledore force left their camp, and, threading the by-paths of the Forest of Andered, burst into Hampshire and Berks. But at Farnham they were met and checked by the king's son Eadweard, who had been posted on the north frontier, probably to watch the movements of the Mercian Danes. Driven backwards, the enemy retired along the London road, finally crossing the Thames, and taking up a position in the swamps of Thorney Island,[6] *i.e.* Westminster. Here their retreat was cut off by Æthelred the Mercian Ealdorman, who was in command in London. The Danes then opened negotiations, and a treaty was made under which they retired to Mersea Island, at the mouth of the Colne; the ships and the camp-guard left at Appledore joining them there.[7] Meanwhile the king had come to terms with Hasten, who accepted a subsidy to evacuate Wessex, surrendering on his part his two sons for

The Danes Checked.

[1] "Earnulf cyning," Chron. See Lapp., I. 341.

[2] See Martin, *France*, II. 427–491. *Ann. S. Vedast.*, Pertz, I. 528.

[3] So Lapp., II. 75, citing Guido *apud* Alberic, A.D. 895.

[4] See Mr. Earle's note in his *Parallel Chronicles*, p. 315.

[5] Chronicle E gives the year of the landing as 892; the other chronicles give 893. But A entirely omits the year 892, while C and D fill up the gap by ascribing the Danish defeat at Louvain to that year, which is certainly wrong. Æthelweard tells us that the invasion came in the year after that battle—"*post annum.*"

[6] "Temesæ ad partes Boreæ . . . in Thornige insula pali."

[7] Æthelweard. Conf. Chron. A. On the map a mound is marked on Mersea Island facing the approach from the mainland.

baptism. Ælfred stood sponsor for the one and Æthelred of Mercia for the other.[1]

Wessex was now once more clear of invaders. But the English thought themselves bound to follow up their advantage. Hasten, no doubt, had evacuated Wessex only by crossing the Thames to Benfleet. It may be that Ælfred did not consider this a proper fulfilment of the treaty: it may be that he had stipulated for a complete evacuation of Britain. Anyhow the English invaded the friendly territory of East Anglia, whereby the English Danes were brought into the field,[2] and the war assumed much larger proportions. An English detachment laid siege to Mersea; but before they had effected anything their time of service was up, and they marched home. Ælfred was coming to relieve them with the 'shires' that followed his personal banner, when he heard that a Northumbrian fleet was ravaging the coasts of Devon, and in fact besieging Exeter. Of course he had to hurry back to the relief of Exeter; but part of his force went on to assist the Londoners in reducing Benfleet, where the invading head-quarters were now established.

Ælfred on the Offensive.

The next news was that the indomitable Hasten had sallied from Benfleet to lead Northumbrian and East Anglian allies on a wild raid up the valley of the Thames. But by the time that he had reached the basin of the Severn the whole West country had been raised against him. 'There were gathered Æthelred the Ealdorman (of Mercia), and Æthelhelm the Ealdorman (of the Wilsætas), and Æthelnoth the Ealdorman (of the Sumorsætas?)[3]; and the king's Thegns that at home were in the works, from every burh East of Parret, and as well from West as from East of Selwood; and eke from North of Thames, and from West of Severn, and eke some deal of the North Welsh kin.'[4]

Raids of Hasten.

Hasten was followed up till he came to a stand at 'Buttingtune on Severn bank,' *i.e.* Buttington in Montgomeryshire, near Welshpool.[5] There he was kept beleaguered for some weeks, till most of his horses had been eaten, and then, starvation staring him in the face, he broke out and

[1] See the Chron. and Florence, the latter the better account of the two.

[2] The Chronicle in a general way charges the East Anglian Danes with having assisted their countrymen at Appledore and Milton, but nothing definite is brought home to them till after the attacks on Mersea and Benfleet.

[3] Freeman, *O. E. H.*, 136. [4] Chron.

[5] Two other places have been suggested, viz. Boddington, near Cheltenham, which may be dismissed as not being on the Severn; and Buttinton in Tidenham, opposite Chepstow, between the Wye and Severn, for which Mr. Earle contends (*Parrallel Chron.*, 318). But the Severn at that point is an estuary some two miles wide. How could the English blockade Hasten if he had got across such a piece of water? At Buttington, Montgomeryshire, both the Dane and his besiegers would be on the east bank of the river.

attacked his besiegers on the east bank of the Severn. A desperate engagement ensued, in which many King's Thegns are admitted to have fallen; but Hasten cut his way out, and, according to all the authorities, retreated to his ships in Essex; and then, again, before winter, started on a fresh raid across Mercia, all the way to Chester.[1]

Action at Buttington.

This sounds almost too much, even for a Hasten; especially when we consider that if he made his way from Buttington direct to Chester, he would only have forty miles of road to traverse. But it is clear that whether after an intermediate ride to Essex or not, he took up his quarters for the winter in the ruined city of Chester, where again the old Roman walls supplied him with fortifications ready-made.[2]

Chester Re-occupied.

Meanwhile Benfleet had been reduced by the English. Hasten's wife and sons having been captured, these were sent to Ælfred, to serve as a basis for future negotiations with the veteran chief. The relics of the Benfleet force, however, again succeeded in drawing off to Shoebury ("Sceobyrig") where they established a fresh stronghold.[3]

The year 894 proved a much less busy one, both sides being probably exhausted by their previous exertions. Ealdorman Æthelred kept Hasten pretty closely confined to his walls at Chester, wasting the country far and near to cut off his supplies. In the spring Hasten abandoned Chester and moved into North Wales. But even the North Welsh, as we have seen, had begun to believe in Ælfred. Getting no support in Wales, Hasten drew off into Northumbria, and so made his way round through friendly territory into Essex. Dissatisfied with the position at Mersea, he boldly brought all his ships round into the Thames, and then, towing them up the Lea ("Lygan"), established a new position, probably at Walbury Camp, on the Stort, near Little Hallingbury, twenty-eight miles from London.[4] This move suggests that Hasten clung to the hope of a pacific settlement in Essex.

Hasten up the Lea.

Through the first half of the year 895[5] the Danes held their own against the Londoners; but during harvest time Ælfred came forward to protect his subjects while engaged in reaping. Riding along the river bank, we are told, he was struck with the idea of depriving the enemy of one means of locomotion, by drawing a dam across the stream below

[1] "Anre ceastre on Wirhealum, seo is Lega ceaster gehaten." Chron. "Wirhealum" is the hundred of Wirral, between the Dee and Mersey. "Civitatem Legionum . . . Saxonice Legeceastre." Flor.

[2] Chron., Flor. Chester must have lain waste since the days of Æthelfrith, A.D. 613.

[3] A.D. 893 (given as 894), Chron., Flor. Traces of works are found at Shoebury, but not at Benfleet.

[4] These remarkable earthworks, which enclose some thirty acres, are the only fortifications traceable on the line of the Lea. The Chronicle gives the distance as twenty miles from London, but this discrepancy is not serious.

[5] Given as 896, Chron.

them, so as to cut off their ships from the sea. This having been accomplished, the Danes, as if convinced that they were not to be allowed to settle so near the borders of Wessex, began to withdraw from their camp. The bolder spirits started on a fresh raid through Mercia to the Severn, which they struck at "Cwatbrycge,"[1] otherwise Quatford, two miles below Bridgenorth, where they built a 'work,' in which they wintered. The 'work' is yet there, on a rocky promontory overlooking the river, a little above the site of the old bridge. It might accommodate perhaps 200 men.[2]

He is Driven from Essex.

Next summer the raiders made a final move back, *viâ* Northumbria, to the East coast, and the army broke up. Those who had saved something out of booty apparently invested it in stocking land, and settled down as farmers in Northumbria or East Anglia; those who were penniless again enlisted for service abroad, and 'fared south over sea to [the] Seine'; and there, sure enough, we find them reappearing at this very time.[3] 'Thanks to God, they had not utterly broken the Angle-kin, but were themselves much more broken, with loss of cattle and men.'[4] The English, however, must have suffered terribly. Among the recorded losses of the four years were the Bishops of Rochester and Dorchester, the Ealdormen of Kent, Essex, and Hampshire (*Hamtunscire*). the King's Thegn of Sussex, the Town Reeve of Winchester, etc., etc.[5] But the completeness of the riddance effected reveals the strength that Wessex had gained under Ælfred. The supremacy of the Southern kingdom could only now be a question of time.

English Losses.

The embers of war flickered on through the summer of 896 in the shape of desultory landings on the South coast. These deserve notice as bringing out once more the king's inventive resource. To master the Danish vessels he had ships built twice the size of theirs, with sixty oars and more, and made after a new model of his own designing, higher out of the water, and unlike either the Frisian or the Danish ships.[6] But Frisian seamen had to be enlisted to make up the crews. The king's ships, however, do not appear to have been quite a success. A detailed account of an engagement fought either in the Solent or Southampton Water shows that nine of the big new ships had much ado in coping with six of the Danish craft, the big ships being unmanageable, and getting aground in water where the Danes could move

Ælfred builds Ships.

[1] Chron. A and B; "æt Bricge," C.

[2] Clark, *Military Antiquities*, I. 282, and the 6-inch ordnance map. When another bridge was built higher up the Severn, the latter was distinguished as the "Bridge North." The Danish stronghold consists of a conical mound, with a small camp attached.

[3] A.D. 896 (given as 897) Chron.; A.D. 896 *Ann. S. Vedast.*, Pertz, I. 530.

[4] Chron. [5] Chron.

[6] See Append. A to this chapter.

and act.[1] However in one way or another twenty Danish vessels were destroyed in the course of the summer.[2] With these events the records of the reign come practically to an end; but we gather from a reference incidentally made to the restitution of Hasten's wife and sons that some general pacification must have taken place.[3] It would also seem that at the death of Guthred (894), the Christian Dane who ruled at York, Ælfred was able to exercise some influence in Northumbrian affairs, at least so far as to obtain some recognition of suzerainty between the contending factions of English and Danes. But for ten years the country must have been in a state of utter anarchy, no king being recorded till we come to Reignwald, a pagan, in 912.[4]

A Pacification.

About the 28th October, 900, the great king was gathered to his fathers, after a well-spent reign of nine-and-twenty years and six months. He was buried at Winchester, in the New Minster founded by himself, and completed by his son. The abbey is also spoken of as Grimbald's Minster, from the fact that he was the first abbot.[5] By his Will, made in the time of Archbishop Æthelred (870–889), and duly published in a witenagemot, Ælfred disposed of his private possessions in land and money, leaving the largest share of each to his two sons, but not forgetting his wife or his daughters, or in fact anybody immediately connected with him. The sons got in money £500 each; the ladies £100 each; charitable and other legacies bring up the total to something under £2,000 in all. 'Truly,' adds the king, in his simple, straightforward style, 'I ne wot not if there be so much.'[6]

Death of Ælfred.

Ælfred's legislation, as already mentioned, does not profess to introduce much that is new. Two further points, however, besides those already touched upon, may be noticed as disclosing a development of central authority. In his Laws we have the first mention of a king's prison—"carcerne"—a loan-word clearly pointing to the foreign origin of the practice of incarceration. Imprisonment, however, is not prescribed as a legal penalty, but as a mode of forcing a man into doing what is right.

Prisons.

Again in Ælfred's Laws we have the first notice of a king's "gerefa,"

[1] Chron. A. The action seems to have been witnessed by the writer. All the entries for the last four years must have been written up very soon after the events. [2] *Id.*

[3] Flor., A.D. 894. Conf. Chron.

[4] Symeon, *H. D. E.*, 71; Chron. and Flor., A.D. 894; Æthelweard, *M. H. B.*, 518, 519.

[5] W. Malm., *G. R.*, p. 193; Æthelweard; Florence. Ælfred's Minster was built on the north side of, and in very close proximity to, the Old Minster, in consequence whereof it was removed in 1110 to the Hyde Mead, outside the city, and from that time was known as Hyde Abbey. See W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 124; *Ann. Winton., in anno*, and *Liber de Hyda*, xlv. (Rolls Series, Nos. 36 and 45); also the plan of Winchester below, vol. II. For the date of Ælfred's death see Append. B to this chapter.

[6] See the Will, *Cod. Dip.* No. 314; and Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 144; also given with a translation *Liber de Hyda*, 52, 62, 327; and again Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, II. 176, etc.

[7] Cap. 1, ss. 2, 6.

an officer who might preside in the "folces gemote," presumably in the absence of the ealdorman.[1] As every large landowner would have a "gerefa," a reeve, steward, or bailiff to look after his interests in each manor, so the king would have a "scir-gerefa," or sheriff, to look after his interests in the county. But from the passages cited we find that as early as the time of Ælfred police and magisterial duties had been added to the original fiscal functions of the sheriff. Originally an *adlatus* to the ealdorman, in course of time he relieved him of almost all his authority.

Sheriffs.

As evidence, perhaps, of the growth of the commerce of the Port of London, we have the establishment of a new wharf, partly enclosed by a wall, just below the present Blackfriars. This was the work of Ælfred's son-in-law, the Ealdorman of Mercia, and after him was named "Æthelredys Hythe."[2]

By Æthelswyth, or Ealhswyth, who survived him (she died 905, Chron.), Ælfred had issue :—

(1) Æthelflæd, married to Æthelred, Ealdorman of the Mercians, by whom she had an only child, a daughter, Ælfwyn. Æthelred died in 912; Æthelflæd in 919.[3]

(2) EADWEARD.

(3) Æthelgifu, Abbess of Shaftesbury.

(4) Ælfthryth, married to Baldwin II., Count of Flanders, the son of Baldwin I. and Queen Judith. By this marriage Ælfthryth was destined to become the ancestress of Matilda, the wife of the Conqueror.[4]

(5) Æthelweard, died 16th October, 923.[5] He left two sons, Ælfwine and Æthelwine, who both fell in the battle of Brunnanburh.[6] Æthelweard, who perhaps inherited his father's taste for books, was taught Latin. The education of the elder brother was not carried beyond the mother tongue, but he was carefully trained in all the duties of his station.[7]

APPENDIX A TO CHAPTER XV

AN actual Wicking ship, found buried on the sea-shore at Gokstad in 1880, may be seen in the Museum at Christiania, in a very fair state of preservation. It is built of oak, about 78 feet long, and 16 feet wide, and 4 feet deep amidships. It has a high pointed stem and stern, getting wider and lower in the middle, just like a modern Norwegian rowing-boat. It has no deck, but a deck-house amidships, and one mast with a square sail. It is pierced for 16 oars on each side, with slides to close the little port-holes when the oars were not being used. It was steered by a rudder awkwardly rigged on the right-hand quarter, *i.e.* the "starboard" or "steerboard" quarter. The shields appear to have been set up on the gunwale on either side, being equal in number to that of the port-holes. The owner, who was buried in the ship, has been identified with one Anlaif —'The Garstead Elf'—a ninth century hero. Another vessel of the period has since been found buried in the Nydam Moss in South Jutland. It is 77 feet long, but only 10 feet

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[1] cc. 22, 34. [2] See *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,074, A.D. 899. [3] Below.

[4] Asser, 485; Æthelweard, 499; Florence; W. Malm., *G. R.*, 193; Freeman, *O. E. H.*, 138; Lapp., II. 85.

[5] Florence. [6] W. Malm., *G. R.*, p. 218. [7] Asser, 485.

10 inches wide. Like the other vessel, it is built of oak. The planks are fastened to each other with iron nails, but are attached to the ribs by ropes passed through projecting "lugs" left in the planking. It has no keel. It is now at Flensborg. *Academy*, 28th March, 1896. The reader will notice that if Ælfred's ships had sixty oars they are rightly described as being twice the size of the Northern craft. I do not think that we need estimate for the Gokstad ship more than a man to each oar, a steersman, and perhaps two or three more—say 35 men a-ship.

APPENDIX B TO CHAPTER XV

Date of Ælfred's Death

ABOVE, pp. 247, 265, the 28th October, 900, is given as the date of Ælfred's death. For the day of the month I was in doubt between the statements of the Chronicles A, B, C, and D, and Æthelweard that he died 'six' nights before All Saints' Day, or *VII. Kal. Nov.* (= 26th October); and the datum of the same Chronicles that Æthelstan, who passed away on the 27th October, 940 (*VI. Kal. Nov.*), died "butan anre niht" of the day of Ælfred's death, apparently = 28th October. But my attention has since been called to the obits in the Calendars found in the MSS. Bodl. Junius 27; Cott. Galba A XVIII.; Titus D XXVII.; and Tiberius B. V.; which settle the question in favour of the 26th October (see Mr. W. H. Stevenson, *English History Review*, XIII. 71). As for the year, the date that has usually passed current is 901, accepted on the strength of the *primâ facie* evidence of the A.S. Chronicles and Florence who give that year. But it has been shewn that the date is simply due to the misplacement of a marginal year in the Winchester Chronicle, whereby the latter part of the entry for 891 came to be taken as the annal for 892, and then the record for 892 was entered under 893, and so on down to 929 (see Mr. Stevenson, above; and Mr. Plummer's notes to his ed. of the Chronicles, A.D. 891). When this error has been corrected the witness of the Chronicles comes to be for the year 900. This is borne out by a testimony that alone should be conclusive, namely, that of two charters of the very year 900, when, as they tell us, Ælfred died and his son Eadweard 'took the kingdom' (*Cod. Dip.* Nos. 1,076, 1,077). There we shall find this Eadweard dying late in 924, after a reign of 24 years (see *Errata* to p. 277), showing an accession in 900; and again we have Æthelstan dying 27th October, 940, 'forty winters within a night from the time of Ælfred's death,' the Chronicles thus ignoring their own miswritten 901, and taking 900 as the known date of the death. Against this year, however, support is found for 899. First there is the statement of the Chronicles that Ælfred reigned 28½ years, supposed to date from 971, the undoubted year of his predecessor's death. Then Æthelweard asserts that Eadweard the Elder was crowned on Whitsunday (June 8), 900, throwing back his father's death to 899 at any rate. Thirdly, Symeon, representing an old North country chronicle, gives 899, three times over, as the year of Ælfred's death; *Hist. Regg.* 90 and 120; *H. D. E.* 71 (see Mr. Stevenson, *sup.*). But we do not know from what point of time the 28½ years were dated. They may have been reckoned from Ælfred's coronation, and that may have been delayed for a year by the troubles of the period. In the case of Æthelstan the Chronicles give a length of reign that implies an accession a full year later than that asserted by the King's own charters. They must have reckoned from some unrecorded coronation in Wessex, that may have been delayed till 925, by the opposition of Ælfweard and Ælfred. The hallowing on record took place at Kingston-on-Thames, outside the limits of Wessex, and would *primâ facie* stand as a recognition by Mercia, as pointed out in the text. As for Æthelweard, his chronology is throughout confused and inaccurate. He seems to place Ælfred's death four years after that of Guthred of Northumbria = 898. He gives 926 instead of 924 as the years of the death of Eadweard and the accession of Æthelstan; and as for Symeon on this question the authority of the Northern chronicle cannot be set against that of the South country records. See also my communication on the subject to the *Athenæum* of the 2nd July, 1898. I learn from Mr. Stevenson, *Athenæum*, 16th July, 1898, that the *Red Book of Canterbury*, Birch, *Cart. Sax.* II. 317, gives the 4th September, 925, as the day of Æthelstan's coronation; that would be the date of his coronation in Wessex.

CHAPTER XVI

EADWEARD 'THE ELDER'[1]

(Born *circa* 873?[2] Began to reign October, 900; died 924)

Wessex Gaining Ground—Frontier Forts—Reduction of Mercia—Homage by Northern Princes

AT Ælfred's death his son Eadweard, afterwards distinguished as the Elder, was proclaimed king of the 'Anglo-Saxons,' a style used by his father in the latter part of his reign.[3] As Eadweard had been chosen king in his father's lifetime,[4] there could hardly be any further question of election. It is rather singular therefore to hear that he was not crowned till Whitsunday[5] (31st May, 901), seven months after his father's death. An attempt to dispute the succession seems to have been the cause of this delay. Æthelred I., the elder brother of Ælfred, apparently left two sons, Æthelhelm and Æthelwold, both remembered in their uncle's Will. Of the former we hear no more, but we may suppose him to have been the father of Æthelflæd, Eadweard's Queen.[6] Æthelwold at Ælfred's death raised the standard of revolt at the royal vills of Wimborne and "Tweoxneam," or Twynham, now Christchurch, Hants. Eadweard called out the fyrd against him. Æthelwold met his summons with a great flourish of trumpets, and then losing heart fled to Northumbria, where for a time he found a hospitable refuge among the Danes.[7]

His Style.

In connexion with Northumbrian affairs we may notice the consecration in London of an archbishop for the province of York, namely Æthelbald, appointed to succeed Wulfhere, after eight years of vacancy.[8] The appointment however shows that in Deira too Christianity was reviving.

The Church in the North.

After three years of retirement the Ætheling Æthelwold reappeared on the coast of Essex (A.D. 904); and next year, at his instigation, Eohric, Danish king of East Anglia, invaded English Mercia raiding the country as far as Cricklade (*Creccagelade*),

War with the Danes.

[1] "Cognomento Senior"; Flor. [2] He was the second child of Ælfred; Asser.

[3] "Angul-Saxonum rex." So Asser always, and the charters (after A.D. 882); *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 324, 1,065. For Eadweard's style, see Nos. 1,077 1,078. In the latter charter he explains "Angul-Saxonum" as being equivalent to "Gewissorum et Mercensium." [4] He signs as king in 898, *Cod. Dip.* No. 324.

[5] So Æthelweard, 519 (given as A.D. 900). [6] See W. Malm. *G. R.* p. 197.

[7] Chron. A. [8] Sym., A.D. 892, 900; Æthelweard, 519.

and even crossing the Thames into Bredon Forest, near Malmesbury. Eadweard, instead of attempting to pursue him, made a counter-raid into Danish territory, wasting the country 'between the dykes and the Oose ("Wusan") as far North as the Fens.' The Dykes in question would be the well-known Cambridgeshire earthworks, already described; and the country overrun might comprise Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire, as well as part of Cambridgeshire.

The work of retaliation done, and the Danish army being reported as on its return, Eadweard ordered a prudent retreat. But the Kentishmen, who perhaps formed the rear-guard, disobeying orders, remained behind. The enemy closed round them and a desperate fight ensued. The English had the worst of it. But the loss of the two Ealdormen of Kent[1] was fully compensated by the fall of Eohric and the rebellious Ætheling Æthelwold.[2]

Next year a formal pacification was signed at "Yttingaforda" (Fenny Stratford?)[3] between Eadweard and Guthrum II. of East Anglia.[4] The treaty believed to have been executed on this occasion is extant.[5] No boundaries are laid down, these probably remaining as they had been settled by Ælfred and Guthrum I.; but on the other hand no jealousy is now evinced of intercourse between the two peoples. On the contrary, a common code of laws is provided to regulate their intercourse. This was not difficult, as the system of pecuniary fines for crimes was common to both nationalities. Offences committed by Englishmen are to be atoned for according to the English scale (*wite*): offences committed by Danes according to the Danish scale (*lah-slit*). But the interesting thing is the full recognition of Christianity as the established religion. Heathenism is abjured: Danes as well as Englishmen undertake to respect Feasts and Fasts, and to pay Tithes and other church dues. The recognition of the Church right of sanctuary 'within walls' (*cyric grith*) is the first thing stipulated in the code.[6]

A Treaty.

Christianity Recognised.

This treaty bears witness to that readiness in adapting themselves to circumstances that has often been noticed of the Scandinavians. In

[1] As Kent had two bishoprics, Canterbury and Rochester, for the two original kingdoms of East and West Kent, so probably it had an ealdorman for each of these districts. Freeman, *O. E. H.*, 140.

[2] A.D. 905., Chron. A; Flor.; conf. Æthelweard, A.D. 902.

[3] See the charter, *Codex Dipl.* No. 1,257, where Yttingaforda is described as a ford on a "street," *i.e.* a Roman way, the stream flowing past "Lincgelade," Linslade, near Leighton-Buzzard. [4] Chron., Sym., Flor.

[5] No time or place of execution are named in the document, and the treaty is introduced as that which 'Ælelfred and Guthrum and eft Eadweard and Guthrum ordained.' Schmid, 118; Thorpe, 71.

[6] See Schmid and Thorpe, *sup.* The code implies the survival of a parochial priesthood in the Danish districts. The Danish population does not appear to have been large in East Anglia, as already pointed out. In any case, however, the recognition of tithes by Danish landowners need not import more than that their tenants should pay them.

England they become Englishmen, in France they become Frenchmen, in Italy Italians.

Whether the peace extended to the Northumbrian Danes may be considered doubtful. At any rate hostilities were soon resumed in that quarter; and in that connexion we have the first of a system which became the great mark of the reign, a system of defensive fortification till then utterly neglected by the English, and in fact only borrowed by them from the Danes. In 907 or 908 Eadweard renewed Chester,[1] a most important place if we consider its capabilities as a harbour, and its situation with reference to North Wales, Northumbria, and the districts of uncertain allegiance to the North of the Mersey. This step might easily cause friction and provoke counteraction on the part of the Northern Danes. But, whether as a measure of retaliation or otherwise, in 910 we find Eadweard sending a mixed West Saxon and Mercian force to raid for forty days in Northumbria.[2] In 911 we hear of a new fort established by Æthelflæd at "Bremesbyrig," perhaps Bromsgrove[3]; and of a battle at "Teotanheale," Tattenhall, near Wolverhampton, events which may fairly be taken together.[4]

Chester Fortified.

The action at Tattenhall seems to have been a mere engagement of local forces. The Danes' great effort came later in the year. Taking advantage of a time when Eadweard was engaged on the coasts of Kent equipping a fleet for some unrecorded purpose, they descended the left bank of the Severn as far as the Avon—'the border of Wessex.'[5] Then they crossed the river, apparently returning up the right bank, and recrossing at "Cantbricge" (Quatbridge?). But Eadweard was ready and waiting for them at Wodnesfield, again near Wolverhampton, where he attacked them and gained a decisive victory. Two kings, Eowils and Healfdene, fell on the field, besides jarls and "holdr" (*worthies*) of lesser note.[6]

Battle of Wodnesfield.

In 912 Æthelred, the gallant loyal Ealdorman of Mercia, passed away. Eadweard took advantage of the opportunity to break up the underkingdom, as it practically had been, taking London and Oxford ("Oxnaforda"), with the appurtenant districts, into his own hands; but allowing the rest of English Mercia to remain under the government of his spirited

[1] 907, Chron. B and C; 908, Flor. Eadweard's fort stands to the South of the Roman city, close to the old Roman ford, by the modern castle and gaol.

[2] Chron., Flor.

[3] A small fort is traceable at the South end of the town.

[4] 911, Flor.; 910, Chron. B, C, D. In the conflict of authorities as to the date I follow Florence. If the action took place in 910 it may have been an attack on the raiders on their way home from Northumbria.

[5] "Ad afne fluenta ubi inchoat occidentalium terminus Anglorum." Æthelweard.

[6] 5th August, 911. Æthelweard, Chron., Flor. For "Cantbricge" the editors of the *M. H. B.*, suggest Cambridge Inn, between Berkeley and Gloucester; but that is a long way from Wodnesfield.

sister Æthelflæd, 'the Lady of the Mercians.' The incorporated district would include modern Buckinghamshire, Middlesex and part of Herts; in fact "the lower valley of the Thames."[1] The mound-fort at Oxford may date from this period if not from an earlier one.[2]

Mercia Subdivided.

Æthelflæd shewed her fitness to govern by carrying on the work of fortification with which her name was already associated. In May, 913, she secured a position at "Sceargeate," a locality which as yet has eluded identification; and, later in the year, at "Bricge," 'on the west bank of the Severn.'[3] The importance of controlling the passage of the Severn had been shewn only two years before. But the "burh" was not established at Quatford, nor yet at Bridgenorth, but at Oldbury, between the two.[4]

Mound Forts.

Eadweard now thought himself at liberty to tear up the treaty of 906; and, crossing the border line accepted by his father, proceeded to establish a fort at Hertford, on the North side of the Lea, between the Maran and the Bean.[5] The work was carried on through the winter, a second "burh" being added in the spring on the South, or English side of the river.[6] As the works at Chester had been followed by hostilities with the Northumbrian Danes, so those at Hertford led to rather futile reprisals on the part of the Mercian Danes. After Easter (17th April, 914) we hear of a dash across the Watling Street made by men from Northamptonshire and Leicestershire, and pushed as far as "Hocneratune," Hook Norton, in Oxfordshire; while again we are told of an inroad through Bedfordshire down to "Lygtune," probably Luton at the head of the river Lea.

War again.

These marauders having been dispersed and driven home, the king moved on to Maldon, and remained there while another fort was being established at Witham. By the erection of this work a new frontier was secured, Southern Essex becoming English territory, while the Danes were thrown back on the line of the Colne.[7]

Meanwhile Æthelflæd in the North was securing the line of the Watling Street. In the course of the year she first built a fort at Tamworth, the old Royal vill, at the point where the direct road to Chester leaves the Watling Street proper, which, as

Æthelflæd in the North.

[1] Chron. A.

[2] The work must be held posterior to the occupation of Mercia by Æthelred in 880.

[3] Flor. (A.D. 912, Chron. B, C, and D.)

[4] Æthelflæd's work may be identified either with the mound known as Pan Pudding Hill, or, more likely, with the smaller mound in the village of Oldbury. See Clark, *Military Antiquities*, I. 281. [5] Flor., Chron.

[6] No trace of the mound on the North side remains, but the southern mound with its base court surrounded by a ditch have been preserved by incorporation with the castle. See Clark, *Military Antiquities*, II. 119, and the plans there given.

[7] Flor.; Chron. B, C, D; Green, *Conquest of England*, 198.

originally laid down, made for Wroxeter, in the Severn Valley, the Roman Uriconium, from which point later extensions took it on to Chester and the North. Æthelflæd's mound at Tamworth may yet be seen on the north bank of the river Anker, near its junction with the Tame, commanding the passage at Bole Bridge. A little later in the summer [1] she secured another strategic point by piling up a second burh at Stafford ("Stafforda") on the north bank of the Sow, an affluent of the Trent. A Danish advance up the Trent Valley was now fairly barred [2]; while further North the highlands of the Peak offered a natural frontier extending to the basin of the Mersey. To guard against attack from beyond the river we find her next year fortifying "Eadesbyrig," Eddisbury Hill, in the Forest of Delamere, in Cheshire [3]; while to the South an attack along the Foss way was blocked by the construction of another hold at *Wæringwicum*, Warwick. The remarkable mound at Brinklow, near Rugby, not far from the Watling Street, may be regarded as a Danish counterwork to the English border fort at Warwick.

Tamworth.

Stafford.

Warwick.

These works apparently consisted simply of earthworks and palisades. The typical "burh" of the ninth and tenth centuries consisted primarily of "a truncated cone of earth . . . from twelve to fifty or sixty feet high." This mound was surrounded by a deep ditch, which again was encircled by an exterior rampart. Connected with the mound is usually a "base court" or enclosure, also surrounded by earthworks and ditches. The crest of the mound was probably surrounded by a palisade, inside which stood the residence of the lord. Access to the summit was provided by a plank bridge supported on timbers, and carried from the crest of the outer rampart to the top of the mound.[4]

At this point the work of castle building was interrupted by the unwelcome apparition of a Danish fleet on the South-West coast. The invaders came from "Lidwiccum," *i.e.* Brittany.[5] Florence of Worcester would identify them with the men who nineteen years before had been driven from England to find quarters in Gaul. At any rate we may take them to be some of those who, having failed to obtain settlements in "Normandy" under Rolf, had been harassing Brittany since the treaty of Clair-sur-Epte.[6] Rounding the Land's End, they entered the Severn, and began plundering Glamorgan and Gwent. "Cymelgeac" (Cyfeiliawg),[7] Bishop of Llandaff, fell into

Danish Invasion.

[1] "To hláfmæssan," *i.e.* at Lammas, 1st August.

[2] A.D. 914, Flor. (913, Chron. B and C).

[3] Triple earthworks of irregular configuration, but without any mound, may be seen there, just to the North of the continuation of the Watling Street.

[4] See Clark, *Military Antiquities*, I. 16–34.

[5] An interpolation in one MS. of Nennius gives "Letewiccion" as another name for Armorica, with a very popular etymology, p. 21 (ed. Stevenson); Earle, *Parallel Chron.*, 322.

[6] A.D. 911–912?

[7] Haddan and Stubbs, I. 209.

their hands, a notable prize, to be presently redeemed by Eadweard for 40 pounds of silver. Advancing up the right bank of the river, the Danes were met by the men of Herefordshire and Gloucestershire at "Ircingafelda," clearly the Archenfeld of Domesday, or southern part of the county of Hereford bordering on Wales.[1] The invaders suffered a defeat, losing Ohter and a brother of their other leader Hroald. The survivors took up a position in a "park," *i.e.* an enclosed grass-field, where they were beleaguered till they gave hostages to evacuate the territories of the King of Wessex. The result was the old one, namely, that they 'bestole them away by night' to find landing-places elsewhere. But Eadweard was watching their movements on the opposite bank of the Severn, at the mouth of the Avon, so they were forced to sail on to the Somersetshire coast, where they made descents at Watchet and Porlock. But they failed to establish a footing, and were driven off to one of the islands in the Bristol Channel, either Flatholm or Steepholm. There 'meat' (*provisions*) soon failed them, so they sailed on to "Deomedum," *i.e.* the country of the *Demetæ*, Dyfed, now Pembrokeshire. Finally they went off to Ireland, always the last resort. 'And this was on harvest time.'[2] So ended what we may call the first cycle of Northern invasions.

Their Defeat.

And Expulsion.

After a short breathing-time, Eadweard resumed his cautious, resolute advance towards the subjugation of the Danelage and incorporation of all England. Before the year (915) was out he had established two burhs at Buckingham, one on each bank of the Oose,[3] "on one of which afterwards stood Earl Giffard's keep."[4] The submission of one Jarl Thorkill, and many of the 'eldest' men from Bedford and Northampton, followed. Next year came the actual occupation of Bedford, and the building of its burh, the future site of Beauchamp's Keep. Again a second work was thrown up on the opposite or south bank of the river Oose.[5] Æthelflæd meanwhile was doing her share of work in the North, securing her borders by fortifications at "Cyricbyrig," Chirbury, in Shropshire—just inside the line of Offa's Dyke—"Weardbyrig" and "Rumcofan" (Runcorn).[6] In 917 we hear of the king recovering and refortifying Maldon,[7] a proof that it had fallen back under Danish influence since 914. Jarl Thorkill, finding the situation intolerable, threw up

West Saxon Progress.

[1] For the customs of Archenfeld, see Domesday, 179.

[2] Chron. B, C, D; Flor. (A.D. 918, Chron. A).

[3] *Id.* [4] Clark, *Military Antiqq.*, I. 21.

[5] *Id.* Of double mounds to command the passage of a river, the only pair still traceable are those at York. *Id.*, 22.

[6] 916, Flor.; Chron. B and C, p. 186, ed. Thorpe; A.D. 919, Chron. A. I have failed to identify Weardbyrig; but between Chirbury and Chester the map is studded with primitive forts and camps. At Runcorn the site of a small castle is marked by the wate side touching the railway bridge. [7] No fort seems now traceable at Maldon.

his possessions in England, and, with Eadweard's entire consent, went over sea to find pleasanter quarters "on Fronclond," as we may suppose among his brethren in Normandy.[1] Hitherto Æthelflæd had, so far as we can see, kept on good terms with the Welsh, respecting their borders. Now of a sudden, a quarrel broke out between her and the King of South Wales,[2] presumably Howel Dha, though his name is not mentioned in connexion with the incident. 'The Lady' acted with her usual vigour: she sent a force to "Brecenanmere" (Brecon), stormed the town, and carried off 'the King's wife' with some four and thirty followers.[3]

In 918 the struggle with the domestic Danes entered on a new and more active phase; in fact the year became the turning-point in the reign and the fortunes of Wessex. Eadweard began by building forts at Towcester, on the Watling Street, and at "Wigingamere," perhaps "Waymere Castle, on a small island near Bishop's Stortford."[4] A fort at Towcester was a direct menace to Northampton, Leicester, and Huntingdon—Danish strongholds.[5] The population of all three places flew to arms.

Danish Repulses. The men of Leicester and Northampton attacked Towcester; being repulsed, they pushed a raid into our Buckinghamshire, wasting the country between Brill, Bernwood Forest, and Aylesbury. The men of Huntingdon advanced to Tempsford, between Biggleswade and St. Neots, where they established a counter-work; and then proceeded to lay siege to Bedford; while a mixed force from Essex, East Anglia, and Mercia attacked Waymere. Both attempts failed signally. Eadweard then assumed the offensive, and, advancing against Tempsford, stormed the place, putting the Danish king of East Anglia and two or three jarls to the sword.[6] But the chief laurels of the year were again won by the martial Lady, who, on the 1st August,

Derby Stormed. carried the town of Derby by storm, four of her most 'cared for' Thegns falling on the breach.[7] Eadweard's achievements, though in themselves far from inconsiderable, read tamely in comparison with this. His deeds included the siege and capture of Colchester; the repulse of an attack on Maldon, in which 'wicing' auxili-

[1] Flor. (A.D. 920; Chron. A).

[2] 'Rex Britonum.' Howel Dha became king of South Wales in 909; Haddan and Stubbs, I. 211; *Ann. Camb.*

[3] A.D. 917, Flor. (916, Chron. B and C). I still follow the chronology of Florence, who evidently took pains to harmonize and correct the varying dates of the earlier chroniclers.

[4] Flor.; Thorpe; (A.D. 921, Chron. A). A plan of the Towcester fort, "Bury Mount," is given by Mr. Clark, *Military Antiqq.*, I. 21.

[5] The fort at Northampton has been destroyed. At Leicester we have the Castle Mount, on the Soar; and at Huntingdon the Castle Hill, an irregular enclosure on the Ouse.

[6] Flor. (Chron. A, 921).

[7] A.D. 918, Flor. (917, Chron. B, C, D).

aries took part; the building of another fort at Passenham,[1] near Stony Stratford; and the occupation of Huntingdon. The year ended with the submission of the men of Cambridge, and in fact of all the country 'north to the Welland.'[2]

Submission of Cambridge.

The neck of the Danish resistance was thus broken, and Eadweard's future campaigns might almost be described as progresses in arms.

In 919 again Æthelflæd was first in the field, taking 'peaceable' possession of Leicester. The submission of the 'most deal' of the men of the appertaining districts ensued. But this was her last triumph. On the 12th June she passed away at Tamworth in the eighth year of her rule, the most remarkable woman of the whole Anglo-Saxon era.[3]

Eadweard at the time was at Stamford, building a fort on the south bank of the Welland,[4] to confront the Danes established on the north bank. On hearing of his sister's death he hastened to Tamworth to take the government of Mercia into his own hands. Æthelflæd had left by Æthelred an only child, a daughter, Ælfwyn: but Eadweard, very prudently, refused to recognise her claims.[5] Localism had been, and for a century and a half was destined to be, the curse of England.

Mercia "in hand."

At Tamworth Eadweard received the submission of three Welsh kings, Howel, Clydawg, and Idwal. The year closed with an advance to Nottingham, where the king established a mixed population of English and Danes.[6]

The ensuing year (920) was marked by the establishment of a fort at Thelwall,[7] on the Mersey, near Runcorn; and of an outpost at "Mameceaster" (Manchester) 'in Northumbria'; while the year after that witnessed the construction of a second town at Nottingham 'on the south half' of the Trent, with a bridge to connect it with the existing town and burh on the north bank.[8] From Nottingham Eadweard advanced to "Peac-lond" and established one more post at "Badecanwiellon," (Bakewell).[9] Here his successes were supposed to have reached their climax in the submission of a host of Northern potentates and tribes. We are told that 'the King of Scots and the Scottish people,

Homages.

[1] No fortifications are now traceable at Passenham, but they were traceable formerly. Baker, *Northamptonshire*, II. 191. [2] Flor., Chron. A.

[3] 919, Flor.; "xii. nihtum ær middansumera"; "pridie Id. Junii"; Chron. B, C, D (918). The chronology of Florence is here borne out by the A. S. Chronicles, which, while recording the death of Æthelflæd under 918 and 922, agree that she died in the eighth year of her rule, her husband having died in 912. She was buried at St. Peter's, Gloucester, in the east "portice" (chancel). The Minster had been built by her and Æthelred, and the bones of St. Oswald translated thither from Bardney, A.D. 907–910, Chron., Flor., W. Malm., *G. R.*, p. 196. [4] A "Castle" is still marked there on the map.

[5] Flor. (922, Chron. A). Ælfwyn remained awhile at Tamworth, but in the ensuing year she was sent into Wessex; Chron. B, C, D.

[6] Flor. (922, Chron. A). [7] Nothing seems to remain.

[8] The "Castle," a conical mound on the north side of "Trentbridge," may yet be seen. [9] A small mound, "Castle Hill."

and Regnald, and the sons of Eadulf, and all the dwellers on Northumbria, whether English, Danes, or Northmen, and the King of Strathclyde, and all the Strathclyde Welsh,' took Eadweard 'to father and lord.'[1] The personages in question can all be identified. The King of Scots would be Constantine, son of Ædh; and the King of the Strathclyde Britons would be his brother Donald, elected in succession to another Donald, a Briton.[2]

Extent of Strathclyde.

Since the fall of the English kingdom of Northumbria the whole South-West side of the Island from the Clyde to the line of Whitehaven and Red Cross on Stainmore had been or was being merged in Strathclyde, now also styled "Cumbria."

Eadulf, or Ealdwulf, of Bamborough, we have seen, was the native Ealdorman or High-Reeve of Bernicia, an ally of the House of Wessex. He had died in 912 or 913;[3] leaving two sons, Ealdred and Uhtred, who kept up a friendly alliance with Eadweard, as their father before them had done.[4]

Rægnall, or Reingwald, was a grandson of Ivar, and of course a pagan, of whom we hear in the year 914 as contending for mastery with a countryman in a naval action off the Isle of Man (Manann). In 917 he and Sihtric, another grandson of Ivar, and to all appearance his brother, were on the coast of Leinster, when Sihtric became King of Dublin. Reingwald then went over to Great Britain, attacking Ealdred in Bernicia. Constantine and the Scots came to the rescue. A pitched battle ensued at Corbridge 'on the banks of the Tine in North Saxonland.'[5] Moving southwards, Reingwald occupied the patrimony of St. Cuthberht, finally establishing himself in 919 at York, where he was reigning at the time that we have reached.[6]

Reingwald at York.

That the contending Northumbrian parties should be ready to bid for the support of the victorious King of Wessex need excite no surprise. Nor can we wonder that the Welsh Kings living on Eadweard's frontier should think a submissive attitude prudent policy. If 'Strathclyde' was a political expression for all the Celtic population of the West coast from the Clyde to the Mersey, we might again understand a wish on their part to disarm West Saxon hostility; and it may be that Constantine did come forward on behalf of his brother. From any other point of view the conduct ascribed to him passes comprehension. Eadweard's most advanced outpost, Manchester, was 180 miles, as the crow flies, from the Forth. He had never set foot in Deira, much less in Bernicia. Constantine had no domestic difficulties to

Question of Scottish Homage.

[1] A.D. 921, Chron. A (given as 924); Flor.

[2] *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 9. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 339, 347.

[3] Æthelweard, *M. H. B.*, 520; *Ann. Ulster.*, A.D. 913, where he appears as "Etulbb," 'King of the North Saxons.' [4] Sym., I. 209 (*Hist. Cuthb.*).

[5] *Ann. Ulster.*, A.D. 914, 917, 918. Symeon, *H. D. E.*, *Auct.* 209; *Chron. Picts and Scots.*

[6] Symeon, *sup.*, 73, 209, 210; *H. R.*, 93. A second battle at Corbridge is recorded, in which Ealdred fell.

contend with, and the Danish inroads in North Britain as well as South Britain had for the time come to an end. Yet we are asked to believe on the authority of a single chronicler[1] that Constantine came all the way from Scone to Bakewell to make a gratuitous surrender of his crown and people, the only suggested motive being protection from the Danes, who at the time, were not in the field.[2] The matter however, so far as national honour on one side or the other is concerned, is of little importance, as we shall find substantial grounds for holding that a few years later Constantine did recognise an overlordship in Eadweard's son Æthelstan.[3]

Eadweard's Dominion.

On the other hand, if we pause to compare the position to which Eadweard attained in the year 921 with that to which his ancestor Ecgberht had attained in 829, when submission was made to him at Dore, a place, by the bye, not many miles from Bakewell, we shall find a notable advance to record. The agonies of the last hundred years had not been suffered in vain. "Ecgberht's immediate kingdom stopped at the Thames"; while that of Eadweard must have extended on the east side of the Watling Street to Bedford and the Oose, at any rate; and on the west side of the Watling Street to the Mersey. The nominal overlordship of each on the east coast might be said to extend to the Forth; but Eadweard's influence over the vassal districts was of a substantial character, and in the hands of his son it assumed a still more definite shape, while the suzerainty of Ecgberht, as we have seen, proved simply ephemeral.

His Death.

Three years later Eadweard died at Farndon, in Northamptonshire,[4] in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and was buried beside his father at Winchester, in the New Minster, begun by Ælfred and finished by himself.[5]

[1] The submission of the Kings of Scotland and Strathclyde in 921 only rests upon the original authority of the Winchester Chronicle (A), copied by the other A. S. Chronicles, by Florence, and by Symeon in that part of his history which is taken from Florence. Nothing of it appears either in his *Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.* or in the 10th century Chronicle ("the Cuthbertine") incorporated in his *Hist. Regum*. On the contrary Symeon distinctly asserts that Æthelstan was the first of English kings whose overlordship extended to the whole Island. "Primus regum totius Britanniæ adeptus est imperium" (I. p. 74). Æthelweard again knew nothing of any overlordship of Eadweard. We may add that the erroneous chronology of the Winchester Chronicle for the reign of Eadweard shows that it was not written up at or near the time.

[2] See Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 57.

[3] In any case Mr. Freeman's view that the transaction at Bakewell amounted to a deliberate commendation of Scotland seems quite exaggerated. See *N. C.*, I. 57, 118, 565. Mr. Green inclines to the view that the alleged submission to Eadweard is merely borrowed from the submission to his son; *Conq. of E.*, 220.

[4] "On Myrcum æt Fearndune"; Chron. C, D. Faringdon would be in Wessex.

[5] A.D. 924, Flor.; Chron. B, C, D, and E; W. Malm., *G. R.*, I. p. 204. (A.D. 925, A). The New Minster was hallowed in 903; Chron. F (Domit. A, VIII.; Thorpe, p. 181).

Eadweard was no unworthy son of the great king, a man, like him, of broad views, and sober steadfast purpose; a wise and successful ruler. Florence of Worcester held him only inferior to his father in the matter of his literary tastes.[1] That he had a definite ecclesiastical policy may be gathered from the fact that he created three new dioceses in Wessex. Denewulf, Bishop of Winchester, having died in 909, and Asser, Bishop of Sherborne, shortly afterwards,[2] the Sees of Wells, Ramsbury, and Crediton were called into existence, thus providing a bishop for each shire of which the kingdom consisted.[3] It will be remembered that the subdivision of unmanageable bishoprics was one of the primary aims of Archbishop Theodore's policy. Other prelates having died about the same time, it came to pass that Archbishop Plegmund was called upon to consecrate the unparalleled number of seven new bishops, all in one batch.[4] Plegmund himself passed away in 914, and was succeeded by an occupant of one of the new sees, Æthelhelm, previously the first Bishop of Wells.[5] He, again, died in 923, and then the second Bishop of Wells, Wulfhelm, became Primate.[6]

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Eadweard also enacted a few laws, besides the international code enacted or re-enacted to regulate the dealings of the English and Danes.[7] Perhaps the only strictly novel provision was one requiring all sales of goods to be made in 'ports,' *i.e.* walled towns, and, if possible, in the presence of the Port-reeve, a requirement clearly connected with Eadweard's system of fortifying towns as centres of resistance to foreign invasion.[8] In this aspect the law may be compared with the ordinances under which the Calais Staple was established by Edward III. Again the primary judge in all criminal courts now appears to be the "gerefa," doubtless the shire-reeve or sheriff, a proof of the extension of the authority of that royal officer.[9] He is required to hold his courts once in every four weeks: those would be the courts of the hundred. Lastly we have the first reference to the ordeal (*ordâl*), but not as a novel institution;[10] and also reference to something like a general system of "borh," or mutual guarantees for good behaviour.[11] Of both of these we shall hear more by-and-bye. The Laws of Eadweard breathe a simplicity of tone passing even the simplicity of Ælfred, simple-minded man as he was. Eadweard

Legislation.

[1] "Litterarum cultu patre inferior," I. p. 117. [2] Flor.; Chron. A, C, D.

[3] Kent had its two Sees, Canterbury and Rochester; Sussex had Selsey; Hampshire, Winchester; Dorsetshire, Sherborne; Somersetshire, Wells; Devonshire, Crediton; whilst Wilts and Berks were conjoined to form the See of Ramsbury.

[4] W. Malm., *G. R.*, I. p. 204. See Stubbs, *Reg. Sacrum*, p. 13, and *Const. Hist.*, I. 259. Also more fully W. Malm., *G. R.*, II. liv. Æthelstan was the first Bishop of Ramsbury, Æthelhelm of Wells, and Eadulf of Crediton.

[5] Flor; *Reg. Sacr.* [6] *Reg. Sacr.* [7] Schmid, 110, 118.

[8] *Laws*, I. c. 1 (Schmid). The regulation, however, was abolished under Æthelstan as being too stringent. [9] *Id.*, I. *Introduction*, and II. cc. 2, 8.

[10] I. c. 2; also *Laws of Eadweard and Guthrum*, c. 9. [11] II. c. 3.

wonders if any man could be so 'evil' as to pledge another man's goods to answer his own misdeeds; or if any one could think of interfering with another man's land; and he appears to require all landowners to keep a man or men always in readiness to assist persons coming in quest of 'their own.'[1] But he clearly intimates that peace-breaking, perjury, and robbery were the great evils that he had to contend with.

The King's Issue.

Eadweard left by three different mothers a family of five sons and nine daughters. Of these children no less than nine attained to regal or quasi-regal positions. By Ecgwyn, politely styled by Florence *Mulier nobilissima*, but apparently a shepherd's daughter, whose acquaintance Eadweard made as a young man when paying a visit to his former nurse,[2] he had

— ÆTHELSTAN, and

— A daughter, afterwards married to Sihtric, Danish King of York.[3]

By his first lawful wife, Æthelflæd, daughter of "*Ethelmus comes*," presumably Æthelhelm or Æthelm, son of Æthelred I.,[4] he had

— Ælfweard, who died at Oxford fifteen days after his father.[5]

— Eadwine,[6] of whom hereafter.

— Æthelflæd, a nun, buried at Wilton.

— Eadgifu I., married first, A.D. 919, to Charles the Simple, "King of the West Franks," by whom she had a son, Louis IV., surnamed *d'Outremer*; and secondly to Herbert Count of Troyes (951).[7]

— Æthelhild, a lay recluse, buried at Wilton.[8]

— Eadhild, married in 926 to Hugh the Great, Count of Paris, and Duke of the French (father of Hugh Capet); no issue.[9]

— Eadgyth, married in 930 to Otto, or Otho I., The Great, afterwards King of the East Franks and Western Emperor,[10] and by him had issue.

[1] I. c. 1, s. 5; c. 2; and II. c. 4.

[2] "Concubina . . . (si tamen vera est) . . . opilionis filia." W. Malm., *G. R.*, pp. 205, 222. In another passage again he styles Ecgwyn 'illustris fœmina' (p. 197). But on the whole he clearly distinguishes her position from that of Eadweard's wedded wives (*uxores*). So, too, Florence, "Ex muliere nobilissima . . . Æthelstanum, ex regina autem sua Eadgiva filios tres." Mr. E. W. Robertson suggests that the connexion of Ecgwyn with Eadweard may have been a "handfasting," *i.e.* an inchoate marriage, a union "wedded," that is to say betrothed, but not completed by giving away and blessing. *Historical Essays*, 174.

[3] W. Malm., *G. R.*, 197. [4] *Id.* See *Cod. Dip.* V. p. 131.

[5] Chron. B, C, D; W. Malm., 197, where the name is wrongly given as "Ethelwardus," a confusion with the young man's uncle. Æthelstan and Ælfweard begin to sign as the king's sons in 909; *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,090, etc.

[6] W. Malm., 197. Florence, whose account of Eadweard's family is very defective (p. 117), makes Eadwine son of Eadgifu, the king's second wife, but he ignores Æthelflæd altogether.

[7] W. Malm., 166, 198, and notes, Hardy. Freeman, *O. E. H.*, 146.

[8] W. Malm., 197.

[9] Æthelweard, *M. H. B.*, 499; W. Malm., *G. R.*, 198, and notes.

[10] Æthelweard, *sup.* W. Malm., 166, 198, and notes. Malmesbury calls her Elfgiva,

— Ælfgifu, married to a prince or duke reigning in the vicinity of the Alps, whose identity has not been satisfactorily established.[1]

By his second wife, Eadgifu, a Kentish lady, daughter of Ealdorman Sighelm,[2] Eadweard had EADMUND, EADRED, Eadburh, and Eadgifu II. Eadburh became a nun (St. Edburga), who lived and died in St. Mary's Convent,[3] Winchester, while Eadgifu II. was married to Louis *l'Aveugle* (son of Boso and grandson of Louis II.), King of Provence[4] and titular Emperor.

and the sister who married the Alpine potentate Edgitha, apparently transposing their names, as it is clear that the wife of Otto was an Eadgyth or Edith.

[1] Æthelweard, *sup.* W. Malm., s. 126, and Bishop Stubbs' Introduction, II. lii. (Rolls ed.)

[2] *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 499, 1,237; E. W. Robertson, *Historical Essays*, 167. Under Eadmund, Eadgifu signs as "Regis Mater"; *Cod. Dip.* No. 393.

[3] W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 126; *Id. G. P.*, s. 78, *q.v.*, for a story of Eadburh's early piety. When she was quite a little child her father put before her on one side a chalice and a copy of the Gospels; on the other side some feminine jewels, a bracelet and a necklace. She promptly chose the former.

[4] W. Malm., 198; Æthelweard, *sup.*, and notes. As Louis died in 923, the marriage must have taken place in Eadweard's lifetime.

CHAPTER XVII

ÆTHELSTAN

Born *circa* 895. Succeeded 924 (after 12th Nov.).[1] Died 27th October, 940

Further Growth of Wessex—Æthelstan Lord Paramount of Great Britain—Legislation

AT the time of his father's death Æthelstan was about thirty years of age.[2] In his infancy his sunny locks had been the delight of his grandfather Ælfred, who acknowledged him as the heir of the House, and invested him with the *insignia* of a warrior and an Ætheling, namely a purple mantle, a jewelled belt, and the national Saxon sword[3] in a golden scabbard. In his early years he was placed under the charge of his aunt, the Lady Æthelflæd, and her husband, by whom he was carefully trained for the duties of his future station. We are told that Eadweard by his Will had declared him his successor. The Will is not forthcoming, but in Eadweard's charters, from the year 909 onwards, we have Æthelstan clearly acknowledged as the eldest son, and taking precedence of the eldest legitimate son Ælfweard.[4] Æthelstan therefore had been clearly pointed out to the nation as the intended successor to the throne. Nevertheless it appears that some opposition was raised against him on two grounds. One, the stain on his birth: the other, the old dynastic difficulty which had given trouble at Eadweard's accession, arising from the fact that Ælfred had been preferred before the sons of Æthelred I., his elder brother. Ælfred's heir was not the heir of Æthelwulf. Moreover, Ælfweard, as the grandson—as we take him to have been—of Æthelm, the son of Æthelred, might see to have a double claim.

Early Life.

Rival Claimants.

The one difficulty was removed in the course of a fortnight by the death of Ælfweard,[5] whereupon the Mercian Witan at once elected Æthelstan, who, without delay, was 'hallowed' and enthroned at Kingston-upon-Thames,[6] Archbishop Wulfhelm officiating. An enthronement at Kingston could only apply, in the first in-

They are disposed of.

[1] See *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 347, 348, and esp. 353, from which it appears that the 12th Nov., 931, fell in Æthelstan's seventh year. [2] W. Malm., *G. R.*, I. p. 210.

[3] "Ensis Saxonicus," W. Malm., *sup.* For the curiously shaped Saxon sword see the engraving above (p. 174). [4] See *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,090, etc.

[5] Chron. B, C, D. He died at Oxford, but was buried at Winchester.

[6] A.D. 924, "Æt Cingestune," Chron. B, C, D.; Flor.; W. Malm., *G. R.*, 204, 210, 223 (A.D. 925, Chron. A; A.D. 926, Æthelweard).

stance at any rate, to the Kingdom of Mercia; the attitude of Wessex might still be doubtful; and accordingly we hear of a party at Winchester rising in the name of one Ælfred, doubtless a representative of the House of Æthelred. The movement, however, came to nothing, and Ælfred was sent to Rome to abjure a charge of having conspired to depose Æthelstan, and, moreover, to incapacitate him for rule by depriving him of his eyesight. Ælfred took the oath before the Pope, John XI., was seized with a fit, and within three days died at the Saxon School, a visible judgment on his impiety.[1]

The records for the reign of Æthelstan are meagre in the extreme: only very conspicuous events are recorded, and whole years are sometimes left without an entry. But the position to which we shall find him attaining will speak for itself. His mission was to carry on the work of his father in the unification of England, and he lost no time in setting about it.

Progress of Wessex.

Reingwald, the Danish King of York, had died since the year 921, when he made his submission to Eadweard, and was succeeded by Sihtric, apparently his brother, as already mentioned. This man had been King of Dublin from 917 to 920, when he left, or was expelled, being succeeded by Guthfrith, presumably a third brother, and at all events another grandson of Ivar.[2] To bring the new King of York within the range of his personal influence Æthelstan invited him to Tamworth, and gave him his full sister to wife.[3] No formal act of submission or allegiance on the part of Sihtric is alleged, but the connexion would presumably involve a tacit undertaking—in the phrase of the time—'to love that that Æthelstan loved, and shun that that Æthelstan shunned.'[4] A more important transaction of the same character was effected in the ensuing year (926), when Æthelstan had a grand meeting with Northern potentates at Dacor, otherwise Dacre, at the foot of Ulleswater.[5] According to the Worcester Chronicle (D) the personages who came at Æthelstan's invitation were Howel Dha, King of 'West Wales,' *i.e.* Dyfed;[6] Owen, King of Gwent; Constantine, King of Scots; and Ealdred of Bamborough, the son of Ealdulf. William of Malmesbury places the event a year later, after a breach with the Northumbrian Danes, and

The Dacre Homages.

Howel Dha, Constantine and Eogan.

[1] See W. Malm., *G. R.*, I. 205, 219, 220, where he gives a charter of Æthelstan in which the facts are recited. Ælfred's estates were given to Malmesbury Abbey. See also p. 223.

[2] See the *Annals of Ulster* under those years. According to them Reingwald died in 921. [3] 30th January, 925. Chron. D; Flor. The Lady's name has not been preserved.

[4] See *Laws of Edward*, II. c. 1, s. 1.

[5] "Ad locum qui Dacor vocatur," W. Malm., *G. R.*, 212. "On thære stowe the genemned is æt Eamotum," Chron. D. The Eamond is the river that flows out of Ulleswater, and Dacre Castle stands on the Dacre Beck, about a mile from its junction with the Eamond. Dacor is still locally recognised as the original form of the name.

[6] The expression, "West Weala," usually means the Cornishmen, but here it must mean Dyfed.

only names three Celtic Kings as being present, namely, Howel, Constantine, and "Eugenius," King of Cumbria.[1] This latter man would be Constantine's nephew Eogan, King of Strathclyde, son of the Donald of whom we heard in 921.

We are told that Æthelstan 'compelled' ("gewylde") the attendance of these princes—we must suppose by moral pressure—because no hostilities of any kind are recorded, and a war against a coalition of Scotland, Bernicia, Cumberland, and Wales could hardly pass unnoticed. We are further told that the Northern potentates gave pledges and oaths of peace,[2] 'abjured all idolatry,' and so departed in friendship.[3]

The details of this affair may be open to doubt. We need hardly call attention to the ignorance of the chronicler who could think that at that time either Scots, Welshmen, or Cumbrians could be called upon to abjure paganism. But that a meeting of the character alleged did take place cannot be questioned. The memory of the interview at Dacre between Æthelstan and three Celtic Kings still lives on the spot with as much freshness as if the event had only happened in the last century.[4] The presence of Constantine might be accounted for by his relationship with the King of Strathclyde, as already suggested in connexion with the meeting of 921. But, on the whole, considering the subsequent course of events, and Celtic readiness to buy off invasion by prompt offers of theoretic submission, we incline to the view that some recognition of supremacy was given to Æthelstan by the rulers of Scotland, Cumbria, and Wales. His supremacy over Bernicia would probably have been already recognised. That Æthelstan himself considered the result of the meeting to have been such is clear, from the fact that from this time onwards he changes his style. Hitherto he had simply styled himself "Angulsaxonum Rex," as his father and grandfather had styled themselves. Now he always adds "totius Britanniæ monarchus," or other words to the same effect.[5] One charter we have expressly dated in the fifth year of his rule as King of the 'Angolsaxons,' and the third of his assumption of authority over the Northumbrians and Cumbrians.[6] The supremacy in question would involve a certain right to control the foreign policy of the vassal estates; but no right of interference in domestic affairs, except

Change of Style.

[1] *G. R.*, 106, 112. [2] "Mid wedde and mid athum fryth gefæstnodon."

[3] 12 July, 926. Chron. D.; Flor.

[4] The very apartment in which the meeting is supposed to have taken place is pointed out. That, of course, is impossible. Dacre is a very interesting castle, of a type suggestive of an Anglo-Saxon hall with four corner towers, but it does not date from the tenth century. It is odd that this tradition should never till now have found its way into literary history. [5] See *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 1099, 1100, etc.

[6] *Cod. Dip.* No. 346; *Hist. Abingdon*, I. 60. Mr. Kemble marks the charter as doubtful, yet it is found in two Cotton MSS. and a Corpus Christi Camb. MS. If we ascribe the charter to the first half of 929, its dates will be perfectly consistent and correct. This seems a strong point in its favour.

perhaps with respect to Bernicia, which might be considered part and parcel of England. Welsh Kings had already rendered some sort of homage to English Kings, as to Ecgberht and Ælfred, but no right of internal intervention had ever been asserted over Wales.

The reader will notice that the meeting, unlike the one alleged in 921, was held, not within the English King's recognised dominions, but in Cumbria, and probably at or near the common frontier. Dacre apparently belonged to Eogan. If so, his dominions went at any rate as far as Ullswater—an extension which must have taken place since the destruction of Carlisle by the Danes.

Affairs of Northumbria.

Diplomatic manœuvres, however, were soon followed up by action of a more drastic character. Sihtric having died in 926, Æthelstan expelled his son and successor Guthfrith, and annexed his dominions.[1] According to one writer, he also took Bernicia into his own hands, driving out Ealdred.[2]

Guthfrith fled to Scotland, while a brother, Anlaf or Olaf, found a refuge in Ireland. Both lived to give trouble. The former returned shortly to make an attempt on York. Being refused admission, he took to the sea and kept up irritating piratical ravages, till he disappeared to be no more heard of.[3]

Scotland Invaded.

In these operations Guthfrith must have received support from Constantine, of which Æthelstan had a right to complain. Following the example of Ecgfrith, but with more satisfactory results, Æthelstan led an army into Scotland, harrying the East coast as far as "Dunfoeder," *i.e.* Dunottar, while an attendant fleet pushed its ravages as far as "Catenes," Caithness.[4] But Constantine was only irritated, not crushed. Three years he took to organize his revenge. As the captain of his warfare, by all accounts, he took Olaf, the Danish King of Dublin; Olaf, son of Guthfrith, the brother, as we have it, of Sihtric, who had died in 934;[5] Olaf, surnamed Cuaran,[6] and destined to live in the pages of Romance as Havelok the Dane.[7] According to some

[1] A.D. 927, Chron. D and E; Symeon, *H. R.*, 93, 377; Florence.

[2] So W. Malm., *G. R.*, 206. But his account is very vague, and he names "Aldulfus," the father of Ealdred, as the man expelled. [3] W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 134.

[4] A.D. 934, Chron. B, C, D; Sym., *H. R.*, 93, 124; Flor. Can "Athelstaneford," the name of a place near Haddington, date from this invasion? According to Symeon, *H. D. E.*, p. 75, Æthelstan, on his way North, made large grants to St. Cuthberht; but no charters are extant to support the statement.

[5] See *Ann. Ulst.* for these years and the years 936, 937; also Symeon, "Onlaf Guthredi, quondam regis filius," *H. D. E.* Many scholars make Olaf Cuaran the son of Sihtric, but I take my stand upon these, the primary authorities.

[6] See Mr. W. H. Henessy's note to the *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 937, where he thinks it clear that the leader at Brunnanburh was Olaf Cuaran (*i.e.* "brogues" or "sandals," conf. "Caligula"); also *Ann. Ulst.*, A.D. 947.

[7] The transition from Amlaibh or Olaf to Havelok seems strange. We must suppose some such intermediate sounds as Avlaf, Avlac, Havlac, etc. The identity is clear,

accounts he was son-in-law to Constantine.[1] But it would seem that the King also had with him the other Olaf, the son of Sihtric,[2] and perhaps we should regard him as the son-in-law. Eogan of Strathclyde of course was there, while Picts, Scots, Welshmen, and Danes swelled the ranks of the host. In the year 937 their armament, boldly estimated by Northern tradition at 615 sail strong,[3] entered the Humber.

Northern Coalition.

Constantine landed his men, and, without delay, commenced a forward march.[4] We cannot entertain any doubt as to the direction which he took. To turn northwards would simply be to retreat; to turn westwards would look like a retreat, just as fatal to an invader. Southwards the allies must have marched, along the broad highway of the Ermine Street, through the friendly Danish population of our Lincolnshire, within hailing distance of their ships, till they found their progress arrested by Æthelstan and his brother Eadmund at "Brunnanburh." The name of the place is otherwise given as "Brunnanbyrig" or "Brunnanwerc"; [5] that is to say, 'the Brunne Fort' or 'the Brunne Work'; and, sure enough, at Brunne, now Bourne, in Lincolnshire, we have some very remarkable earthworks, apparently of Roman date, partly surrounded by water and enclosing twenty acres of ground and upwards. Here, apparently, the allies had taken post before Æthelstan's arrival. The battle has always ranked as one of the most desperate ever fought on British soil; [6] the future theme of many a lay, of which some survive. The live-long day, we are told, the fight raged—a stand-up hand-to-hand encounter.

The Bourne Earthworks.

'Here gat King Æthelstan,
And eke his brother
Eadmund Ætheling
Life-long glory
At sword's edge,
Round [7] Brunanburh:
Board-wall they cleft

---

because in the French or oldest form of the ballad the name Cuaran is expressly given to Havelok. See *Roxburghe Ballads*, Malden. The reader may be informed that the main incidents as there given are taken from the life of Cnut.

[1] So Florence.

[2] So Mr. E. W. Robertson, *Scotland under Early Kings*, I. 60; Skene, *C. S.*, I. 356.

[3] Symeon, *H. R.*, p. 93.

[4] "Multum processerat in Angliam," W. Malm., *G. R.*, 207.

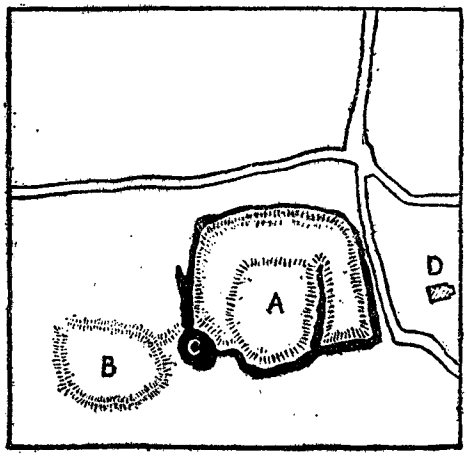
[5] Chron. A, etc., Sym., *H. D. E.*, p. 76. Apud "Brunefeld," 'The Field of Brune,' W. Malm., *sup.*; "Bellum Brune," *Ann. Camb.*; "Bellum Duinbruinde," *Chron. Picts*. Here again the fort comes in. Symeon gives "Weondune" or "Wendune" as an alternative name for the battle-field, *H. D. E.*, 76; *H. R.*, 93. No such name is now known there.

[6] To the end of the century, as Æthelweard tells us, the action was always spoken of as the 'Great Battle' (*magnum bellum*). So too the *Irish Annals of Ulster*, "Bellum ingens et horribile." "Bruneburh, præliorum maximum," H. Hunt.

[7] "Ymbe."

War-lindens[1] hewed,
Sithen sun up
At morning-tide,
God's noble candle,
Glid o'er the lands,
Till the bright being
Sank to his settle.'[2]

Now this length of the battle again brings us to the "burh" or fortified enclosure. A stand-up primitive fight of twelve continuous hours would pass the endurance of any men that ever breathed. We might as well talk of a football match of twelve hours' duration. But successive assaults on



THE BRUNNE OR BOURNE EARTHWORKS.

A. Principal Camp.
B. Procestrium.
C. Great Springs, "St. Peter's Pool."
D. St. Peter's Church.

Scale, 6 inches to 1 mile.

earthworks might be kept up for an indefinite period. If, as we believe, the invaders had established themselves within the Bourne moats, the English might well be proud of their success. The Egills Saga, if worth quoting, represents the Northern men as established in a "borg" to the North of a stream and Æthelstan as established in one to the South of it. This agrees with the position we assign to the forces.

Constantine, Eogan and the Olafs escaped to their ships. But five

[1] Shields made of linden or lime-wood.

[2] See the ballad, Chron. A, etc., with translations by Thorpe in the Rolls edition; and by Freeman, *O. E. H.*, 155. The implements of war mentioned are the "gar" or "darath"=spear or javelin; sweord=sword; "mece" or "bil"=dagger; "scild"=shield; and "culbod"=banner or standard. For the account of the battle given in the Norse Egills Saga see Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 353. Elsewhere we hear of the "seax" or "hand-seax," probably="mece" or "bil." *Codex Dipl.* Nos. 492, 1,242. See the drawing of one of these above, p. 174.

'young kings' and seven jarls were said to have fallen on their side. Of the 'young kings' the only one identified was the son of Constantine. Among the English losses were the King's cousins Ælfwine and Æthelwine, the sons of his uncle Æthelweard; both were taken to be buried at Malmesbury.[1] Bishop Werstan, of Sherborne, was said to have fallen a victim to his own imprudence in pitching his camp before the action on a spot condemned by the King as too much exposed to attack. Olaf fell upon him by night and overwhelmed his contingent.[2]

Political Results.

The victory of Brunnanburh was fraught with important political consequences. The battle was a final struggle for supremacy between North and South. The question as to which Power in Great Britain should rule the destinies of the Island was there put and settled once and for ever. The ascendancy of Southern Britain could never again be seriously challenged.

Death of Æthelstan.

Content with having established his position in England, Æthelstan turned homewards, without attempting to reassert his suzerainty over Scotland by a second expedition beyond the Forth. Three years later death brought his highly successful reign to a somewhat premature[3] conclusion. He passed away at Gloucester, on the 27th October, 940,[4] in the sixteenth year of his reign,[5] and the forty-fourth of his age. His ability will stand out most clearly when we come to consider the state of things under his successors. Certainly he had done a good deal to justify his claim to be considered the first over-lord of all Britain, and the first King of a united England,[6] loose as we shall find the bonds of that union to have been. In Wales his supremacy was undisputed. We are told that he was able to impose upon the Welsh an annual tribute, namely, 20 lbs. of gold, 200 lbs. of silver, and 25,000 head of cattle, besides hawks and hounds for sporting purposes.[7] The same writer tells us that he compelled the Welsh Kings to do homage to him at Hereford, a Border town. But here Malmesbury understates the case, because Æthelstan's charters show these princes in attendance at the English court, and humbly attesting documents as 'under-kings.'[8] One of these was the celebrated Welsh

Welsh Tribute.

[1] W. Malm., *G.R.*, 218. [2] W. Malm., *G.P.*, s. 80.

[3] "Immaturo vitæ termino," W. Malm.

[4] Chron. B, C, D, E; Flor. (A.D. 941, Chron. A). Æthelstan's successor signs in 940.

[5] Flor.; W. Malm., *G.R.*, 205. This tallies with our date for Æthelstan's accession, which we placed in November or December, 924. The Chronicles all make him reign fourteen years and ten weeks (qy. fifteen years and ten months?).

[6] See his charters above; also Symeon, *H. D. E.*, p. 74. "Primus regum totius Britanniæ quaquaversum adeptus est imperium"; and again, "in uno solidantur Brittannidis arva," Æthelweard. [7] W. Malm., *G.R.*, 214.

[8] "Ego Howæl subregulus," "Ego Judwal subregulus," "Ego Morcant subregulus," "Ego Wurgeat subregulus." *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 363, 364, 1,107, 1,110.

legislator Howel Dda, who visited Rome.[1] In declaring the Wye the border between England and Wales[2] Æthelstan was only reasserting the line of Offa's Dyke. He expelled the Cornishmen from Exeter, which till then had been held by them and the English as a joint possession. He also fortified Exeter with a wall and towers of hewn stone—a novel achievement—fixed the Tamar as the abiding limit of Cornwall,[3] and marked the final annexation of the district by establishing an English Bishopric for Cornwall either at Bodmin or St. German's.[4]

A Cornish Bishopric.

We may note that while Æthelstan fortified Exeter, the chief town of Devon, he pulled down the Danish fort at York, as a work more likely to be held against him than for him.[5]

Yet Æthelstan had some domestic difficulties to contend with. We have spoken of the conspiracy of Ælfred. Another plot, doubtless also based on the defect in Æthelstan's birth, was discovered about the year 933. The man implicated was the King's brother Eadwine, the eldest legitimate son of Eadweard, and Heir Presumptive to the Throne, Æthelstan being childless. The short record of his fate was that he was drowned at sea by Æthelstan's orders.[6] The fuller tradition preserved at Malmesbury had it that Eadwine and his armour-bearer were sent to sea at Dover, in an open boat, without oars, to meet such fate as the winds and the waves might bring them. The Ætheling, unable to endure the suspense, threw himself over-board and was drowned. The armour-bearer, holding on, reached the shore at Witsand, with his master's body, which he had managed to recover. The story adds that Æthelstan was so smitten with remorse that he did penance for seven years.

Conspiracy of Eadwine.

In European politics, again, Æthelstan achieved a position approached by no previous English King. His *prestige* is shown by the matches that he was able to arrange for his sisters, of whom one was married to Count Hugh, the father of Hugh Capet, the founder of the House of France; another to Otto the Great, future lord of the rising Germanic Empire. A third sister, by name Eadgifu, had been given to an offshoot of the Karling dynasty, namely, to the blinded King of Provence, Louis, son of Boso; while a fourth, another Eadgifu, had found a husband in Charles the Simple.[8] At his deposition in 923 Eadgifu retired to England with her son Louis. Fourteen years the youth lived at the court of his uncle Æthelstan. At last Rudolf, the King who had supplanted his father, died (936); and then the French Magnates,

Foreign Relations.

[1] See Haddan & Stubbs' *Conc.*, I. 211, and *Ancient Laws of Wales* (Record Comm.).
[2] W. Malm., *sup.* [3] W. Malm., *sup.*
[4] "Between 924 and 931." Stubbs, *Const Hist.*, I. 259, citing Pedler's *Ancient Bishopric of Cornwall.* [5] W. Malm., *sup.*, 213.
[6] Symeon, *H. R.*, 93, 124. [7] W. Malm., *G. R.*, 224.
[8] See above under Eadweard the Elder.

at the suggestion of Count Hugh of Paris, who refused the crown for himself, elected Louis, "Louis d'Outremer," or "Ultramarinus," as he had come to be known to his countrymen through his residence abroad. An embassy passed over to England and found Æthelstan at York, but he declined to part with his nephew until he had received oaths and assurances as to Louis' reception in France. He went down to the coast of Kent, while Odo, Bishop of Ramsbury, was sent to Boulogne to confer with the great Count Hugh. The Bishop's report being satisfactory, Louis followed, and was forthwith consecrated King of the West Franks, in the royal city of Laon.[1]

Another exiled prince who found shelter at the court of Æthelstan was Allan of Brittany. Worsted in a struggle with Duke William Longsword of Normandy (son of Rolf) for the possession of the Côtentin, he came over to England (931). There he remained, like Louis d'Outremer, till 936, when he was allowed to return home, doubtless through Æthelstan's influence, but only on condition of recognising the over-lordship of the Duke of Normandy.[2]

Allan of Brittany.

Lastly, as another case of appeal to the English king in Continental affairs, we notice the fact that when Herlouin Count of Ponthieu, whose territory lay between Flanders and Normandy, was ousted by Arnulf I. Count of Flanders, the wife and children of the dispossessed Count were sent for safe keeping to Æthelstan.[3]

Herlouin of Ponthieu.

Æthelstan was a great friend to the clergy.[4] His liberality to Malmesbury may be considered to have been in some measure repaid by the pains taken by William, the Malmesbury writer, in collecting and preserving the facts of his life. How lavish Æthelstan's grants could be may be gathered from the fact that one single charter makes over to St. Peter's Monastery at Chertsey (St. Earconwald's foundation) no less than seven and thirty townships in Surrey, including Egham, Thorp, Chertsey, Chobham, Frimley, Weybridge, Walton, Molesey, Petersham, Tooting, Streatham, Mitcham, Sutton, Ewell, Epsom ("Ebesham"), Cheam ("Cheham"), Gatton ("Getinges"), Clandon, Effingham, Cobham, Byfleet, Albury, and Bisley ("Busseleghe").[5] Where the king's hand could be so open no wonder that fictitious claims were hazarded. We have already referred to a supposed grant in favour of St. Cuthberht. Better known is the rhyming concession of unprecedented privileges to St. John of Beverley.

Chertsey Abbey.

St. John of Beverley.

[1] A.D. 936. See Freeman, *N. C.*, 183, 196. Sismondi, *France*, III. 393-395.

[2] Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 180–185, and authorities there given.

[3] A.D. 939. Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 200. [4] See his charters, *passim*.

[5] Kingston, 15th December, 933. *Cod. Dip.* No. 363. The grant covers the whole North half of Surrey, from the Thames to the Downs. Mr. Maitland, in *Domesday and Beyond*, suggests that in these excessive grants only Regalian rights and not the ownership of the soil were conveyed.

"Wyt (*know*) all that es and es gan [1]
That ik King Adelstan
As gyven als frelich as I may
And to the capitell of seint Wilfrai
Of my free devotion
Thair pees at Rippon
On ilke side the Kyrke a mile
For all ill deeds and ylke agyle ; [2]
. . . .
And in al thinges be als free
As hert may thynke or eygh may se." [3]

The Laws of Æthelstan exhibit a picture of a pious, well-meaning government struggling with social evils on the right hand and the left.

Legislation. In theory the law is frightfully severe. Any person over twelve 'winters' old caught in the act of stealing property worth more than eight pence (the value of two sheep) must not be spared; he must be put to death.[4] By a later enactment the age is mercifully raised to fifteen 'winters,' and the value of the stolen property to twelve pence.[5] But we must add that the ultimate penalty is only exigible if the culprit resists, and cannot produce friends to make compensation for what he has done, and to give security for his good conduct in the future.[6] Then, again, persons hastily taking the law into their own hands may be made liable for the value of the life of the man they have killed, if his relatives are prepared to swear that they never knew of any thief among their connexion, and that the deceased in particular had never done anything worthy of death.[7] Further opportunities of escaping immediate punishment are provided through the appeal to the ordeal, and the rights of sanctuary (*socne*) allowed to churches and men of position.[8]

Sanctuary.

For the suppression of crime two sets of measures are put forward in

[1] 'Is and is to come.' [2] 'Every crime.'

[3] 'Eye may see.' See the song, *Cod. Dip.* No. 360 (also in Earle's *Land Charters*, p. 438), being an evident translation of the Latin Charter No. 358, which is also marked as spurious. The form of this charter and its legal phraseology belong to days much later than those of Æthelstan. The only attesting witnesses are "G," Archbishop of York, and "P," Provost of Beverley. But the Archbishops of York under Æthelstan were Rodewald and Wulfstan. The other metrical charter, No. 359 (Earle, p. 435), was probably expanded from the former. The language of both belongs to the 14th or 15th centuries.

[4] *Laws*, II. c. 1; IV. c. 6; VI. c. 1. We seem to find the Witan asking for severer penalties than the king was prepared to grant: such as that a free woman stealing should be drowned; a male slave stoned to death; female slaves burnt alive. IV. c. 6.

[5] *Id.*, VI. c. 12, s. 1.

[6] VI. c. 1, s. 4; cnf. the provisions relative to sorcerers, II. c. 6, s. 1. [7] II. c. 11.

[8] V. c. 4. Five days "fyrst" (respite, truce) are given to 'thieves or reivers' taking refuge with the king, a church, or a bishop. Three days are allowed for refuge with an ealdorman or a Thegn. If the lord of the sanctuary harbours a fugitive beyond the legal period, he himself becomes liable for his offence.

the Laws of Æthelstan. The first is of a feudalizing character. 'Lordless men, of whom no man can beget his rights,' are required to find them a responsible lord in the folkmote. A man of good character (*laðleas*) may choose his lord;[1] and the lords (*domini*), while forbidden to harbour other lords' men without their consent, are specially charged not to refuse their protection[2] to well behaved persons. The weak side of this system is revealed by another set of provisions, based on complaints, of which the reader will hear for five hundred years to come, of the support given to criminals and wrongdoers by men in great, nay even in official positions, and of the impossibility of bringing such offenders to justice.[3]

Responsible Lords.

The other scheme is of a totally different character, being simply an extension of the primitive principles of self-redress and right of private war. The population are invited to enrol themselves by tens and hundreds in voluntary[4] associations or gilds for the preservation of the peace (*gegylscipum, frithgildum*), or, to speak more accurately, for the suppression of thieves, the recovery of stolen property, and mutual insurance against losses by theft. Each gild will have a common purse, filled partly by levies on the brethren, partly by participation in property recovered. Each Ten will be looked after by an Elder (*yldesta*), who will keep the others to their duties; the entire gild or Hundred may apparently comprise as many as twelve Tens,[5] while the purse will be kept and the affairs of the association managed by a committee of the headmen, to meet monthly, if possible.

Gilds.

The primary objects of the institution and its *modus operandi* are clearly set forth in the first chapter of the Act. 'This is the first thing. That no thief over twelve pence [worth of theft] and twelve winters [of age] be spared, if we can ascertain that according to "folcriht" he is guilty, and can offer no excuse; then that we slay him and take all that he has, first keeping the worth of the stolen goods ("ceap-gild"); then that we halve the rest into two parts, one part to the wife—if she be guiltless of connivance,—the other part again to be shared, half to the king, half to the fellowship (*geferscipe, i.e.* gild).' The brethren agree to stand by each other 'on one friendship and one foeship.' One man from each Ten (if needful) to join in the pursuit: twelve pence reward to the man who first fells the thief.[6]

Pursuit of Thieves.

Division of Goods.

[1] II. c. 2; V. c. 1, s. 1.

[2] "Hlafordsocnam," III. c. 4; IV. c. 5; V. c. 1 and *id.* s. 1. Schmid renders socnam here as simply=following (hlaford-secan, Herrn zu suchen); but again at V. c. 4, s. 3, we have socne clearly used of the protection of a lord's sanctuary.

[3] II. c. 3; IV. c. 3; V. c. 1, ss. 3, 4. [4] See VI. c. 8, s. 6.

[5] Twelve heads of Tens (teoðunge) are spoken of as holding meetings, VI. c. 8, s. 1.

[6] VI. c. 1, s. 1, cc. 4, 7.

The reader will observe that the fellowship are not required to appeal to any legal authority for redress. They are to rely on their own resources. The sheriff is only to be called in if they have to deal with a clan or family (*mægð*) too strong for them; or, in the case of stolen property being tracked into another shire, when the sheriff of that county will be bound to carry on the pursuit.[1]

Self-help.

The enactment embodying this scheme is entitled "*Judicia Civitatis Lundoniæ*," having been drawn up 'by the bishops and reeves belonging to London town' (*the to Lunden-byrig hyrað*). But its provisions are expressly stated to be given as a supplement to (*to-ecan*)[2] the 'dooms' already passed at Greatley, and Exeter, and Thursfield, that is to say the public general Acts of the reign. Then the scheme is to include eorl as well as ceorl;[3] and the king seems to urge its adoption by all his bishops, ealdormen, and sheriffs.[4] This of course need only mean that it should be adopted in other large towns suited to it, but in the measure itself we can discern nothing specially applicable to town life; nothing in fact not *primâ facie* suggestive of country life—such as riding after thieves, or tracking goods or cattle across the march.

How the scheme would fit in with the ordinary judicial system of the country it is not easy to say. Apparently the ten or twelve Elders would have the powers of a Hundred court, with, presumably, an appeal to the folkmote. That the *Judicia*—for once in Anglo-Saxon legislation—contained something substantially new appears from the devout trust expressed that if the scheme should be generally adopted, as wished by the king, 'folk' would be less troubled with thieves than they ever had been before.[5] On the other hand 'our frith gilds' are clearly spoken of as an existing institution,[6] to be endowed with fresh vitality and extended scope of action under the new regulations. The reader will remember that in the legislation of Ælfred we found references to a class of *gegyldan* as distinguished from blood relations; men who were under certain mutual responsibilities, and enjoyed certain mutual rights in the matter of contributing to the payment or sharing in the receipt of fines. As the frithgilds of Æthelstan seem to spring from the *gegyldan* of Ælfred on the one hand, so we must hold them connected with the later gilds on the other hand.[7] Lastly, we may notice the undertaking that each man who shall 'give his pledge to,'[8] *i.e.* join, 'our gilds,' shall, at his death, have prayers for the good of his soul subscribed for by the brethren.

[1] c. 8, ss. 2, 3, 4. [2] Lit., 'to eke out.'

[3] VI. Preamble.

[4] VI. c. 11. It is not quite clear whether the "frið" that the king here enjoins is that of the *Judicia Civ. Lond.*, or some other set of measures passed before; but it is clear that the *Judicia* had his assent. [5] VI. c. 8, s. 9.

[6] "ou urum frið-gegyldum"; *Ib.* and Preamble."

[7] This view has the valuable support of Mr. J. R. Green, *Conquest of England*, 229.

[8] "his wedd geseald hæfð," c. 8, s. 6.

To return to the general legislation of Æthelstan, we find there the shire-"gerefa" or sheriff definitely recognised as the king's chief executive officer for the district.[1] General attendance at the folkmote is compelled by penalty.[2]

The Sheriff.

The ordeal figures more prominently in these than in any earlier Laws. This appeal to the judgment of God was allowed, as already mentioned, as a last chance to helpless criminals.[3] We call it an appeal to the judgment of God. But apart from trickery it ought to be called an appeal to Heaven for a miracle on behalf of the accused. We hear of the ordeal by iron and by water, and of the single and the triple ordeal.[4] Whether the ordeal in a given case should be single or otherwise, the Law decided. The choice of the form of ordeal to be undergone lay with the prosecutor. In all cases the proceedings were conducted with most solemn ritual. The accused party was required to sanctify himself with prayer and fasting for three days. On the third day he communicated, under a special form of mass, but before he was allowed to communicate the priest adjured him in most impressive words not to presume to come to the altar if he were in any way guilty.

The Ordeal.

Ordeal by Iron.

In the case of the ordeal by hot iron a fire was kindled in the church, and a bar of iron weighing one, two or three lbs. placed upon it in the presence of an equal number of witnesses from each side. The iron was kept on the fire while a certain service was being performed. At the end of 'the last collect' the iron was placed upon trestles, the man's hand was sprinkled with holy water, and then at a signal from the priest he took up the iron and carried it a measured distance of nine of his own feet; then, dropping it, he rushed to the altar, where his hand was bound up with a sealed cloth, to be removed at the end of three days, when his guilt or innocence would be declared according to the state of the hand. In the ordeal by hot water the accused had to take up a stone immersed in boiling water to the depth of his wrist or elbow as the case might be. In the ordeal by cold water he was let down into a pool of water by a rope an ell and a half long. If he sank he was innocent, if he floated he was guilty.[5]

Ordeal by Water.

Some Mint regulations issued by Æthelstan throw side-lights on one or two points of interest. The king directs that there shall be but one money for all his dominion (*onweald*), and names the towns where money shall be struck. All, with the exception of London, lie within the limits of Wessex. With the currencies of Mercia, Denalage, or Northumbria, King

[1] See *e.g.* VI. c. 8, s. 4. For his connexion with the folkmote see II. c. 12.

[2] II. c. 20.

[3] See esp. VI. c. 1, s. 4, where the ordeal is offered to thieves 'already often convicted.'

[4] II. cc. 4, 5, 7, 23.

[5] *Id.* and Schmid, Append. XIII., XVI., XVII. Appendix XVI. is printed by Thorpe among the *Laws* of Æthelstan, p. 227.

Æthelstan does not attempt to interfere. They lie outside the sphere of his direct control. This fact should be noted by those who suppose that England had been really united in one kingdom by Æthelstan. The towns selected for minting establishments are twelve in number. One moneyer will suffice for the requirements of Hastings, Chichester, and Dorchester; two for those of Lewes, [South] Hampton, Wareham, Shaftesbury, and Exeter. Three moneyers are allotted to Rochester,[1] six to Winchester, seven to Canterbury,[2] and eight to London. Thus we gather that in point of population and wealth, Winchester, Canterbury, and London stood to one another in the mutual ratios of the numbers six, seven and eight. These proportions appear to tally with the dimensions of these cities as defined by the walls referable to the Roman period. Old Winchester might be included in an area of something less than half a mile square, while old Canterbury would slightly exceed the half mile. Old London ought therefore to cover about three-quarters of a mile square, and that area would just come in between London Bridge on the East and Blackfriars on the West; between the Thames on the South and London Wall on the North.

Charitable regulations, as usual, stand in the forefront of the king's legislation. The payment of church dues is again enjoined. These include Tithes, Kirk-shot, Plough-alms, and Soul-shot (*sawl-sceatta*).[3] The last was a fee payable at the burial of each person, presumably for prayers for his or her soul.[4] Æthelstan directs one poor Englishman to be fed from each two of his farms (*feorma*), 'if ye have one, or that ye find another.' The prescribed allowance seems liberal. The man is to receive monthly an amber (*ambra*) of meal, a leg of pork, and a sheep (*ram*) worth four pence.[5] The amber is said to have been equal to four bushels. A bushel of good wheat flour at the present day ought to yield twenty quartern loaves. But allowing, say, sixteen loaves for the bushel of tenth-century meal, the dole would come to two quartern loaves a day, besides a substantial allowance of meat.

Above, four pence is given as the value of a middling sheep. We get some further notes of prices from the *Judicia Civitatis Lundoniæ*, where we find the gild brethren agreeing to demand ten shillings, or half of £1, as the standing compensation for a stolen horse, and the same for a stolen slave; one mancus or thirty pence must be asked for an ox, twenty pence for a cow, ten pence for a pig, and a shilling (=five pence) for a sheep.[6]

Æthelstan was reported to have been a man of moderate stature and slender build.[7] He wore his yellow hair, of which Malmesbury had seen a lock, bound up with threads of gold.[8] Apparently he was never married, and he certainly left no issue.

[1] Two for the king, one for the bishop. [2] Four for the king, two for the archbishop, one for the abbot. [3] *Laws*, I. [4] See Schmid, *Glossary*. [5] *Laws*, II. Preamble. [6] C. 6; and Schmid, *Glossary*, "Geldrechnung." In Mercia four pence made a shilling, in Wessex five made the shilling.

[7] "Corpore deducto." [8] W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 134.

CHAPTER XVIII

EADMUND I.—EADRÊD—EADWIG

FINAL REDUCTION OF MERCIAN AND NORTHUMBRIAN DANES.

Eadmund I. 'The Magnificent'?[1] Born *circa*, 922; succeeded 940; died 29th May, 946 (murdered)

AT the death of Æthelstan his eldest surviving half-brother Eadmund came to the throne without dispute. Nothing is recorded of the details of his election or coronation, but the rites must have been performed without delay, as he signs as king in the year 940.[2]

Eadmund had borne himself bravely at Brunnanburh, but he was only eighteen years old at the time of his accession,[3] and it soon became clear that Æthelstan's work would have to be done over again. The Northern Danes threw off the yoke, and inviting over Olaf Cuaran, the King of Dublin, made him King of York[4] for the first time.[5]

Revolt of Danes.

The attitude of the Mercian Danes is not clearly defined; probably they too revolted, as we hear of their subsequent reduction by Eadmund. Olaf, however, invaded Mercia, advancing as far as Northampton, where he met with a check. Falling back on Tamworth, he devastated a large tract of country. He was continuing his retreat towards Chester,[6] when he was overtaken by Eadmund. The engagement that seemed imminent was averted by the two Archbishops, Odo of Canterbury and Wulfstan of York, the former having just been translated from Ramsbury. As a man of Danish extraction, the Southern Primate might seem well fitted to act as mediator;[7] but Wulfstan

A Pacification.

[1] So Florence; but as he has some grand epithet for almost every king, I do not feel any confidence in the authenticity of this one.

[2] *Codex Dip.* No. 379. "Primo anno imperii mei," Nos. 1,136 and 1,138. His usual style is "Rex anglorum cæterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium," No. 389, etc. In one charter, dated about 946, he styles himself "Rex Anglorum necnon et Merciorum," No. 409. [3] Chron.

[4] "Anlaf of Yrlande," Chron. D, A.D. 941. Cuaran had returned to Dublin in 938. *Ann. Ulst.* [5] Symeon, *H. R.*, A.D. 939.

[6] "Legreceastre," Sym. *sup.*; Chester must be the place meant.

[7] Odo was son of a Danish chief who came over with Ivar in 866. He was taken up by Æthelhelm Ealdorman of Wilts (qy. the son of Æthelred I. ?), baptised and sent to school by him, and went with him to Rome (A.D. 887, Chron. A). By Æthelstan he was made Bishop of Ramsbury (925–927), and went with him to Brunnanburh where, however, he does not appear to have fought as a combatant. In 842 he was translated to Canterbury.

was afterwards taxed with having been more careful of Northumbrian than of English interests.[1] Anyhow the terms agreed upon were most derogatory to the King of Wessex, his dominion being cut down to the old line of the Watling Street, the boundary of Ælfred and Guthrum in 886.[2] We next hear of a Danish attack on Bernicia, led by one "Olilaf," presumably a third Olaf, whose identity, however, need not trouble us, as he died shortly afterwards. The inroad was pushed as far as Tyninghame in East Lothian, and the church of St. Baldred sacked. The district, as we take it, having been previously under Uhtred, son of Ealdulf, the ally of Wessex, was now required to accept as joint kings Olaf, son of Sihtric, and his nephew Reingwald, son of Guthfrith.[3]

Northern Affairs.

But the star of Wessex was still in the ascendant, as the next thing that we seem to hear of is the reduction by Eadmund of the Danish Five Burghs of Mercia, namely Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Derby, whereby his dominion was advanced to a line accurately defined by Dore, Whitwell, and the Humber, in fact just the southern boundary of our Yorkshire.[4] The three Northern kings then came to terms with Eadmund, submitting to holy baptism in his presence, as a sign, we take it, of the re-establishment of Christianity in their dominions. But their rule proved short-lived. Within the next two or three years the Bernicians got rid of Olaf, son of Sihtric; while Eadmund expelled Reingwald and Olaf Cuaran, and so being quit of them all, succeeded in establishing his authority over all Northumbria.[5]

One more expedition Eadmund lived to accomplish. In 945 he harried all "Cumbraland," and then, we are told, "let" it, *i.e.*, made it over to the new King of Scots, Malcolm I. (*Mailcolum*), son of Donald (*Domnail*), 'on condition that he should be his helper both by sea and land.'[6] Part at any rate of our Cumberland had already been annexed by the kingdom of Strathclyde, as we have seen. So much was this the case that Cumbria was being used

Strathclyde Ravaged.

See the *Life of St. Oswald*, *Historians of Church of York*, I. 404 (J. Raine, Rolls Series, No. 71), the *Life of Odo* by Osbern, *Anglia Sacra*, II. 78, and *Reg. Sacrum*.

[1] See W. Malm., *Gesta Pont.*, s. 114, where his statements of fact, however, are very inexact, 114.

[2] A.D. 942, Symeon, *H. R.*, *sup.*; Chron. D (A.D. 943), where the latter part of the annal refers to later events. The date seems fixed by the fact that in this year, and this year only, of Eadmund's reign, we have Wulfstan attesting charters at the English Court, *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 392, 393.

[3] Sym., *sup.*, A.D. 941, and p. 378; Chron., A.D. 944. For these men see above, 276, 284.

[4] Chron. A, A.D. 941; B, C, D, A.D. 942. The chronology is most confused.

[5] A.D. 943, 945, Sym., *sup.*; Chron. A, B, C (A.D. 944). Olaf Cuaran reappears at Dublin in 945, relieving his brother Blacair, son of Guthfrith, who had been there previously; *Ann. Ulst.*

[6] Chron. A, B, C; Flor. Constantine had abdicated about the year 942, retiring to end his days at St. Andrew's. See Skene, *C. S.*, I. 360–362.

as another name for Strathclyde, and was probably so used here, because the Welsh annalists speak of this very raid as a devastation of Strathclyde.[1] The district had been and still was being held by a scion of the Royal House of Scotland on the footing of a vassal under-kingdom. The actual king was Donald, son of Eogan, who had disappeared since the battle of Brunnanburh. Eadmund's inroad may have been provoked by a refusal on the part of Donald to render to him the homage rendered to Æthelstan by Eogan. But Donald's relations to the King of Scotland were not and could not be affected by Eadmund's action. Utterly destitute of warrant, even less founded on fact, is the suggestion that Strathclyde was "abolished" by Eadmund.[2] We shall find the succession of kings there running on for nearly a century to come, with princes at times strong enough to give considerable trouble to their Scottish suzerains. The allegation of a cession of Cumbria or Strathclyde to Scotland must be dismissed as an idle boast of our chroniclers, but one quite in accordance with the turgid pretensions of the royal charters of the period.

Death of Eadmund.

In the following year Eadmund's career was brought to an untimely close by the hand of an assassin. It would seem that the Court was at Pucklechurch in Gloucestershire, holding the Feast of the national Apostle, St. Augustine (26th May, 946), when one Liofa, a freebooter, who had been banished by the King, entered the hall, and took his seat at table. The King ordered the steward (*dapiferum*) to expel the intruder, and when Liofa resisted, hastened to assist his servant. A scuffle ensued, in which the King was stabbed, Liofa being immediately cut down by the courtiers.[3] The King's remains were taken to Glastonbury and buried in the Abbey church, the Abbot, the celebrated Dunstan, officiating.[4]

Legislation.

The Laws of Eadmund give us little that is new, either in principle, or by way of illustration of known rules. But in them we have perhaps the first requirement of a universal oath of fealty to the king, 'as from a man to his lord';[5] to them also we owe the first authoritative statement of the proceedings incidental to the peaceable settlement of the *wer* of a murdered man,[6] as already given. The piety of the king's tone is touching in its simplicity, when, bewailing the strife and bloodshed with which he is surrounded, he implores his subjects to live in fraternal concord,[7] and warns abducers of nuns, murderers, and adulterers, that they will forfeit the privilege of burial in consecrated ground, 'unless they

[1] *Ann. Camb.*, A.D. 946; *Brut-y-T.*, A.D. 944.

[2] This is Mr. Freeman's view, *N. C.*, I. 61, 124.

[3] Chron. A, B, C, and esp. D, and Flor. The latter gives the duration of the reign as five years and seven months, thus exactly confirming our date for Æthelstan's death.

[4] Chron. A, B, D; Flor.; W. Malm., *G.R.*, s. 144; *Memorials St. Dunstan*, 29. "Perempto Eadmundo ab iniquo cleptore" (Rolls Series).

[5] *Laws Eadm.*, III. c. 1. Schmid. [6] *Id.*, II. c. 7.

[7] "Gesibsumnesse and gethwærnesse."

amend their ways.'[1] But the king's justice does not rest there. Penalties of confiscation and death are freely denounced against offenders all round. If slaves band together to rob, then the 'oldest man' of them (*senior*, say, ringleader) must be 'killed or hanged'; the others to be thrice flogged and have their little fingers cut off.[2]

By his mistress Ælfgifu (she died *circa* 944[3]) Eadmund left EADWIG and EADGAR. By his wife Æthelflæd, distinguished as Æthelflæd "at" (*i.e.* of) Domersham (daughter of Ælfgar, afterwards Ealdorman of the East Saxons[4]), who survived him, Eadmund left no issue.

Issue.

EADRED

Born *circa* 924?; crowned 16th August, 946; died 23rd November, 955

At Eadmund's death his eldest son Eadwig was still a mere child, not ten years old, and plainly incapable of filling the throne. The suffrages of the Witan therefore naturally fell on the late King's brother Eadred, younger son of Eadweard the Elder by his wife Eadgifu. On Sunday, 16th August, he was duly hallowed at Kingston-on-Thames by Archbishop Odo.[5]

Coronation.

Eadred was quite a young man, perhaps twenty-two years old, and of so sickly a constitution, we are told, that he could not digest plain meat: he could only suck the juice of it through his teeth, rejecting the solid morsels, a great trial to those who had to sit at his table.[6] But he was surrounded by men trained in the difficulties and glories of the last two reigns, with his mother as his prime adviser. One young man he also had by him—a man of great promise, his personal friend and playmate, who was rapidly coming to the front—Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury.[7]

As the first incidents of the reign, and, in fact, as incidents of the very

[1] *Laws Eadm.*, II. Preamble; and I. c. 4.

[2] *Id.*, III. c. 4.

[3] *i.e.* in the year of the expulsion of Olaf and Reingwald; Æthelweard, *M. H. B.*, 520. Both this writer and Florence (A.D. 955) style Ælfgifu "regina" and "sancta regina," but in the only charter in which her name appears she humbly signs, "Ego concubina Regis affui." Ælfgifu was held a saint by the Anglo-Saxon Church (5th May), and miracles were wrought at her tomb at Shaftesbury; Flor., *sup.*

[4] Chron. D, A.D. 946. Ælfgar signs as "dux" 947–951. See E. W. Robertson, *Hist. Essays*, 168.

[5] Florence; Chron. A, B, C; *Cod. Dip.* No. 411. Eadred's usual style is "Rex Anglorum cœterarumque gentium in circuitu existentium gubernator et rector," *Id.*, 415. In his last year, 955, he signs as Cæsar. "Cyning et Casere totius Britanniæ," No. 433. In this same year "the German soldiery hailed his brother-in-law by the same title." Robertson.

[6] *Vita S. Dunstani*, Auctore B. *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, p. 31. (Bishop Stubbs, Rolls Series No. 63.)

[7] Dunstan's appointment to Glastonbury is recorded by Florence under the year 942, but the first undisputed charter attested by him as abbot belongs to 946, *Cod. Dip.* No. 411. He was born in 924 or 925, Chron.; Flor.

year of Eadred's accession, we are told that he reduced all Northumberland; and that the Scots gave him oaths 'that they would all that he would.' With respect to the Scottish homage we can only remark that we do not find the names of any Scottish envoys as present at the English court.[1] The allegation of the reduction of Northumberland was clearly premature: but as Archbishop Wulfstan of York, and two "eorls" (jarls), with strange names,[2] and Howel Dha and other Welshmen, attest the official record of Eadred's election, we may take it that all England and Wales at once accepted the new King's rule.[3]

Homage of all England and Wales.

The final suppression of the Danish kingdom of Deira was the mark of the reign—a notable achievement; but the exact course of events must be given with great reserve, the authorities being utterly at variance as to their dates.

In immediate sequence on the allegation of the reduction of Northumbria in 946, we are told that Eadred marched to "Taddenesscylfe," Shelf, near Halifax, just inside the borders of Deira; and that there Archbishop Wulfstan and the Northumbrian Witan (there being no king at the time), plighted him their troth; the writer adding that 'within a little while they belied it all, both troth and pledges.' These events are placed by the Worcester Chronicle in the year 947. Florence, re-writing the narrative, gives the year as 949; and the old chronicle incorporated by Symeon agrees with this, placing the visit to Northumbria between 948 and 950.[4]

Struggle with Northumbria.

The Danes certainly were not long of breaking their word, as under the year 949 we hear that Olaf, surnamed Cuaran, expelled by Eadmund, was 'brought back' to rule at York.[5] Again apparently he entered England under the ægis of the King of Scots, as the Pictish Chronicle records under this year an invasion of England by Malcolm, which was pushed as far as the river Tees.[6] That would be the southern boundary of Bernicia, at any rate of Bernicia *plus* the territory of

Olaf Cuaran Again.

[1] Fordun, however, accepts the homage, but limits it to Cumbria, and says that it was performed by Indulf, the Tanist heir to the Scottish Throne, I. 167.

[2] "Imorcer eorl" and "Andcoll eorl"; *Cod. Dip.*, *sup.* (Marker & Arkell?).

[3] In his first charter Eadred claims to have succeeded to the fourfold kingdom of "Angulsaxna, Northhymbra, Paganorum, Brettonumque." The Anglo-Saxon realm would include Wessex, English Mercia, and their dependencies. Northumbria perhaps would mean Bernicia, the modern Northumberland; the Pagan districts would be Deira and any parts of Mercia still ruled by heathen chiefs; and the Britons, of course, would be the Welsh principalities, of which Eadred was overlord.

[4] *G. R.*, p. 94.

[5] Chron. E, A.D. 949; "reduxerunt Onlafum," Sym., *H. R.*, p, 378, comparing p. 93, where we were told under the year 439 that Olaf then came to York 'for the first time.' At p. 94 the Danish king by an obvious confusion is called Eric.

[6] "VII° anno regni sui predavit Anglicos ad amnem Thesis," p. 10.

St. Cuthberht, districts of course friendly to Wessex and hostile to the Danes.

Eadred was prompt to assert his rights, as in 950 he invaded Deira in force, once more expelling Olaf Cuaran,[1] overrunning all the country, and even burning St. Wilfrith's Minster at Ripon. The expedition, however, ended with a reverse, the Danes from York overtaking the King's rear at "Ceasterforda," and making great havoc of them.[2] Encouraged by this success, the Deirans called in one more foreign prince to rule over them, namely, Eric, son of Harold Blaatand (*Blue-tooth*), King of Denmark.[3] But Deira could no longer stand by itself; and it would seem that all races in Great Britain conspired to make an end of Danish rule. The short record is that the Northumbrians under threats from Eadred expelled Eric, the last of their kings, and that he fell by the hand of one Maccus, or Magnus, son of Olaf.[4] A late writer adds that he fell in the wilds of "Steinmor"—Stainmore, on the borders of Yorkshire and Westmoreland, through the 'treachery' of Osulf.[5] Osulf was the Lord, or, as he styles himself, the High Reeve of Bamborough, the representative doubtless of the House of Ealdulf, a man who owed no allegiance to Eric.[6] Lastly, the trustworthy *Annals of Ulster* record under this same year, 952, a 'battle against the men of Alban and Britain and Saxony by the Galls,' *i.e.* Danes. From all this we infer that Eric was ousted by a curious coalition of hostile Danes, Bernicians, Englishmen, and Strathclyde Britons. Deira accepted the rule of English ealdormen, or earls, as perhaps we ought to call them in the North, and in 953 the whole of all Northumbria, including both Deira and Bernicia, was conferred as one vast earldom or ealdormanry upon the faithful Osulf, an excessive grant, large as the jurisdictions of the ealdormen had come to be.[7]

His Expulsion.

Eric, son of Harold Blaatand.

Death of Eric.

These offices had grown as the kingdom had grown. In the time of

[1] Cuaran went back to Dublin, where he reigned till 980. He then retired to Iona, and died in 981; *Ann. Ulst.*

[2] A.D. 950, Symeon, *H. R.*, 94, 378; Florence; (A.D. 948, Chron. D). The two latter give the name of the expelled king as Eric, again a confusion.

[3] Sym., *H. R.*, 378; Chron. E (A.D. 952); Adam of Bremen, Pertz IX. 324 (no date); Lappenberg, II. 125.

[4] A.D. 952, Symeon, *H. R.*, 94, 197, 378. "Defecerunt hic reges Northanhymbrorum," Adam Bremen, *sup.*; Chron. D and E (A.D. 954). But for the statement that this Maccus or Magnus was son of Olaf, I should be inclined to identify him with the Maccus or Magnus whom we shall find king of the Southern Isles in the time of Eadgar. He was certainly the son of one Harold.

[5] R. Wendover, A.D. 950. The writer was Precentor of St. Albans, and died in 1237.

[6] "Osulf heahgerefa," *Cod. Dip.* No. 411; "Osulf ad bebb. hehgr.," No. 424. This was an old Bernician title. See Chron. D, A.D. 778, 779.

[7] Symeon, *sup.*, and 199; Chron. D and E (A.D. 954); R. Hoveden, I. 57; R. Wendover (A.D. 950).

Eadweard the Elder we heard of two ealdormen for Kent alone; now the ealdorman mostly rules a group of shires, a province. South of the Thames at this period we seem to trace at most four such rulers, one for the Western counties, one for the central district of Wilts and Hants, one for Sussex, and one for Kent. North of the Thames the three ealdormen of East Anglia, Mercia, and the Five Burghs seem to have divided most of the territory up to the line of the Humber. The coincidence of these limits with those of pre-existing governments suggests that local feeling still had to be indulged with something in the nature of a vice-regal court. These important posts were reserved as much as possible for connexions of the Royal Family. At the head of the group at the time that we have reached stood the ealdorman of East Anglia, Æthelstan, a man of such influence that to distinguish him from his Royal namesake he was called 'Æthelstan the Half-king.'[1]

Ealdormanries of the Period.

The recurrent disaffection in the North had brought the northern Primate under very great suspicion. Eadred, satisfied of Wulfstan's disloyalty, arrested him and sent him to prison at "Judanbyrig," Jedburgh, in Bernicia.[2] After a while, doubtless after the reduction of Deira, he was released, but he was not allowed to return to York; he was sent to Dorchester,[3] Oscytel, Bishop of Dorchester, a man of Danish extraction, being translated to York.[4] These facts show the reality of the Royal Supremacy over the Anglo-Saxon Church. Wulfstan, however, did not long survive his degradation, as he died on the 26th December, 956, and was buried at Oundle.[5]

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Eadred had already passed away. His struggling, sickly life[6] closed in death at Frome on the 23rd November, 955. Nine years and a half he had reigned. Like his predecessor, he was buried by

Death of Eadred.

[1] "Quem semi-regem appellabant . . : omnes populi," *Vita Oswaldi, sup.*, 248. "Half Kyng," *Hist. Ramsey*, 11. See Robertson, *Historical Essays*, 178 and 179. *Hist. Ramsey*, p. 11. Under Eadred the greatest number of "duces" (ealdormen) attesting one charter is eight, and that includes at least one Danish "dux," whose jurisdiction was probably more limited. Under Eadwig seven is the largest number.

[2] Chron. D, Flor., A.D. 952; R. Wendover, A.D. 951; W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 146.

[3] Chron. D, Flor., A.D. 954; R. Wendover, A.D. 953.

[4] Chron. B, C, A.D. 971; R. Wendover, A.D. 954. The imprisonment of Wulfstan at Jedburgh must be associated with the invasion of Northumbria, which we place in 950. In the confusion of the chronology of the reign, the only sure footing seems to be given by the charters. Wulfstan attests charters in every year of the reign for which charters are extant except 951 and 952. There are no charters for 950: so that Wulfstan must have been in prison in 951 and 952, and may have been so in 950. In 953 he reappears, *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,169. In 954 again there are no charters, but in 955 we have Oscytel signing as "Eboracensis Ecclesiæ primas," No. 1,171.

[5] Chron. D, Flor.

[6] "Per omne tempus . . . nimium languens . . . ægrotantem vitam misere perduxit," *Memorials Dunstan*, 31 (B).

Dunstan, at Glastonbury,[1] then doubtless the church of most sanctity and repute in England.

From this time onwards the life of St. Dunstan is so much bound up with the history of England that a sketch of his earlier career can no longer be deferred.

St. Dunstan.

His birth is placed in the first year of the reign of Æthelstan[2] (924-925); but as he attests a Royal charter in 940,[3] it may be that his birth fell somewhat earlier. He was born, apparently, in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury, and came of good West-Saxon parentage. Ælfheah the Bald, Bishop of Winchester (St. Elphege I.), and Cynesige, Bishop of Lichfield, are spoken of as his relatives (*propinquus, consanguineus*);[4] and by them he was introduced to the Court of Æthelstan. At an early age his parents made him take minor Orders at Glastonbury, where he served in the Church of St. Mary.[5] The boy soon showed a taste for reading, and we are specially told that he was supplied with books by the Irish pilgrims who flocked to the shrine of the younger St. Patrick at Glastonbury. His studious tastes, however, and perhaps "his dreams and his prayers," brought down upon him the ill-will of his young courtly associates, who accused him of occult studies, procured his temporary banishment from Æthelstan's court, and went so far as to duck him in a muddy pond.[6]

Parentage.

Education.

It would seem that after this he went to live with his relative, Bishop Ælfheah, at Winchester.[7] Ælfheah may have been contemplating a revival of the Benedictine rule, then practically dead in England. "Monachism there was in England, although it was not after the rule of St. Benedict." Probably it was of an Irish character, modified by survivals of the Benedictine rule as introduced by Wilfrith. At any rate Ælfheah pressed Dunstan to take monastic Orders. But Dunstan's inclinations were not in that direction; he had fallen in love with a young lady whom he wished to marry. The struggle was long and severe, and Dunstan did not yield to the Bishop's wishes till illness had brought him to death's door. By his priestly biographer the wish to enter the bonds of holy matrimony is represented as a direct temptation from the Evil One.[8]

Monastic Vows.

As a monk Dunstan went back to Glastonbury. Osbern, one of his later biographers, tells us that he was shown there a cell, probably a penitential cell, a mere hovel, about five feet long and two and a half feet wide; which Dunstan had built for himself. The use of the cell must be referred, if at all, to this period,[9] as after his promotion to the abbacy,

[1] Chron. A, D, E; Flor.; Symeon, *H. R.*, 94.
[2] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, 71 (Osbern); conf. 6 (B). [3] *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,130.
[4] *Memorials*, 13, 31 (B). [5] *Memorials*, 10 (B), 77 (Osbern).
[6] *Id.*, 10, 12. [7] *Id.*, LXXIX. [8] *Id.*, 13, 14 (B); also 68 (Adelard).
[9] *Id.*, 83, "hæc juveni domus."

it appears that Dunstan used to have a monk sleeping in the same room with him.[1] Again a well-known story represents Dunstan as having room in his cell for working in metals with an anvil and a furnace.[2] Having been recalled by Æthelstan before his death, he remained at court under Eadmund. There again it would seem that his stricter life made friends of some and enemies of others. The King eventually was turned against him, and finally, during a hunting party at Cheddar, ordered Dunstan to find himself a lord elsewhere. Dunstan, preparing to obey, asked some envoys from a distance to take him away with them.[3] Two days later, the King, in eager pursuit of a stag, was brought to the brink of a precipice; quarry and hounds went over headlong, and were destroyed. The King, thinking himself lost, breathed a prayer for forgiveness from Dunstan, vowing amends if he should be saved. By a miraculous effort the horse pulled himself up, and Eadmund lived. True to his vow, the King straightway took Dunstan to Glastonbury, and then and there installed him as Abbot (A.D. 946 ?).[4]

Enemies at Court.

Appointed Abbot.

It is clear that at the time the abbacy must have been vacant, and most of its possessions in the King's hands. The buildings were in a ruinous condition, and the whole foundation in a wretched state. In name an abbey of monks, it must really have been in the hands of clerks, or secular canons, probably married men. Dunstan's first care was to repair the necessary buildings; his next to revive discipline, and to gather round him a flock of young men to be trained as monks. Thus his establishment would be "much more of a school than a convent."[5] In fact the Benedictine rule could not be enforced in its strictness all at once, as nobody in England was fully acquainted with it. But the attempt to revive it was quite a 'new departure, and so his biographer not unfairly styles Dunstan 'the first true English abbot' (*primus abbas anglicæ nationis*).

Training Monks.

The period of Dunstan's active work as a teacher must have fallen in the reign of Eadred, when he could divide his time between Glastonbury

[1] *Memorials*, 31 (B).

[2] Dunstan being at work in his cell, an impertinent intruder annoyed him by staring at him through the opening in the door, obstructing his light, and begging for some of his handiwork. Dunstan took no heed till the stranger began to indulge in licentious and disgusting talk, tempting him, when Dunstan, realizing the true character of his persecutor, heated his tongs in the fire, and then invoking the name of Christ, suddenly seized the apparition by the nose, whereupon the Evil One went off roaring as if he had been a very man, and nothing more; *Id.*, p. 84 (Osbern) and 173 (Eadmer). Both, however, connect the incident with the five-foot cell.

[3] "Regni orientis nuntii cum rege tunc hospitantes . . . orans . . . secum ad patriam . . . perducerent." *Id.*, 23 (B).

[4] *Id.*, 23–25 (B); 56 (Adelard); 90–92 (Osbern). Dunstan first signs as Abbot in 946, *Cod. Dip.* No. 411; but Florence places the appointment as early as 942.

[5] See *Memorials*, lxxxiii. 25, 56, 92.

and the Court at Winchester. Eadred must have known Dunstan from his boyhood, and was uniformly partial to him, sympathising with him in his schemes of monastic revival, and taking him as his chief adviser next to his own mother, the Lady Eadgifu. He made Dunstan act as his treasurer, placing all his valuables, including the title-deeds of his private estates (*rurales cartulas*), under his charge at Glastonbury;[1] and some of Eadred's charters are expressly stated to have been penned by Dunstan.[2] Again it was Eadred who, by his mother's advice, appointed Æthelwold, one of Dunstan's pupils, Abbot of Abingdon, and it was in Eadred's time that Æthelwold sent the priest Osgar to Fleury for instruction in the rules of the Benedictine discipline. The mission of Oswald to the same place for the like purpose may probably be referred to the same period.[3] The connexion thus established with Fleury tinged the whole future spirit of the English Church. All its Homilies, all its devotional literature, take their inspiration from that source.

Connexion with Fleury.

At the death of Æthelgar, Bishop of Crediton (952), Eadred pressed Dunstan to accept the See; but Dunstan refused, though the King's mother added her instances to those of her son. Ælfwold, however, the man finally appointed to the bishopric, was nominated by Dunstan.[4]

As a character, Dunstan presents himself to us as a man of engaging manners and refined tastes, fond of ladies' society; one who could condescend to draw patterns for women's needlework;[5] a man of tact and sensibility, easily moved to tears, even in his old age;[6] a man who lived in the world, but was not of the world; an artist rather than a scholar, more of a statesman than of a monk. Dunstan was a great dreamer, a somnambulist. Yet in all things he showed a most practical turn. He was possessed of a most vivid imagination; but he never allowed it to run away with him. Moderation and good-sense characterised his every action.

Character of Dunstan.

As a boy, while suffering from an attack of fever, and in a state of delirium, he escaped by night from his nurse, and made his way out of doors beating the air with a stick to keep off imaginary dogs. Then, ascending a workman's ladder, he climbed up to the roof of the church. There he stood awhile. Then,

Somnambulism.

[1] *Memorials*, 29. [2] *Codex Dipl.* Nos. 425, 1,166.

[3] For Æthelwold and Oswald see *Memorials Dunst.*, lxxxvi.; *Life of Æthelwold*, *Hist. Abingdon*, II. 255 (Rolls Series No. 2, Stevenson); and that by Wulfstan, Mabillon; *Acta SS. Sæc.*, V. 608; the *Lives of Oswald*, *Historians Church of York*, I. 413, and *Hist. Ramsey*, 22, 23 (Rolls Series No. 83, Macræ). The charter, *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,208, seems to imply that the Benedictine rule had been established at Abingdon by February, 956.

[4] *Memorials*, 29, 30 (B.), cf. 56 (Ad.) and 94 (O), where the bishopric pressed upon Dunstan is given as that of Winchester, vacant through the death of Ælfheah in 951.

[5] See the account of his filial relations with the ladies Æthelflæd and Æthelwyn, *Memorials*, 17, 20 (B).

[6] See *Id.*, 50, 315, 379, etc. The fact is noticed by every writer.

descending in safety, he finally took refuge in the bed of two men, who were *sleeping inside* the church, in charge of the building.[1] Temptations, revelations, and dreams, figure largely in the Life of Dunstan even as given by his earliest and most trustworthy biographer. It is clear that some, if not all, of these must have been derived from Dunstan himself. He was in the habit of entertaining his circle with stories and reminiscences. As a boy, on the occasion of a night spent in prayerful solitude with his father in Glastonbury church, he had a vision of new monastic buildings, such as he himself lived to erect.[2] A revelation of many of the future events of his life was made to him by a deceased friend, Wulfred, a Glastonbury deacon, in a dream.[3] While keeping vigil in prayer one night in his cell,[4] the Devil presented himself successively in the shapes of a bear, a dog, and a fox, endeavouring to turn Dunstan from his devotions. It is not suggested that on this occasion Dunstan had succumbed to sleep. But another time, when the Enemy peeped over his shoulder before the altar of St. George the Martyr, again in the semblance of a bear, it is distinctly stated that Dunstan had fallen into 'a sort of a slumber—something between sleeping and waking.'[5] Starting up in terror, he struck out wildly with a stick that he always carried with him. The idle blow fell on the wall, waking the echoes of the empty church! A verse from the Psalm "*Exsurgat Deus*,"[6] finally dispelled the phantom. His rejection of the bishopric of Crediton was rebuked in a dream by a vision of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew.[7] Perhaps he felt some compunction at having rejected the small Cornish See. On two occasions he had escapes from falling stones, which he considered miraculous.[8] Twice he believed that he had warnings of the impending death of the reigning King. The first came three days before the murder of Eadmund, when Dunstan was riding in the King's company along with the Ealdorman of East Anglia, Æthelstan the Half-king. He saw the Enemy capering at the head of the party, among the trumpeters, in the shape of a little black mannikin.[9] Again, just before the fatal banquet, he encountered in the palace yard a mysterious individual, who professed to be an East Saxon, with a roll of a written petition in his hand; having presented it he suddenly vanished.[10] A supernatural intimation was given

Visions.

Presages.

[1] *Memorials*, 8 (B). The nurse, who followed Dunstan, reported the facts; 55 (Ad.). The writer, however, begins to impart a miraculous character to the incident, which is carried still farther by Osbern, who represents Dunstan as carried by Angels' hands from the roof of the church through the closed doors into the interior, p. 75. The Lives of Dunstan are a perfect study in the growth of myth.

[2] *Id.*, 7. [3] *Id.*, 15. [4] "Infra scepta (*leg.* septa) claustrorum."

[5] "Levis soporis dormitio inrepserat . . . nec penitus vigilanti neque penitus dormienti"; and again, "superâtus a somno"; *Id.*, 26–28 (B).

[6] 'Let God arise,' Ps. lxviii. 1. For a distorted version of the incident see *Memorials*, 59 (Adelard). [7] *Id.*, 30 (B).

[8] *Id.*, 18, 29. [9] "Homuncii nigelli specie," *Id.*, 45 (B). [10] *Ib.*

him of the death of his friend and patron Eadred. The King, feeling his end near, had ordered Dunstan to bring him his treasures for distribution among his friends. As Dunstan was riding to Frome his horse dropped down dead under him. Dunstan, accepting the omen, at once proclaimed the fact: 'Eadred rests in peace.' And such the case was found to be when the party reached its destination.[1]

Specially distinctive of the man were Dunstan's varied accomplishments. Besides the performance of his church Offices he found time for 'writing and painting,' that is to say transcribing and illuminating MSS. As for literary composition, that was not in Dunstan's line. There is not so much as "a single letter that can with any possibility be attributed to him."[2] But of his penmanship a drawing of the Saviour and perhaps two or three charters are believed to exist.[3] As a musician he played on the harp, cymbals, and organ (*organa*); and it may be that the Salisbury trope or cantus, "*Kyrie rex splendens*," appointed to be sung on the feasts of St. Dunstan and St. Michael, is of his composition.[4] He made organs for Malmesbury, and a chime of bells for Canterbury.[5] Probably his special faculty was for metal work, in which the English of his time excelled. We are told that he wrought in gold, silver, bronze (*æs*), and iron.[6] As late as the times of Edward II. the Royal Treasury boasted of a gold ring with a sapphire handed down as the work of St. Dunstan. We also hear of modelling in wax, and of carving in wood and bone.[7] A statesman and a courtier, Dunstan was something of a man of the world. He waged no indiscriminate warfare against the married clergy. We shall find his clerical reforms tempered by a moderation unfortunately not to be found in the doings of his disciples and followers. Altogether we may pronounce him one of the most pleasing and interesting of the many churchmen-statesmen produced by England. Lastly, however, to return to the state of England at Eadred's death, we may point

Accomplishments.

Illumination.

Music.

Metal Work.

[1] *Memorials*, 31. Here I have ventured to modify the story. As the original stands, a voice came from heaven saying to Dunstan, 'Behold now, Eadred rests in peace,' whereat the horse, 'overcome by the Angelic presence,' dropped down dead. Whether anyone else besides Dunstan and the horse heard the voice does not appear. The only other distinctly miraculous incident recorded in the Life by the priest B, is that of the vessel of mead at the table of the Lady Æthelflæd, which, after prayer to the Virgin Mary, sufficed for all the court of Æthelstan, p. 17. The same incident occurs in the life of St. Oswald (below).

[2] The "Regularis Concordia," a body of Rules for monks (printed Dugdale, *Monasticon*, I. xxviii., ed. Caley) attributed to Dunstan, may belong to the time of Æthelred II. The way in which king and queen are placed on one platform does not represent the times of Eadgar or of Dunstan.

[3] MS. Bodl., Auctarium F IV. 32; engraved in Hickes' *Thesaurus*, I. 144; *Cod. Dip.* No. 425, etc. See Stubbs, *Memorials*, cix.–cxiv.

[4] *Id.*, 20, 21, 78, cxiv. [5] Stubbs, *Memorials*, ciii. [6] *Id.*, 78, 79.

[7] So Eadmer, *Id.*, 169.

out that Dunstan had attained to a position that might easily embarrass his relations with a new king.

Eadred was never married, and left no issue.

EADWIG 'THE FAIR'[1]

Born 941–942?;[2] succeeded 955;[3] died 1st October, 959

As Eadred had no issue the succession at his death fell in the natural course of things to the eldest son of his brother Eadmund, namely Eadwig, a boy of fifteen at the most. But there was no grown-up man who could be preferred before him, and so, young as he was, we are told that he was elected by 'both nations,' meaning doubtless the Witan of Wessex and Mercia.[4]

Accession.

In dealing with this unfortunate reign the historian finds himself confronted not so much by conflicting evidence, as by one-sided evidence obviously tainted by party spirit. The King was involved at the very outset of his reign in a quarrel in which the leading clergy were arrayed against him. The chroniclers are practically all on the side of the clergy, and they spare no pains to blacken their adversary; the King's side is hardly represented at all.[5] But, after making all allowance for exaggeration and calumny, it does appear that Eadwig was ill-advised and obstinate; that his life and reign were wrecked by the intrigues of an ambitious woman, perhaps we ought to say by a struggle for supremacy between two ambitious women; and that having begun by alienating the heads of the

[1] "Præ nimia pulcritudine Pancali sortitus est nomen a vulgo secundi"; Æthelweard, *M. H. B.*, 520.

[2] The date of Eadwig's birth is not recorded, but that of his younger brother Eadgar is placed by Florence in 943. Their father Eadmund was only born about 922. Premature marriage was the curse of Anglo-Saxon Royalty.

[3] Eadwig's first charter, a grant to the ladies' convent at Wilton, is dated in 955, and is attested by Odo, Wulfstan, and Dunstan; *Cod. Dip.* No. 436. The king says of himself, "nunc nuperrime rex regimina tentans." The charter may have been issued before his coronation, or before the coronation banquet. Bishop Stubbs cites one memorandum from MS. Cott. Tiberius B, V., according to which Eadwig, who died 1st October, 959, reigned 'four years less seven weeks,' making his reign begin 19th November, 955, just four days before the death of Eadred (23rd November, 955); while another memorandum, MS. Tiberius A, III. (printed by Thorpe with the A.S. Chronicles, I. 233), makes Eadwig reign 'three years and thirty-six weeks less two days,' from which the Bishop concludes that Eadwig was hallowed on the first or second Sunday after the Epiphany, 956. *Memorials Dunstan*, lxxxviii. But the dates in this memorandum for the most part are demonstrably wrong. The A.S. Chronicles (A, D, and E), Florence, and Symeon (*H. R.*; p. 94), all make the reign begin in 955.

[4] "Juvenis . . . licet in utraque plebe regum numeros nominaque suppleret electus"; *Memorials Dunstan*, 32 (B).

[5] Æthelweard, and Æthelweard alone, has a good word for Eadwig: "tenuit quadriennio per regnum amandus." Æthelweard must have been born before this, as he begins to sign as *Minister* in 963; *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,245, etc.

Church, he ended by forfeiting the allegiance of the larger half of his kingdom.

It would seem that young Eadwig at the time of his accession was much under the influence of a woman of rank, by name Æthelgifu, who was bent on marrying him to her daughter Ælfgifu; but the pair were within the prohibited degrees. What the relationship was we do not know; it may have been a mere connexion of sponsorship or fostering; that would be a sufficient bar. Anyhow the Church forbad the marriage. Then Eadgifu, who had been so influential under Eadred, would naturally oppose the advent to court of a rival who would infallibly oust her. How bitter such a struggle between a mother-in-law and a grandmother might easily become the reader will judge for himself. Certainly the biographers of Dunstan and Odo think themselves at liberty to throw the grossest imputations on the characters both of Ælfgifu and her mother, treating them as women of no reputation or position.[1]

Feminine Intrigues.

Eadwig having been duly elected his hallowing at Kingston followed in due course,[2] the day ending with the usual coronation banquet. Before the festivities had come to an end the King left his seat in the hall for the more congenial society of the ladies in their bower. The assembled magnates were offended at the slight, and Archbishop Odo moved that the King be invited to return. Ultimately Dunstan and his relative Cynesige, Bishop of Lichfield, were charged with the delicate mission of bringing back the King. They found him sitting at his ease, without his crown, between the ladies. After some high words with Æthelgifu, Dunstan, with difficulty, induced the King to resume his crown, and led him back by the hand, like a truant schoolboy, to the banqueting hall.[3]

Coronation Banquet.

Neither Eadwig nor Æthelgifu ever forgave this offence. Proceedings were shortly instituted against Dunstan and Eadgifu. Their properties were seized, their friends persecuted, and both driven from court. Dunstan found it necessary to fly the country. He retired to Flanders, to the court of Count Arnulf,[4] who established him in the Abbey of Blandin, or St. Peter's, Ghent.[5]

Dunstan Outlawed.

With respect to Dunstan's expulsion it is well to remember that he

[1] See the references given in next note but one. William of Malmesbury, in his Life of Dunstan there cited, gives these charges with some reservation. In his Life of Odo he gives them without any reservation; *Gesta Pont.*, s. 17. In his *Gesta Regum* again he recognises the other version, styling Ælfgifu "cognatam uxorem," s. 147.

[2] Flor. For the date see above.

[3] *Memorials Dunstan*, p. 32 (B); 100 (Osbern); 283 (Malmesbury).

[4] Son of Baldwin II. by Ælfthryth, daughter of Ælfred. He was a great supporter of the monastic movement, and is said to have restored or founded eighteen monasteries, including St. Bertin, St. Vedast, and Blandin. For a letter from Arnulf to Dunstan in later days, see *Memorials*, 359.

[5] See *Memorials*, 33-36 (B); 59 (Adelard); 99-101 (Osbern); and the recitals in Eadgifu's charter, *Cod. Dip.* No. 499.

always had enemies at the court of Wessex. Twice already have we seen efforts made to crush him. His downfall may be taken to have been the work of a coalition between Æthelgifu and these hostile parties, who again may probably be identified with the King's connexions, the leading magnates of Wessex, who are found faithfully adhering to Eadwig to the end of his career.[1] These men may have chafed at the ascendancy of a churchman and a woman.

Dunstan and Eadgifu having been got rid of, Æthelgifu became supreme, and the king's marriage with Ælfgifu was accomplished.[2] Great efforts were made to secure the adhesion of the monastic party. We have gifts to the convents of Wilton, Shaftesbury, Worcester, Bath, and, most speaking fact of all, gifts to Æthelwold—a far more thorough-going monk than Dunstan—and the college of monks following the rule of Abbot Benedict under his guidance (*disciplina*) at Abingdon.[3] At any rate these benefactions effectually repel the charges of confiscation of Church property brought by Osbern and Eadmer against Eadwig, charges not to be found in the earlier writers.

Gifts to the Church.

But the government proved an utter failure. In the latter part of 957 Mercia and Northumbria revolted, and made the Ætheling Eadgar king North of the Thames.[4] For this promotion Eadgar was probably a good deal indebted to the Ealdorman of East Anglia, Æthelwold, who had just succeeded his father Æthelstan the Half-king. Æthelwold's mother, Ælfwen, had had the charge of Eadgar in his boyhood,[5] probably after his father's marriage with Æthelflæd-at-Domerham.

Disruption of England.

Eadgar's first act—or rather that of those who ruled in his name, he was only fourteen years old—was to recall Dunstan; and, the See of Worcester having fallen vacant, he was at once appointed to it. The promotion of Dunstan to the episcopate was apparently resolved upon by the Mercian Witan in a council held at "Brandanford," presumably Brentford. Archbishop Odo consecrated him.[6]

Dunstan a Bishop.

[1] See Robertson, *Historical Essays*, 193, and the charters there cited. Æthelweard, who speaks well of Eadwig, represents this party.

[2] "Edwynus . . . cognatæ illicitum invasit matrimonium; pro cujus copula a sancto Dunstano redargatus"; *Hist. Ramsey*, p. 19. The biographer of St. Oswald, the oldest authority, recognised that Eadwig was married; *Hist. Church York*, I. 402. Ælfgifu attests a charter as 'the king's wife'; Æthelgifu attesting as 'the king's wife's mother'; *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,201.

[3] 13th February, 956; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 441, 1,208. See also Nos. 447, 451, 452.

[4] *Memorials*, 35; Chron. B and C; Flor; Symeon, *H. R.*, 95. Eadgar signs as "regis frater" 9th May, 957; he signs as "rex Anglorum . . . secundo anno imperii mei" in 958; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 465, 471. No. 472, attested by him as "frater regis," though dated 958, "is shewn by the Indiction to belong to 956."

[5] *Hist. Ramsey*, 11.

[6] *Memorials*, 37, 60, A.D. 957. A Canterbury Obituary (*Angl. Sacra*, I. 54) gives the 21st Oct. as "Ordinatio B. Dunstani archiepiscopi." If this refers to his consecration to Worcester the year will be 957; if to his translation to Canterbury the year will be 959.

Next year (958), when all was lost, Odo succeeded in divorcing Eadwig from Ælfgifu as being too "sibb," *i.e.* nearly related,[1] and the Lady Eadgifu returned to court.[2] In connexion with the divorce of Ælfgifu, Osbern, who wrote more than a hundred years later, gives Odo credit for brutalities which have been accepted by too many historians, but which to us seem too shocking to be accepted on the sole authority of a writer of so late a date.[3] One more year brought the sad drama to a close, opening up an entirely new situation. Odo passed away on the 2nd June,[4] and Eadwig followed him on the 1st October. He was buried in the New Minster at Winchester.[5] All England then rallied round young Eadgar.

Death of Eadwig.

To Eadwig's time we may with all likelihood ascribe the evacuation of Edinburgh, till then the frontier fort of Bernicia, and its abandonment to the Scots. The event is attributed to the time of Indulf, who ruled the Scots from 954 to 962.[6] Of this period the most likely time for such an occurrence would be that of the disruption, when England was divided between Eadwig and Eadgar, while the English Earl Oswulf had probably enough to do to maintain his authority over the unfriendly population of Deira. Eadwig had no issue.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XVIII

Archbishop Odo and Ælfgifu

In his Life of Dunstan Osbern tells us that when Mercia revolted from Eadwig, the people chased him and his adulterous companion (*adultera*) into hiding, and that she having been discovered near *Claudiam civitatem*, was mobbed, hamstrung, and done to death (*Memorials*, 102). It is worth noticing that two pages earlier the *adultera* was the Lady's mother, Æthelgifu. In his Life of Odo (*Anglia Sacra*, II. 84) Osbern has it that Odo, having failed to induce the king to give up the company of two women who had acquired undue influence over him, took the worst and most notorious of the two, seared her face with hot irons, and sent her into perpetual banishment in Ireland. Having ventured to return to England, she was apprehended at Gloucester by the Archbishop's men, who, to prevent her walking the streets any more (!), hamstrung her so that shortly she died. This tale implies not merely that Ælfgifu was a woman in a doubtful position, but that she was an abandoned creature of the lowest class. Not a word of this is to be found in the narratives of "B," or of Adelard, or in the Life of St. Oswald of York, written in the time of Archbishop Ælfric (A.D. 995–1005); *Historians of Church of York*, I. 402). The latter merely tells that Odo forcibly parted the king from a woman (not his wife, but one for whom he neglected his wife) and sent her out of the country. Eadmer, in his Life of Dunstan (194), and Malmesbury, in his *Gesta Pontt.* (s. 17), briefly repeat Osbern's story on his authority, and his alone. The one uses his words; the other refers to him by name.

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[1] Chron. D; Flor; *Hist. Ramsey*, p. 19.

[2] *Cod. Dipl.* No. 1,224. [3] See Append. to this chapter.

[4] *Anglia Sacra*, I. 54; *Reg. Sacrum.* Odo signs as late as the 17th May, 959, *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,224. For his Constitutions, published under Eadmund, see Wilkins, *Conc.*, I. 212. For a synodal Epistle addressed to his suffragans, see W. Malm., *G. P.*, s. 16; *Memorials*, lxxxvii.

[5] Chron. A (A.D. 958); Chron. B, C, D, E, and Flor (A.D. 959). Eadwig signs with Odo 17th May, 959, *Cod. Dip.*, *sup.*

[6] *Ann. Ulster.* "In hujus tempore oppidum Eden vacuatum est ac relictum est Scottis usque in hodiernum diem"; *Chron Picts.* "Oppidum Eden" here is equivalent to the Gaelic Dunedin.

CHAPTER XIX

EADGAR 'THE PEACEFUL'[1]

Born 943;[2] King of Mercia and Northumbria 957; succeeded to Wessex 959; died 8th July, 975

Unification of England—Administration of St. Dunstan—Monastic Revival

AT the death of his brother, Eadgar, previously King of Mercia and Northumbria, was hailed King of Wessex. The Witan elected him, but he was not hallowed for many years, in fact not till the year 973.[3] The cause of this delay is quite uncertain. The well-known story is that Dunstan made Eadgar do penance for seven years, forbidding him to wear his crown, for the abduction of a Wilton nun, by name Wulfrith.[4] No doubt Eadgar had by a person of that name a daughter named Eadgife, otherwise St. Edith, who was born in 961 or 962. But it is not clear that Wulfrith had taken the veil before her connexion with Eadgar, while it is obvious on the face of it that the coronation of 973 took place not seven, but fourteen years after Eadgar's accession, and apparently more than ten years after his connexion with Wulfrith had come to an end, he having been twice married in the interval. This account of the matter therefore may be dismissed. Eadgar may have been already crowned as King of Mercia,[5] and it has been suggested that perhaps he deferred his coronation as King of all England till some wished-for event should have happened, or some special distinction been secured. He may have hoped for a papal grant of an Imperial title.[6]

Elected but not Crowned.

The seventeen years of Eadgar's reign were a period of almost unbroken, and in fact of unprecedented, peace and prosperity. Under him the West Saxon power reached its climax. Its "last glories . . . circle round his name." In writing of Eadgar the chroniclers again break into song:—

Wessex at its Zenith.

[1] Florence *passim*. "Regem videlicit pacificum nomine Edgarum," *Memorials Dunstan*, 56 (Adelard). Eadgar's proper style is "Rex Anglorum," but he indulges rather more freely than other A.S. kings in vainglorious titles, "Britanniæ, Anglorum, monarchus"; "tocius Albionis gubernator"; "basileus Anglorum," etc., etc. *Cod. Dip.*, *passim*. [2] Chron. C; Flor.

[3] That the king was not 'dedicated' till near the end of his reign appears clearly from *Cod. Dip.* No. 595, though the actual years there are wrongly given.

[4] Osbern, *Memorials Dunstan*, 111; W. Malm., *G. R.*, ss. 158, 159.

[5] He sometimes counts his reign from 957, *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,246. But again A.D. 964 we have "anno V."

[6] See *Memorials Dunstan*, xcix.; Robertson, *Historical Essays*, 203.

'No fleet was so daring,
No army so strong
That from Angle-kin
Booty e'er took
The while that his kingstool
That noble prince ruled.'[1]

The internal and external peace must be ascribed to the good management of Dunstan, who was "the soul of the reign." Eadgar, however, is entitled to the credit of having held a loyal and consistent course. It is clear that he never forgot either the lessons of his brother's reign, or his own early obligations to the monastic party. His praiseworthy efforts to conciliate the Danes evidently cost him some popularity among his own subjects.[2]

The general incidents of the reign are few, the interest of the period turning mainly on ecclesiastical affairs, and a struggle to enforce or extend clerical celibacy.

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

We have seen that Eadgar's first acts on becoming King of Mercia were to recall Dunstan and make him Bishop of Worcester. In 959 Byrthelm, Bishop of London, having died, the See was conferred upon Dunstan, to be held along with that of Worcester[3]—a plurality condemned by the Canons of the Church, but not uncommon at the period. So again, when Eadgar became King of Wessex, his first care was to clear the way for the further promotion of Dunstan. At the death of Odo (2nd June, 959) Eadwig had appointed Ælfsige, Bishop of Winchester, to succeed him. Starting at once for Rome to secure his Pall, Ælfsige, while crossing the Alps, was caught in a snowstorm, and suffered so severely from the cold that he died. Another Archbishop was immediately named by Eadwig in the person of one Byrhthelm, Bishop of Sherborne or Wells. But Eadwig himself must have died immediately afterwards, and his brother coming into power refused to accept Byrhthelm as Archbishop, sending him back to his former diocese, and appointing Dunstan. Dunstan accepted the Primacy, and was installed without the loss of a single day, the Sees of Worcester and London, by the way, remaining in his hands.[5] In the course

Dunstan Archbishop.

[1] Chron. E, A.D. 975.

[2] See the complaints of the introduction of foreign vices and outlandish folk into the realm, etc., Chron. D and E, A.D. 959.

[3] *Registrum Sacrum*; *Memorials Dunstan*, xci. 37; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 479, 480, correcting Florence, A.D. 958.

[4] See *Memorials Dunstan*, xciii., 27 (B), and Florence. The latter places the nomination of Byrhthelm after the accession of Eadgar, but this is clearly wrong, as Byrhthelm signs as archbishop under Eadwig in 959, *Liber de Hyda*, 177. Dunstan signs in 959 under Eadgar in one charter as Bishop of London, and in another charter as Archbishop of Canterbury; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 480 and 1,221.

of 960 he went to Rome for his Pall, returning in 961,[1] when he resigned Worcester and London. To the latter Bishopric one Ælfstan was appointed, while Worcester was conferred upon Oswald,[2] nephew of the late Archbishop Odo, and like him of

Oswald Bishop of Worcester.

ARCHBISHOP DUNSTAN WITH HIS PALLIUM ROUND HIS SHOULDERS.
MS. Cott. Claud. A III. (Canterbury MS. of the 11th Century.)

Danish origin. Oswald apparently had at one time been Abbot of Winchester, but, becoming dissatisfied with his life there, went, with the full

[1] Florence. Dunstan signs in both years.

[2] *Registrum Sacrum.* He signs as bishop in 961. The name appears as "Oswold" mostly in the early charters, but as "Oswald" in the later charters.

consent of his uncle, to Fleury, to be trained as a monk, as already mentioned. Recalled by Odo, he landed at Dover to hear of the Archbishop's death. He then joined another Danish relative, Oskytel, the Archbishop of York, going with him to Rome for his Pall, and on the way back revisiting Fleury. By Oskytel Oswald was introduced to Dunstan, who took a great fancy to him, and, when the time came, recommended him to Eadgar for the See of Worcester.[1] Two years later the See of Winchester fell vacant, and then Æthelwold, Abbot of Abingdon, was appointed.[2]

Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester.

The accession to the Episcopate of these two men, Oswald and Æthelwold, marks the beginning of an important movement. Both were monks, the one trained at Fleury, the other by instructors from Fleury. Both were zealous for the propaganda of their Order, the Order of St. Benedict. Both contemplated a double line of action, namely, the foundation of new monasteries, and the transference of existing cathedral and collegiate churches from the hands of secular canons to those of regular monks. The monks, of course, were under personal vows of celibacy, while the secular clergy were only bound by the general laws of the Church, which were not free from doubt, and it is pretty clear that the secular clergy and collegiate canons commonly availed themselves of that doubt to marry.[3] Both Oswald and Æthelwold proved eminently successful in their work. Between them they established English monasteries on a new footing, under the fostering patronage of Eadgar and Dunstan. But a marked difference is traceable in their modes of working: and, while Æthelwold was clearly the man after the king's heart,[4] Dunstan's special sympathy seems to have rested rather with Oswald. But Æthelwold was the monk *par excellence*, and as such gained the name of the 'Father of the Monks.'[5]

Monastic Revival.

Celibacy of Clergy.

The reformation of his own cathedral was probably the first thing taken in hand by Oswald,[6] as it certainly was by Æthelwold. The writers of the

[1] See the Life of St. Oswald, written within thirteen years of his death; *Historians Church York*, I. 411–419; *Hist. Ramsey*, 24. The Abbey of Fleury, in France, otherwise Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire (Dept. Loiret), was an early offshoot of the celebrated abbey of Monte Cassino, the chief foundation of St. Benedict of Nursia, and the headquarters of his Order. Fleury claimed to date from the year 641. *Chron. Aimorii*, Bouquet, III. 139; *Bibliotheca Floriacensis*, 2 (J. Dubois, 1605).

[2] Consecrated Sunday, 29th Nov., 963; Chron. A.

[3] See Append. to this chapter.

[4] See the Life of Æthelwold by Wulfstan, Precentor (*Cantor*) of Winchester, composed during the reign of Æthelred II.; Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ordinis S. Bened., Sæc. V.* p. 616. This Life is much fuller than that by Ælfric, mentioned below, with much common to both. Probably this is the original.

[5] Chron. D and E, A.D. 984. For his regulations at Abingdon see *Hist. Abing.*, I. 345; for his asceticism, his Life, *Id.*, II. 263.

[6] His Life, though a most valuable record, gives no dates, and does not appear even to give its facts in chronological order.

monastic party assure us that at that time the cathedrals were filled with worldly-minded men, fond of good living, married, and even capable of repudiating one wife in order to marry another.[1] But it would seem that Oswald was not prepared to oust these men from their preferment by main force, or to compel them to take monkish vows. What he did was to build a new church, dedicated to the Virgin, alongside of the old Minster,[2] which was dedicated to St. Peter. St. Mary's was served by monks, and to their ministrations the Bishop gave his chief attendance. The result was that people flocked to St. Mary's, while St. Peter's was deserted. The canons, to regain their influence, were driven to conformity.[3]

Cathedral Canons.

Work of Oswald.

To meet the growing demand for monastic education, Oswald established a training college at Westbury-on-Severn. Germanus, a native of Winchester, who had been at Fleury, was appointed Prior. Two to three years the course lasted, the trained monks being afterwards sent on missions elsewhere.[4] But Oswald's name will be best remembered in connexion with his East Anglian abbey. Being on the look-out for a suitable site, he consulted the King, who gave him his choice of St. Albans, Ely, or Benfleet, all the three, as we must suppose, being 'in hand.' But the spot on which the Bishop eventually decided was Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire, an island in a secluded district, surrounded by fens, yet not without natural advantages either in the quality of its soil or its opportunities for procuring fish and game. The land was obtained from Æthelwine, Ealdorman of East Anglia, a son of Æthelstan the Half-king.[5] On the 29th August, 968, a temporary wooden chapel, a dormitory, and a refectory having been erected, twelve monks from Westbury were installed at Ramsey. Both Oswald and Æthelwine were present.[6]

Theological College.

Ramsey Abbey.

Lastly, we have a monastic revival at Winchcomb, in Gloucestershire,

[1] *Vita Æthelwoldi, Hist. Abingdon*, II. 260; *Vita Oswaldi*, 411. This Life of Æthelwold was written within twenty years of his death by Abbot Ælfric, the well-known writer.

[2] "In eodem cimeterio," W. Malm.

[3] See Eadmer, *Memorials Dunstan*, 197, and W. Malm, *G. P.*, s. 115, explaining *Hist. Ramsey*, 41; Florence, A.D. 969; and *Vita Oswaldi*, 435. The year 969 may be that of the final surrender of the canons, but St. Mary's was founded before 965, *Cod. Dip.* No. 517: again we hear of it in 967, No. 536. In 969 we have a charter attested by the monks at Worcester, No. 553. This may have given Florence his date.

[4] *Vita Oswaldi*, 422–424; *Hist. Ramsey*, 29.

[5] Æthelwine was appointed in succession to an elder brother, Æthelwold, who died in 962.

[6] *Vita O.*, 425–430; *Hist. Ramsey*, 29–40. The permanent stone church was not consecrated till 8th November, 974. *Hist. R.*, 45. A very successful school was started at Ramsey, to which a well-known scholar, Abbo of Fleury, was invited by Oswald. He taught there for two years (*circa* 985), and wrote the Passion St. Eadmund of East Anglia, as he had heard the story told by Dunstan. See *Memorials*, 378.

said to have been originally founded by Offa or Ceonwulf (787–798) for nuns, but since usurped by secular canons. These were now turned out to make room for Benedictines.[1]

Winchcomb.

Æthelwold set about his work in a much more high-handed fashion. To the secular canons in possession of the cathedral and collegiate churches he offered the simple alternative of conversion or expulsion.[2] The King backed him up fully, not only giving his consent, but even sending one of his Thegns, Wulfstan of Dalham, an East Anglian magnate, to enforce the Bishop's decrees. Thus, in the very first year of his episcopate, he succeeded in ousting the secular canons from the Old and New Minsters at Winchester,[3] from Æthelstan's foundation at Milton, and from Chertsey. So again the 'nun-minster' at Winchester, dedicated to the Virgin, was refounded, cleared of 'nuns' (*nunnan*) as then understood, *i.e.* lay sisters not bound by perpetual vows, and given up to Women of Religion in the strictest sense.[4] Within a short time Benedictines had replaced canons throughout the whole diocese. Eadgar is given the credit of having effected similar revolutions at Romsey and Exeter. He is also said to have urged Dunstan and Oswald to more vigorous action. But Dunstan took no direct part in this work. Throughout the whole of his primacy he never turned a single canon out of any one of the churches in his See.[5]

Stringent Measures.

But Æthelwold also took an active part in the more legitimate work of founding, or rather re-founding, monasteries desecrated and abandoned through the Danish wars. The first taken in hand was Ely, the old foundation of St. Æthelthryth.[6] Royal grants of land prove this to have been repeopled with monks by the year 970.[7] Two years later Æthelwold restored Medeshamstede,[8] then beginning to be known as "Burh,"[9] or Peterborough. A

Ely Refounded.

Peterborough.

[1] *Vita Osw.*, 435; *Hist. Ramsey*, 42; Dugdale, *Monasticon.*

[2] "Dare locum monacis aut monachicum suscipere habitum." The letter of Pope John XIII., sanctioning the expulsion of the canons, is probably a forgery, but "an early one." See *Memorials Dunstan*, 364. [3] Conf. *Cod. Dip.* No. 594.

[4] "*Sanctimoniales*," whence the later "*Moniales*." See the Life of Æthelwold by Wulfstan; Mabillon, *sup.*, 615; W. Malm., *G. P.*, s. 78. For "Mynecena," female monks, as opposed to "nunnan" or "canonicas," see *Laws Æthelred*, V. cc. 4–7. Some of the stones of St. Mary's Nunnery, as finally suppressed, may be seen built into the Meads wall of Winchester College.

[5] See Chron. A, and Flor., A.D. 963, 964; *Hist. Abingdon*, I. 348; and *Vita Æthelwoldi, id.*, II. 260; Robertson, *Historical Essays*, 195. According to the *Liber de Hyda* however, the clerics were not expelled from the Old Minster till 967, nor from the New Minster till 968, pp. 179, 180. [6] A.D. 673, Chron. A. See above, p. 211.

[7] *Vita Æthelwoldi, sup.* 261; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 1,269, 1,270.

[8] Originally founded *circa* 665; Chron. E. Conf. Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, I. 33, 41.

[9] The *burh* from which the new name was derived may yet be seen, a conical mound near the river, in the Deanery garden, on the North side of the Cathedral. For the endowment of Peterborough by Æthelwold see *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,272 (undated), with a further grant No. 591 (*circa* 975?) For treasures given by him see No. 1,271.

third renewal was that of Thorney, in the same neighbourhood.[1] The sites of all three were purchased by Æthelwold from the King, or other magnates into whose hands they had fallen.

To return to general events, a charter to the French Abbey of Saint Denis informs us that Eadgar spent Christmas, 960, at York, among the Danes.[2] The year 962 was marked by an outbreak of plague, followed in London by a great fire, in which St. Paul's was burnt down—a curious anticipation of the events of 1665–1666. It is interesting to hear that the rebuilding of the Minster was at once taken in hand.[3] In a council, which from internal evidence must be deemed to have been held in Deira in or after the year 963, we find Eadgar consulting his Witan and 'the archbishop,' presumably Oskytel, as to the possible causes of the 'sudden-death' (*fær-cwealme*) which had afflicted his dominion far and wide. The Wise Men were of opinion that the wrath of God should be attributed to the perversity of the people in resisting payment of His dues, namely, tithes and kirkshot. Orders were issued to the King's Reeves to enforce payment, with all penalties and no remissions.[4]

Pestilence.

Another step which may have been sanctioned by this same council was that of the division of the vast earldom or ealdordom of Northumbria, Osulf being restricted to his ancestral Bernicia, North of the Tyne, while the government of Deira was conferred upon one Oslac, with his headquarters at York.[5]

Concurrently with this we hear of a harrying of "Westmoringaland," part of Cumbria, by Thored, son of Gunner. As both Thored and his father appear among the servants of the King of Wessex, and Thored became some years later Earl of Deira, this expedition must have had the sanction of the English Government.[6] As for the provocation received that must be left to conjecture,

Westmorland Harried.

The gifts consisted of a copy of the Gospels bound in silver, three "rodes" (crosses), two silver candlesticks, and two gilt ditto. Conf. the charter entered in the Peterborough Chronicle under the year 962 (*Cod. Dip.* No. 575). It is an obvious forgery, but the date assigned, 972, may have been that of Æthelwold's foundation.

[1] *Cod. Dip.* No. 591. Thorney is said to have been originally founded *circa* 662 (Dugd., *Monast.*). [2] Bouquet, IX. 397 (VII. Kal. Jan., anno II., Indic. III.).

[3] Chron. A. Ælfstan, appointed in 961, was Bishop of London.

[4] *Laws of Eadgar*, IV., A. (Schmid). *Id.*, *Supplement* (Thorpe). The council was held within the 'ealdordom' of Oslac, who signs as 'dux' in 963. The decrees were to be notified to Ælfere (of Mercia) and Æthelwine (of East Anglia), neither of whom therefore was present. The latter was promoted *circa* 963 (below). The men at the council are spoken of as the "here," the word always applied to the Danes, Cap. 15.

[5] Symeon, *H. R.*, 197; Chron. D and E. Symeon gives no date. The Chronicles ascribe the event to the year 966, but as Oslac signs as "dux" in 963 (*Cod. Dip.* No. 504) we may safely antedate the event.

[6] Chron. D and E, A.D. 966; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 426, 451. Thored signs as "dux" in 979; *Id.*, No. 621.

but the fact that Westmorland was foreign territory again shows the extension of Strathclyde.

Another land of unrest was Wales, which suffered from no lack of kings. At the death of Howel Dha (*circa* 950) South Wales was broken up among his sons, North Wales being in like manner parcelled out among the sons of Idwal Voel. Strife and turmoil was the natural result, with aggressive action towards neighbours. Under the year 965 the Welsh annalists tell of the overrunning of North Wales by the English, but the special grounds of quarrel are not given.[1]

North Wales Over run.

In 969, again, we hear that Thanet was devastated, Eadgar's orders being expressly mentioned. A later writer supplies the explanation that the men of Thanet had ventured to plunder shipping belonging to merchants from York.[2] The affair however would be very trying to West Saxon sentiment. The year 970 was marked by the translation of the remains of St. Swithun at Winchester, from their original tomb to a more worthy resting-place in the Old Minster.[3]

On the 1st November, 971, Archbishop Oskytel died,[4] and then Eadgar, at Dunstan's instance, appointed Oswald to the vacancy that he was so specially qualified to fill.[5] Oswald at once went to Rome, and in due course came back with his Pall. But Mercia could not afford to lose him, and so he was allowed to retain the See of Worcester; in fact Worcester continued to be his favourite residence to the end of his days.[6] It is worthy of notice that he attempted no monastic reform North of the Humber. There the secular clergy were left in undisputed possession of the field. 'If a priest dismiss one wife (*cwena*) and take another let him be anathema.' Such was the law as Oswald found it and left it.[7]

Oswald's return from Rome was immediately followed by the hallowing of the King, that rite so long deferred. Oswald brought his master the blessing of the Pope, and perhaps also an authorised form of Consecration Service. At any rate, to this date we can carry back that august and most impressive Order, which, with such modification and additions as time and circumstance would naturally introduce, has nevertheless substantially remained in use ever since. Part of the service—namely, the Coronation Oath—is two hundred years older than the time of Eadgar, being found in the "*Missa pro Regibus*"

Edgar Crowned at last.

[1] *Ann. Camb.*; *Brut-y-T.*

[2] Chron. D and E; R. Wendover, A.D. 974. York was a great resort of Danish merchants; *Vita Oswaldi*, 454. The reader will remember that the sailing route from Denmark to York lay along the S.E. coast.

[3] 15th July, Flor. In 972 the New Minster was dedicated.

[4] Chron. B, C; *Reg. Sacrum.*

[5] A.D. 972, *Reg. Sacrum.*

[6] *Vita O.*, 435; W. Malm., *G. P.*, s. 115.

[7] *Laws of the Northumbrian Priests*, c. 35, Thorpe; Johnson, *Laws of the Church of England* (Baron, Oxford, 1850).

of the Pontifical of Ecgberht, Archbishop of York (734–766).[1] Thus our coronation ritual affords a most signal instance of the continuity of our history. "No other church or country can produce a series so complete."[2]

Whitsunday (11th May), 973, was the day, and the old Roman city of Bath the place, appointed for the great event.[3] A detailed account of the proceedings has been preserved by the biographer of St. Oswald, which may be compared with the authoritative Service Book usually ascribed to the time of Æthelred II.,[4] but which, without doubt, gives the ritual as followed on the present occasion. The ceremonies were opened in some convenient hall or building, where a form of electing the King was gone through, Eadgar then assuming the crown.[5] After that a clerical procession was formed, abbots, priests and monks, abbesses and nuns, falling in to lead the 'crowned elected' King from the hall to the church. A bishop supported him on either hand. As the King entered the church the antiphon "*Firmetur manus tua*"[6] was raised. When he reached the altar he laid down his crown, and prostrated himself while the *Te Deum* was being sung, Dunstan leading. The Archbishop, we are told, was so impressed with the scene that he was moved to tears. The *Te Deum* ended, Dunstan raised the King, and, turning to the clergy and people, once more asked of them if they would have Eadgar for their King.[7] The requisite assent having been given, Dunstan proceeded to administer the Coronation Oath, two hundred years old, as already stated. Briefly, the king swore (1) to keep church and people in true peace to the best of his ability; (2) to put down (*interdicam*) robbery and wrong doing in all ranks (*gradibus*) of society; (3) to temper justice with mercy.[8] Three prayers of invocation then followed:[9] the first uttered by Dunstan, the second by Oswald, and the third by a bishop not named, with the final prayer of consecration, "*Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, creator ac gubernator cæli et terræ*," given by Dunstan. After that came the anointing. No details are given, but from the reference in the concomitant antiphon to the case of Solomon ("*Unxerunt Solomonem Sadoc*,"

The Coronation Oath.

[1] A.D. 734–766. Printed W. Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, II. 77, and Surtees Society, XXVII. 100 (1853).

[2] W. Maskell, *sup.*, lxxii.

[3] Æthelweard; Chron. A; Flor.

[4] MS. Cott. Claudius A, III. f. 9, etc.

[5] "Coronatum atque electum regem"; *Vita Oswaldi*, 436. We may venture to transpose the order of the two participles. For the form of election in hall, see the Cott. MS. and the Rubric in the later *Liber Regalis*, kept at Westminster, Maskell, *sup.*, p. 4. An assumption of the crown by Eadgar at this point would be a special incident.

[6] Ps. lxxxviii. 14.

[7] This I take from the Rubric in the Cotton MS. It is not in the *Vita*.

[8] Compare the Oath in English as said to have been delivered in writing by Dunstan to king [ ] at Kingston at his hallowing, the king's name (Eadweard or Æthelred) not being given; *Memorials*, 355.

[9] "Te invocamus Domine"; "Dominus qui populis"; and "In diebus tuis."

etc.), we may suppose the King to have been anointed on the head only, and not, as in later times, on the breast and shoulders also.

The ceremonial investitures then ensued. First, that of the ring,[1] then that of the sword, then in due course those of the crown, sceptre, and rod,[2] with appropriate prayers for each. Then came a very fine series of Benedictions with some six heads: "*Extendat omnipotens*"; "*Indulgeat tibi*"; "*Angelos suos*"; "*Inimicos tuos*"; etc., etc. and then a formal declaration of the king's position, "*Sta et retine!*" a final prayer and blessing ended the impressive service.

Symbolic Investitures.

No reference is made to any hallowing of 'Queen' Ælfthryth, though the Service-Book which we believe to have been followed on this occasion contains the Order for the hallowing of Queens as well as Kings. The probability is that she was consecrated,[3] as might be inferred from the mere fact that she held her own banquet in the evening, apart from that of the King. The Queen's table, we are told, was mostly attended by men and women of Religion.[4]

It would seem that Eadgar's coronation was shortly followed by a recognition of his suzerainty on the part of several vassal princes. We are told that he took his fleet round to Chester ("Leiceastre," "Lægeceastre"), and that there six, or perhaps eight kings made a compact of friendly vassalage, pledging themselves to be his fellow-workers by sea and land.[5] Their names are not given by the original chroniclers of the incident. But as we have seen that Wales was broken up between the sons of Howel and the sons of Idwal Voel, of whom three or four can be identified, they, with Donald the king of Strathclyde, Kenneth king of Scots, Maccus or Magnus[6] king of Man and the Southern Isles, with perhaps his brother and successor Guthfrith, would make up the full number. Eadgar's influence over the Island chiefs is specially mentioned by the contemporary biographer of St. Oswald.[7] With respect

Homages of Celtic Princes.

[1] This is not mentioned in the Cotton MS., but that must have been an omission. It is given in the *Vita O.* and the *Liber Regalis.*

[2] The seeming distinction between sceptre and rod was that the sceptre was surmounted by a cross, the rod (*virga*) by a dove.

[3] So the letter of Nicolas of Worcester to Eadmer (*circa* 1120); *Memorials Dunstan*, 422.

[4] *Vita O.*, 438. Ælfthryth signs as Regina in 668; *Cod. Dip.* No. 543, the first woman to assume that style since Judith. But even now the title is not officially recognised; E. W. Robertson, *Hist. Essays*, 168.

[5] Chron. D & E (A.D. 972). The fact, however, is not mentioned by Chronicles A or C, or by Æthelweard, the contemporary Ealdorman, who all pass from Eadgar's glorious hallowing to his death. Symeon, however, *H. R.*, s. 95, vaguely refers to a vassalage of eight kings.

[6] Son of Harold, one of the Limerick Danes; *Wars of Gaedhill*, 271. His brother Guthfrith is expressly called a 'Black Gentile,' *i.e.* Dane, *Ann. Camb.*, A.D. 987.

[7] p. 425.

to Kenneth, it would seem that he was not undisputed King of Scotland, and we shall find grounds for believing that Eadgar gave him some extension of territory in Lothian, in return for homage, perhaps at this very time.[1] Homage from the others would involve nothing out of the way. In his later charters Eadgar broadly proclaims his supremacy over the whole of Britain, and his assertions on that point must be allowed some weight, turgid and vainglorious though his language be.[2] To Florence of Worcester, however, we are indebted for the record of a further incident—the climax of Eadgar's earthly glories, when, taking his place at the head of a procession of boats on the Dee, he caused his six or eight vassal kings to row him up the river, he steering them with his own Royal hand. Thus was he taken from his palace on the Dee to the Monastery of St. John the Baptist, just outside the walls of Chester. There they all landed, and then, having offered up prayer in due form, returned to the palace in like manner as they had come. Swelling with pride, Eadgar is reported to have said to his attendants, 'When any one of my after-comers gets as many kings to serve him as I have here, then may he as truly call himself King of England.'[3]

Two years later Eadgar died. Shortlived, like all his race, he passed away on Thursday, 8th July, 975, in the thirty-second year of his life, the nineteenth of his rule over Mercia and Northumbria, and the sixteenth of his reign as King of all England. Dunstan buried him by his father's side at Glastonbury.[4]

Death of Eadgar.

By tact and management Eadgar had succeeded in reducing Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex to substantial unity. It seems probable that the mapping out of the Mercian shires was his work. All, or almost all, of these come into notice in the time of his son Æthelred,[5] a man very

[1] See next page.

[2] *e.g.* "Imperator Augustus," and "Totius Britanniæ solio sublimatus." *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 565, 566 (A.D. 970).

[3] Florence, A.D. 973. I accept his statement a good deal on account of its consonance with the topographical facts and with local tradition. The field where Eadgar's palace stood "still bears his name." J. Hemingway, *Hist. Chester*, I. 45. The Monastery of St. John, an old and known foundation, now the Church of St. John, stood on the East side of the tower, a little back from the river. Florence, however, was unable to get at any authentic report of the princes who figured on the occasion. His list was evidently copied from a spurious charter, an admitted forgery, which gives 966 as the year of Eadgar's hallowing (*Cod. Dip.* No. 519). Of the names, those of Kenneth and Maccus may pass (Symeon, *H. R.*, 197). "Malcolm, rex Cumbrorum" is an anachronism. Malcolm of Strathclyde retired soon after Brunnanburh, and his successor Donald was still reigning. Perhaps "Dufnal," the next name given, might be meant for him. "Siferth" was found among Welsh princes eighteen years before, attesting a charter of Eadred (*Cod. Dip.* No. 433). Lastly, however, "Huwall," "Jacob," and "Juchil" may be identified with Howell, Iago, and Idwal, actual Welsh princes of the time (*Ann. Cambriæ*). But as a whole the list must be considered simply conjectural.

[4] Chron. A, Æthelweard, Flor., etc.

[5] Thus we hear of Cheshire (Legeceaster-scir: Civitatis Legionum provincia) in 979, Chron. C, and Florence; of Cambridgeshire, Hunts, Northants, etc., in 991, *Hist.*

unlikely to have undertaken any such work. Before Eadgar's time the country was hardly settled enough to admit of territorial re-arrangements.

Mercian Shires.

The fact that the new organization was not pushed beyond the line of the Mersey and Humber would be quite in keeping with Eadgar's policy of non-intervention in the affairs of Deira. With Bernicia, the modern Northumberland, he does not seem to have troubled himself much, but that district had always been loyal to Wessex. A Tract on the Northumbrian Earls, written, no doubt, in the time of Henry I., but still of considerable authority, tells us that Eadgar appointed one Eadulf, surnamed Yvelcild, to rule from the Tees to "Myreford," or "Myreforth," meaning possibly the Forth. This must be supposed to have happened at the death of Osulf, the prior ruler of Bernicia, who is also mentioned in the Tract. The writer goes on to say that Eadulf, and Earl Oslac of York, and Bishop Ælfsige of Chester-le-Street brought Kenneth of Scotland to Eadgar, and that Eadgar, in return for his homage, presented him with a cession of Lothian.[1] The allegation is not inconsistent with the Northern policy otherwise traceable to the English kings of the period. The reader has already heard of the retirement from Edinburgh in the time of Indulf (954–962). Cuilean, son of Indulf, clearly had a footing in Lothian, because he fell there in an attack made upon him by the Strathclyde Britons.[2] The war, by the way, was carried on by his successor, Kenneth, son of Malcolm (on the alternate system), who invaded Cumbria, here oddly called "Saxony," ravaging the country—"*ad Stanmoir et ad Cluiam et ad Stangna Dera'm.*"[3] This was just the southern border of Strathclyde-Cumbria. "Stanmoir," of course, is Stainmore.[4] Dera'm we must identify with Glen-deramakin, the head-water of the stream known lower down as the Greta, and lower still as the Derwent. The *stangna*, or pools, would be Derwent Water and Bassenthwaite. For *Cluia* we can only suggest the Caldew, a stream that flows northwards to Carlisle. Thus we find Strathclyde at this period neither abolished nor absorbed,

Northern Affairs.

Ramsey, 93; of Shropshire (*Scrobbesbyrig-scir*) in 1006; Warwickshire (*Wærincwic-scir*), Staffordshire, Lincolnshire, and Notts (*Snotingaham-scir*) are all noticed under 1016. But in 1011 East Anglia (Norfolk and Suffolk) seems still to rank as one county only; Chron. *in annis*. It appears that the meaning of the A.S. *scir* was primarily 'function' or 'office'; and secondarily 'administrative district'; Earle, *Land Charters*, xlv.

[1] See Symeon, *H.R.*, Append., 382. Ælfsige was Bishop 968–990. *Reg. Sacr.* The statements of the original Tract must be kept clear of the later amplifications of Wallingford and Wendover, who represent the cession as made in consideration of yearly homage at the English Court, halting places on the way being also granted; so down to the time of King Henry II.! Mr. Robertson, however, rejects Eadulf Yvelcild altogether; *Scotland under Early Kings*, II. 391.

[2] A.D. 971; *Chron. Picts*, 10, 174, 289; *Ann. Ulster*.

[3] *Chron. Picts*, 10. This is one of the latest entries, and must be considered contemporary.

[4] Rere Cross on Stainmore was the old limit of the Scottish 'claim,' so Sir John Grey of Heton tells us; *Scalachronica, Chron. P. and S.*, 204.

but at war both with England and Scotland. By the acquisition of Lothian, or parts of Lothian, the character of the Scottish monarchy became fundamentally changed, the new dominion becoming the main pillar of the State.

According to William of Malmesbury Eadgar imposed a yearly tribute of three hundred heads of wolves on the Welsh King Idwal. At the end of three years' time the number of the animals had been so reduced that the requisition was dropped.[1]

Of intercourse with Continental Powers we hear little in this reign, except that friendly relations were maintained with Otto I. of Germany, formerly married to the King's aunt[2]; and of course with Flanders.[3] Danish inroads for the time had ceased.[4] Eadgar's policy was essentially a domestic one, and Florence gives a very favourable account of his system of administration. According to that writer he maintained considerable fleets on the coasts, though the number of vessels given (3,600) must be rejected as impossible. In the summer time the King would exercise and inspect these squadrons, while the winter season was devoted to internal progresses and circuits for the maintenance of order and justice. The boat-procession at Chester of 973 may have grown out of one of these naval reviews, and in fact is recorded as such in one MS. of the *Annales Cambriæ*. The control over the unruly Island chiefs exercised by Eadgar[5] clearly implied the maintenance of a naval force. It is probable that the vessels were raised by assessments on the counties according to the numbers of their Hundreds.[6] With respect to Eadgar's anxiety to put down crime, especially in the endemic form of cattle stealing, his own Laws are his best witness. But there, again, we must point out that he refuses to entertain suits in the first instance, except in cases of denial of justice 'at home.'[7] In this and other matters Eadgar evinces the greatest consideration for all rights of local magnates.[8] Of Eadgar's laws the best known and the most important are those relating to the Hundred and Tithing, and the regulations for placing each ordinary member of the community under standing bail for his good conduct (*borh*). It is a curious fact that in Anglo-Saxon legislation the Hundred and Tithing are first introduced to us by the Laws of Eadgar. But that only shows how meagre and imperfect our early records are. The Hundred, at any rate as a personal organization, was part of the primitive Germanic constitution, and in Eadgar's Laws the Hundred or Wapentake, subdivided into Tithings, is treated as the fundamental organization of the whole population. Eadgar's Ordinance

A Royal Navy.

Legislation.

[1] *G.R.*, S. 155. [2] Flor., A.D. 959; *Vita Oswaldi*, 435.
[3] See the letter of Arnulf, *Memorials Dunstan*, 359.
[4] For suggested reasons see Green, *Conq. of Eng.*, 323.
[5] *Vita Oswaldi, sup.*, 425. [6] See below, A.D. 1008.
[7] *Laws*, III. c. 2 (Schmid).
[8] See *Id.*, I. c. 2, II. c. 3, III. c. 7, and IV. c. 8. Penalties which might be expected to go to the Crown often go to the lord.

of the Hundred is, in fact, an Ordinance of Hue and Cry, hardly differing from the Ordinances of Æthelstan's Frithgilds. These, the reader will remember, were organizations of Tens of ten men each, or Tens of twelve men each, making one hundred or one hundred and twenty heads in all for each Gild. In either Ordinance thieves are to be pursued and done to death.[1] Then their property is to be seized and compensation made to the injured party. With respect to the ultimate balance, that in the case of the Gilds was to be divided between the gild-brethren and the King. In the case of the Hundred the division lies between the Hundred and the Lord.[2] Again, the Hundred, like the Gild, has a common purse,[3] though we do not hear of contributions by the members to the Hundred-purse. If a crime has been committed the matter, if necessary, must be reported to the Hundred-man, who will call upon the Tithing-men to send contingents for the pursuit.[4] So with the Gilds: each Tithing or Ten sent a man if necessary, and each Ten had its 'Elder,' or Tithing-man to look after it. Again, in each case if the track of the stolen property is followed into another Hundred or another Shire, the Hundred-man or Reeve of such Hundred or Shire is bound to join in the pursuit. Lastly, the Hundred meets once a month like the Gild; while the Burh-gemot meets thrice a year, and the Shire-gemot twice a year.[5]

Ordinance of Hundred.

The impression left on our mind is that Æthelstan's Ordinance was really the more novel of the two, being an adaptation to urban conditions of regulations already in force with respect to the rural population; and that Eadgar's Ordinance was merely a republication of long-established customs.

The Ordinance concerning "*borh*" has a more distinct appearance of novelty about it. Under the primitive constitution a man's relatives (*mægth*) might be called upon to join in bail for his appearance to a suit; or they might be called upon to join in payment of penalties that he had incurred. But they might disclaim him if they liked, and it does not appear that they were under any standing obligation to produce him for justice. Æthelstan made a step in advance by requiring lordless men to find them a lord who should be to some extent a guarantee for their conduct. Now Eadgar requires every man to find a standing "*borh*" to bring and hold him to all justice. If the man commits a crime and runs away the "*borh*" must bear what the man ought to bear. The king returns to this in another enactment, and makes of it an exception to his avowed principle of letting the Danes make their own laws, declaring

"Borh."

[1] See again *Laws Eadg.*, III. c. 7: no mercy to the manifest thief.

[2] *Laws*, I. c. 2, also III. c. 7, and IV. c. 8.

[3] See *Laws of Æthelred*, III. c. 3.

[4] *Laws Eadgar*, III. c. 7. For Tithing-men see *Laws of Æthelred*, VII., c. 5, "Decimales homines." They are charged with enforcing laws, etc.

[5] See I. cc. 1–7, and III. c. 5.

it imperative on all, whether English Danes or Welshmen (*Brittum*), that every one must be under "*borh*." Whether the "*borh*" is to be that of an individual lord, or the collective guarantee of a body, Eadgar does not specify. Assuming an alternative to be open, we would like to know more exactly how it was determined to which sort of guarantee a man should be held. Perhaps the man who could not find a lord, or did not care to have one, would have to enrol himself in a Gild or Tithing. In connexion with this, however, we find from later laws that the lord was only fully responsible (*borh*) for the conduct of persons belonging to his own household (*hired-men*).[1] On the whole it seems impossible not to connect Eadgar's *borh* with the later *frith-borh* commonly called Frank-pledge.

Dealings in Cattle.

Another set of regulations, made compulsory on all, are those for securing publicity in cattle-dealings. The principle of the measure is that of Eadweard's law requiring all sales to be made within towns, only with more workable machinery. Standing sworn witnesses or jurors are to be appointed for every Town, Hundred, and Wapentake: thirty-three in large Towns, twelve in small Towns or Hundreds. All purchases and sales must be made before two or three of these witnesses; the witnesses to be sworn to conceal nothing, and declare nothing but what they have seen or heard; purchases of cattle to be declared, and all bought cattle to be openly and publicly turned into the common meadow under pain of forfeiture.[2] In these sworn witnesses we seem to have the origin of our grand juries, and of the leet juries in which the police of the Hundreds came to be vested. These regulations may have been thought necessary for the prevention of crime, but it is clear that they must have been framed mainly in the interests of the rich, and that their operation upon agriculture, trade, and the general condition of the population must have been very depressing. When the hour of trial comes we shall find the English exhibiting a lamentable want of spirit.

Currency, Weights and Measures.

Eadgar's Laws insist upon one money for all the King's dominion, and one standard of weights and measures, namely the standards of London and Winchester. They also attempt to fix a *minimum* price for wool, an early testimony to the commercial importance of the product. The King forbids the wey (*wæge*) of wool (182 lbs.?) to be sold for less than 120 pence,[3] or two-thirds of a penny per pound. In the time of Æthelstan we found the sheep valued at 4*d.* or 5*d.* At that rate the wool would represent one-sixth or one-seventh of the value of the animal.

Church Dues.

With a man so much in the hands of Churchmen as Eadgar was it is needless to say that payment of all Church dues is strictly enjoined, even on Danes. The specified dues are tithes, kirkshot, plough-alms, soul-shot, and hearth-penny or Peter's Pence. Tithes

[1] *Laws of Æthelred*, I. c. 1, s. 10. [2] *Laws Eadgar* IV. cc. 3–13. [3] *Laws*, IV. c. 8.

must be paid to the old Minster to which the district (*hyrnes*) belongs; that is to say to the collegiate church from which the original mission was worked. A Thegn having a church on his *boc-land* may allot one-third of his tithe to his own church, if it have a burying-ground attached to it; if not, then he must pay his priest out of his own pocket, independently of tithes. The Sunday holiday to begin at noon on Saturday, and end at sunrise on Monday morning.[1] Eadgar has also left us a body of Canons or Church-law, which must be regarded as the work of Dunstan. In these we have no formal prohibition of clerical marriage (as we have of bigamy, c. 52), but, nevertheless, very clear exhortations to celibate life. 'Let not a priest forsake his kirk, his right spouse (*riht ewe*)': and again, 'Let a priest love his right spouse, that is, his kirk.'[2] Another point worthy of notice is the incipient jealousy of lay jurisdiction, that great question of after-days. Priests are strictly charged not to appeal to the tribunals of 'the world,' only to ecclesiastical arbitration, or their bishops.[3] Specially characteristic of Dunstan is the injunction that priests should learn and teach manual arts[4]—technical education. Lastly, we learn that the priests, like the rest of the population, were enrolled in 'gildships.'[5]

Tithes.

Dunstan's Canons.

We have already dwelled on the monastic revival, which is one of the great features of the reign. Tradition ascribed to Eadgar the founding of forty monasteries,[6] a number which cannot be made out, even if we give him the credit of every establishment founded, re-founded, or reformed in his reign. These, so far as we have noticed them as yet, come to only fourteen in number.[7] Two important additions, however, ought perhaps to be made to this list. St. Albans, though undoubtedly of older foundation, must have been in a dilapidated condition at Eadgar's accession, as the reader has heard that it was one of the sites offered to Oswald, but rejected by him. In 983, if not earlier, we have charters attested by Leofric, Abbot of St. Albans.[8] Of course the work of restoration may have been done in the time of Æthelred, but we would rather attribute it to that of Eadgar. Again, a well-known

Monastic Foundations.

[1] *Laws*, II. cc. 1–5; see also *Eadgar's Canons* below.

[2] *Canons of Eadgar*, cc. 8 and 60, Thorpe, II. 247, 257; J. Johnson, *Laws and Canons of Church of England*, I. 409. See also the charge in Eadgar's *Laws*, that priests should 'live clean lives to enable them to intercede with God,' IV. c. 1, s. 6.

[3] *Id.*, c. 7. See also the *Laws of the Northumbrian Priests* in the same collection, c. 5 (Johnson, p. 373). [4] *Canons*, 11, 51.

[5] Canon 7; also *Laws of Northumbrian Priests*, c. 1, where "geferan" seems to correspond with the "geferscip" of Æthelstan's *Laws*, VI. c. 1, s. 1. For priests' Gilds, see *Cod. Dip.* No. 942; and Earle, *Land Charters*, 264. [6] Flor., A.D. 959.

[7] Namely St. Mary's Worcester, Westbury Training College, Ramsey, Winchcomb, Old and New Minsters and St. Mary's Nunnery Winchester, Milton, Chertsey, Romsey, Exeter, Ely, Peterborough, Thorney.

[8] *Cod. Dip.* No. 683. Leofric was brother of Ælfric, the Archbishop of Canterbury, 995–1005; *Id.*, No. 1,304.

charter, spurious beyond doubt, gives the year 969 as that of the foundation of our great historic Abbey of St. Peter's, Westminster.[1] But, as we have said before, a concocted charter may nevertheless reproduce a correct traditional date; at any rate we have Ælfwic, Abbot of Westminster, clearly established in the year 997, and in the following year we have a bequest to St. Peter's as a place of repute.[2] Again we think the work more likely to belong to the days of Eadgar than to those of Æthelred.

Eadgar's own benefactions to the Church were endless. Abingdon, St. Mary's Worcester, Wilton, Bath, Glastonbury, Winchester (Old and New Minsters), and Ely, all profited by his liberality, but especially Abingdon and Winchester, with which Æthelwold was connected. On the other hand it is worthy of notice that we have but one grant in favour of Oswald and his foundations, namely that in favour of St. Mary's Worcester.[3]

According to William of Malmesbury Eadgar, with all his courage and energy, was but a man of very slender proportions.[4] He tells us that his stature was so diminutive that Kenneth of Scotland, at a banquet one day, doubtless at Eadgar's table, expressed a scornful wonder that such dominions could be held in subjection by such a mannikin.[5] The story goes on that the sneer having reached Eadgar's ears, he took Kenneth apart privately into a wood, and then producing a couple of swords challenged him to a mortal duel, whereupon Kenneth withdrew the remark and apologised. The reader may make what he pleases of this very Southern tale.

The King's Issue.

By Wulfrith Eadgar had a daughter, Eadgife, born 961–962, who became Abbess of the nunnery at Winchester, and died in 984. She is the St. Edith of the English Calendar.[6]

By his first wife, 'the Fair Æthelflæd,' also surnamed "Ened" (*the Duck*), he had EADWEARD, who succeeded him.

According to Florence and William of Malmesbury, Æthelflæd was daughter of one Ordmær "*Dux*." But neither his name nor hers can be found in the charters, and the probability is that he was a man of moderate position.[7]

By his second wife, Ælfthryth, whom he married in the course of 964,[8] Eadgar had Eadmund, who died before him,[9] and ÆTHELRED.

[1] *Codex Dip.* No. 555; also in Dugdale's *Monast.* [2] *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 698, 1,293.

[3] See *e.g. Id.*, Nos. 487, 536, 543, 562, 566, 577, 594, 1,269. Foreign churches too were remembered, as St. Denis and Ste. Genevieve Paris, and St. Ouen Rouen, Bouquet, IX. 397; *Memorials Dunstan*, 363, 366.

[4] "Staturæ et corpulentiæ perexilis . . . tantas vires in corpusculo," etc. *G. R.*, s. 156. [5] "Tam vili homuncioni tot provincias subjici."

[6] See Robertson, *Historical Essays*, 176; *Cod. Dip.* No. 594; Florence, A.D. 964; *The Life of St. Edith*, by Gotselin, is printed by Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ordinis S. Bened.*, sæc. V. p. 636. [7] Robertson, *sup.*, 168, 169.

[8] See the grant to her, dated in that year, being probably her 'morning-gift,' *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,252. She signs as "Regina," No. 543.

[9] A.D. 972, Chron. B, C; A.D. 971, Flor.; A.D. 970, Chron. D, E.

Ælfthryth was daughter of the Thegn Ordgar, afterwards Ealdorman of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon. She herself was the widow of Æthelwold, Ealdorman of East Anglia, eldest son of Æthelstan the Half-king. At the time of her marriage to Eadgar she must have been a widow for about two years, "the silent testimony of the charters refuting the story that Eadgar murdered his friend [Æthelwold] in order to marry his beautiful wife."[1] She died 999–1002.[2] The Nunnery at Wherewell, in Hants, near Andover, dedicated to the Holy Cross, was founded by her in the time of her son Æthelred, it was supposed as an expiatory offering for certain deeds, of which anon.[3]

APPENDIX A TO CHAPTER XIX

Celibacy of the Clergy

In the first ages of the Church, the clergy, like St. Peter, were undoubtedly free to marry. St. Patrick, as we have seen, was the grandson of a priest, and in his Canons for the Irish Church distinctly sanctions priestly marriage. But a feeling for the supposed sanctity of celibate life, to which St. Paul gave support, gradually gained strength. The first edict in that direction was issued by the Council of Illiberis in Spain (*circa* 305). But the Council of Nice refused to enjoin celibacy; and the Gallic Council of Gangra (350–380) uttered anathemas against those who rejected the ministrations of a married priest. On the other hand Gregory the Great would not allow even sub-deacons to marry, restricting that indulgence to the minor orders of Door-keepers, Readers, Exorcists, and Acolytes. (See the Canons of Ælfric, ss. 10–14: Thorpe.) But it is clear that in England his rules were little attended to. See Kemble, *Saxons*, II. 442, and generally Lea, *Celibacy of Clergy*.

APPENDIX B TO CHAPTER XIX

Date and Origin of our Coronation Service

Apart from the coronation oath our service differs from that in the Pontifical of Ecgberht, and must be attributed to a different origin. The oldest authoritative version of it is the *Ordo Consecrandi Regis*, found in MS. Cott. Claudius A, III. f. 9. This was attributed by Sir Robert Cotton to the time of Æthelred II., and is so endorsed in his hand. But there is nothing in the text to show when it was first used. On the other hand the exact agreement between this *Ordo* and the account of the hallowing of Eadgar given by the biographer of St. Oswald makes it clear that the rites prescribed by the *Ordo* were those observed in the case of Eadgar, and that the date of the settled service must be thrown back to that time at any rate. The coronation oath in the *Vita Oswaldi* agrees word for word with that in the *Ordo*, and must have been copied from the book to which he refers the reader for the text of the prayers (*in libris eorum*). Mr. W. E. Robertson, who apparently was not acquainted with the *Vita Oswaldi*, conjectured that the service was of Roman origin, and that it had been brought to England before the time of Æthelred. (*Historical Essays*, 211.) The latter suggestion may now be considered fully established. For the Roman origin or Roman recension he points to a considerable resemblance with the old *Ordo Romanus*. I would also call attention to the curious fact that no reference to any archbishop is to be found in it; only bishops are named, the actual unction being directed to be performed by the bishop, who shall have the pre-eminence ("qui arcem tenuerit"). The French *Ordo*, compiled in 1365, is copied from the English service, as it introduces the words *Albionis* and *Saxonum etc. Rex*. Robertson, *sup.*

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[1] Robertson, *sup.* For the story see Malmesbury, *G. R.*, s. 157.

[2] *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 703, 707.

[3] W. Malm., *G. P.*, s. 78; and Æthelred's charter, issued in 1002, *Cod. Dip.* No. 707. The endowment extended to 150 hides of land.

CHAPTER XX

EADWEARD II.—ÆTHELRED II.

Eadweard 'The Martyr.'[1] Born *circa* 963; succeeded 975; died 18th March, 978 (murdered). Style—"Gratia Dei rex tocius Albionis"[2]

Continued Struggles between Secular and Regular Clergy—Fresh Cycle of Northern Invasions—Laudings of Olaf Tryggvason and Swein Tiugeskægg

EADGAR'S premature death again left England face to face with a minority, and again the country went to pieces. Two lines of cleavage at once appear. One on the question of the succession; the other on the question of the dispossessed canons.

Opposition to Eadweard.

An attempt was made to set aside the boy Eadweard, Eadgar's eldest son and acknowledged heir, in favour of Æthelred, his son by Ælfthryth, some years younger than Eadweard, and so far less fitted to rule; while the friends of the Secular clergy began to agitate for their reinstatement in the minsters given over to the Regulars. No connexion however can be traced between the two lines of social fissure, which to all appearance ran unconformably, and across each other. Of Eadweard's opponents, and of the grounds real or ostensible on which their opposition was based, the writers of the time speak with great reserve. Subsequent writers indulge in conjectures, as that Eadweard was opposed as being the son of uncrowned parents,[3]—"the objection of a later age," and one that might have been urged with equal force against his half-brother Æthelred. Another suggestion is that Eadweard's legitimacy may have been called in question.[4] But how such a point could be raised in the face of the recent cases of Æthelstan, Eadwig, and Eadgar it is not easy to see. The truth appears to be, as stated by William of Malmesbury, that the opposition simply emanated from Ælfthryth,[5] who aspired to play under her son Æthelred the part that had been so successfully played by Eadgifu under Eadred, and attempted with less success by Æthelgifu under Eadwig. Ælfthryth had influential connexions in Wessex, while Eadweard's mother Æthelflæd-Ened, as we have seen, was not a woman

Ælfthryth.

[1] "Martyr Dei . . . Rex et martyr"; *Vita Oswaldi*, 450, 452, and especially Æthelred's charter, *Cod. Dip.* No. 706, "Sancto germano meo."

[2] *Cod. Dip.* No. 611.

[3] So Eadmer, *Memorials Dunstan*, 214. [4] Robertson, *Hist. Essays*, 176.

[5] *G. R.*, s. 161, and *Vita Dunstani*, *Memorials*, 307.

of high rank, so that her son could derive no support from her side of the house. The only apology offered by any writer who can be identified as having lived at the time, is that Eadweard, young as he was, had already begun to betray a tyrannical, if not a brutal disposition, and that the Wessex Magnates hoped to find a gentler lord in Æthelred.[1] Be this as it may have been the Witan were divided in opinion. The question

The Bishops.

however was settled by Dunstan, Oswald, and Æthelwold, who declared with one voice that Eadweard's claims could not be passed over. They carried the day, and he was elected and forthwith hallowed at Kingston-on-Thames.[2]

The clerical question involved a bitter struggle. It is not too much to suppose that the cathedral clergy were in many, if not most cases, men of good family, with local connexions and friends to support their claims; while the monks, probably recruited from a distance, would be regarded as "outsiders." Ælfhere, the Ealdorman of Mercia, took up the cause of the married clergy in his district, reinstating them by force,[3] while in East Anglia the opposite side was espoused with equal determination by the Ealdorman Æthelwine, backed up by his brother Ælfwold, and by Byrhtnoth, Ealdorman of the East Saxons. They garrisoned Ramsey Abbey and called out forces in defence of the Regulars. In short the country was brought to the verge of civil war.[4]

Ecclesiastical Troubles.

In Deira, again, troubles broke out, of which no account whatever has been handed down, beyond the bare fact that Oslac, 'the great Earl,'[5] was deprived of his office and driven out of England, to find a refuge beyond the seas.

The Northumbrian Earldom.

'Over gannet's bath,
Over water's throng,
Over whales domain.'[6]

The Chronicles deplore his expulsion as a national loss. As there was no clerical question in Northumbria, we cannot connect it with anything

[1] So *Vita Oswaldi*, 449, written within thirty years of this time.

[2] Florence; *Hist. Ramsey*, 73; Osbern, *Memorials Dunstan*, 114; Eadmer, and W. Malm., *sup.*; conf. *Vita Oswaldi*, 449. For the coronation oath in English, tendered by Dunstan in writing 'to the king,' presumably Eadweard or Æthelred, see *Memorials Dunstan*, 355. It is a simple translation of the oath tendered to Eadgar, and is followed by a short homily on the duties of a king.

[3] It is a singular fact that only one monastery is named as having undergone this revolution, namely Winchcomb. But all the authorities agree in representing the disturbance as very extensive; one is therefore led to infer that monks may have been foisted into the parochial cures also. Of the cathedral churches, Dr. Lingard writes: "The monks obtained possession of the cathedrals of Winchester and Worcester; but the other episcopal churches remained in the hands of the clergy, and were retained by them, with one exception, till the close of the Anglo-Saxon period."

[4] *Vita Oswaldi*, 443–446; Chron. A, D, E; Flor.; *Hist. Ramsey*, 71.

[5] "Se mœra eorl." [6] A.D. 976; Chron. A, D, E; Flor.

of that sort. Probably it was due to the hostility of the House of Bamborough, whose representative Osulf had been deprived of Deira in favour of Oslac. His successor can only be guessed at. Perhaps Waltheof I. came in, perhaps Thored. Both rose to be *Duces*. Waltheof undoubtedly in time became Earl of Bernicia, and Thored, probably, Earl of Deira. Waltheof may have received Deira at the first, and then been obliged to hand it over to Thored upon succeeding to the Bernician Earldom at the death of Eadulf Yvel-cild, or, if that personage be rejected, of Osulf.[1] But the real calamity of the year 976 was a grievous famine, which evidently lived long in popular memory. 'On this year was the great hunger.'[2]

The great ecclesiastical question furnished food for discussion in divers Synods. In 977 we hear of a grand gathering held at Kirtlington, near Oxford, after Easter (8th April). During the sittings stout Bishop Sideman of Exeter, the king's former tutor, died suddenly.[3] In 978[4] we hear of Synods in Wiltshire, at Calne and Amesbury. The discussions at Calne were interrupted by a calamitous incident. The meeting was held in an upper chamber. The anti-monastic party had brought forward an advocate in the person of one Beornhelm, an eloquent Scottish Bishop,[5] whose name, by the way, might be connected with Lothian, but hardly with Scotland proper. Dunstan was replying to his opponent when suddenly the over-loaded floor gave way, precipitating most of those present into the room below, with serious injury to life and limb. The Archbishop, however, escaped by catching hold of a beam, a deliverance claimed by his friends as amounting to a miracle.[6]

Synods.

The next recorded incident is the death of the King, cruelly murdered by the servants and followers of Ælfthryth, at the very door of her residence. We are told that on the afternoon of the 18th March, 978,[7] Eadweard, after a day's hunting, came to Corfe Castle[8] to visit his step-mother and his half-brother Æthelred. The

Death of Eadweard.

[1] Thored first signs as Dux in 979, *Cod. Dip.* No. 621. See Sym., *H. R.*, s. 159, and the Tract, p. 382; also generally Robertson, *Scotland*, II. 441; Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 644. The wording of both passages in Symeon implies that Waltheof became successor both to Oslac and to Osulf or Eadulf. [2] Chron. A, C, D, E.

[3] Chron. B and C. "Robustus corpore et durus"; *Vita Oswaldi*, 449.

[4] So Chron. D and E. Florence gives the year as 977. If the Synod of Calne was held in 978, it must have been held very early in the year, as all agree that it came before the death of Eadweard.

[5] Osbern, *Memorials Dunstan*, 113; Eadmer, *Id.*, 213.

[6] *Id.*; Chron. D and E; Flor.

[7] For the year see Chron. A and C, and Florence; and for the day Chron. D and E, but under the year 979, which is refuted by the undoubted date of the beginning of the next reign.

[8] "Corfes geat." Chron. D and E. Mr. Earle points out that "geat" refers to the gap in the chalk ridge of the Purbeck Hills, on an isolated eminence of which Corfe Castle stands. "The Saxon residence . . . must have occupied the highest part of the hill, now the inner ward." Clark, *Mediæval Military Architecture*, I. 461–474. The bridge over the Corfe river flowing into Poole harbour is known as St. Edward's Bridge.

Lady's Thegns came out to greet the King, who was still sitting on his horse. The butler tendered a cup. Eadweard was taking it, when his outstretched right hand was roughly seized by one of the attendants. He was struggling and protesting, 'You are breaking my arm,'[1] when he was felled to the ground by a blow delivered from the left. 'Was never a worse deed done among Anglekin.'[2] For the night the remains were placed in a peasant's hut; next day they were buried in the simplest fashion at Wareham, 'without any royal worship.'[3] Eadweard's youth (16–17 years) and the piteous circumstances of his death gained him the name of Martyr. 'On life he was an earthly King; now he is a heavenly Saint.'[4] But there is no reason to connect his fate with the ecclesiastical question that was dividing the country. He was elected through the support of Dunstan and the leaders of the monastic party; but the few charters of his reign show him enjoying the support of Ælfhere of Mercia,[5] the leader of the anti-monastic party; and to him he was eventually indebted for the honourable sepulture withheld from him by his 'own people' and his 'own kin,' *i.e.* the men of Wessex. Twelve months after his death the Mercian Ealdorman invaded Wessex in force, exhumed the Martyr's body, and translated it with Royal honours to Shaftesbury.[6] With respect to the men of Wessex the two leading laymen at the time were without doubt Æthelweard the historian, Ealdorman of Devon and the Western Provinces; and Æthelmær, Earldorman of South-Hampton or the Central Provinces, both of them of kin to the king.[7] But the man pointed at as chiefly guilty was Ælfric, shortly afterwards appointed Ealdorman of Devon in succession to Æthelmær.[8]

Eadweard, again, was unmarried, and left no issue.

ÆTHELRED II. 'THE UNREDY'[9]

Born *circa* 967?; crowned 14th April, 978; died 23rd April, 1016

Styles: "Anglorum basileus, rex." "Britanniæ, Albionis basileus, etc."

Election and Coronation.

Ælfthryth lost no time in securing for her son the crown that she had bought with her crime. In the absence of any possible competitor, Æthelred, who may have been ten or eleven years old, was presented to the Witan and elected King. Dunstan

[1] "Quid facitis frangentes dexteram meam?" [2] Chron. D.

[3] See *Vita Oswaldi*, 449, the earliest and fullest account; also Chron. D and E, and Flor. [4] Chron. D. [5] *Codex. Dip.* Nos. 611–620.

[6] *Vita Oswaldi, sup.* For the attitude of the men of Wessex, see Florence, "a suis occiditur"; and Chron. D and E, 'his earthly *magas* would not avenge him, but God did.' [7] For Æthelmær see *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,312.

[8] Æthelmær died in 982, and Ælfric signs in 983. For Ælfric's guilt, see W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 165: "Elfricum . . . qui superiorem regem occiderat"; but he makes him the son of Ælfhere, which is impossible. For the confusion between the two Ælfrics see below. [9] *i.e.* without ræd, later rede, =counsel; 'the Ill-advised.'

and Oswald, bowing to necessity, hallowed him at Kingston, on Sunday, 14th April, 978, within less than a month of his brother's murder.[1]

Dunstan felt himself bound to accept Æthelred as heir to the throne, but he could not bring himself to act with Ælfthryth and her friends. He retired from politics, leaving England in the hands of a woman and a boy. As to the young King promoted under such ill-omened circumstances, we find him credited with good looks and pleasing manners[2]; perhaps the only facts about him which the reader will hear singled out for praise during a calamitous and disgraceful reign of eight and thirty years. These misfortunes were accepted by the age as a visible judgment on the crime that raised him to the throne.[3] But evil as were the times on which Æthelred fell, we must point out that he is the only one of all our kings whose reputation for incapacity has stamped itself upon his very name.

The new Government was soon put on its trial. England had been entirely at peace since the death of Eric, the last Danish King of York (952); and if we leave out of sight the political struggles in the North, we may say that England—at any rate Southern England—had enjoyed a practical immunity from piratical ravages since the beginning of the century.[4] Two years after Æthelred's accession these incursions began afresh. In 980 a Danish force, seven ships strong, we are told—not 300 men—landed at Southampton, and sacked the town, slaughtering or enslaving most of the inhabitants. Then, steering eastwards, they landed in Thanet, playing the like havoc there. Meanwhile a force stated to be of Northern or Norwegian origin had overrun the county of Chester.[5] Next year we hear of ravages in Devonshire ("Devinysce") and Cornwall, when Padstow Abbey was plundered. There, however, the natives offered a creditable resistance.[6] Again, in 982, we hear of three "wicing" ships boldly landing on the coast of Dorset, and harrying the Isle of Portland[7]; while South Wales was devastated by Guthfrith, son of Harold, King of the Southern Isles, the brother and successor of Magnus, who did homage in 975. Clearly all the sea-rovers were again on the move. But the pettiness of these attacks only reflects the greater disgrace on the Government which could neither forestall nor avenge them.

Fresh Era of Invasion.

The renewal of the Northern inroads may to a certain extent have

[1] *Vita Oswaldi*, 445; Florence; 'Sunday, fourteen days after Easter,' Chron. C, but under the year 979, which would give a different day; but if we read the year as 978, the day will be the same, as Easter fell on the 31st March in 978.

[2] "Moribus elegans, pulcher vultu, decorus aspectu," *Vita O.*, 455.

[3] See Æthelred's own charter, *Cod. Dip.* No. 706.

[4] The last landing of any importance was that in the Severn, the overflow from Brittany in 915. See above.

[5] A.D. 980, Chron. C and Florence; A.D. 981, Chron. D and E.

[6] Chron. C; Flor; *Vita Oswaldi*, 456. [7] Chron. C; Flor.

been connected with the state of Scandinavian affairs. The kingdom of Norway is dated from the time of Harold Harfager (*Fair-hair*), who died in 933. Beginning with a small ancestral kingdom on the shores of 'the Vik,' otherwise the great inlet of Christiania Fjord, he had largely extended his dominions to the North and East. But the country had again fallen into confusion at his death. It has been pointed out that the physical features of Norway, broken up by hills and valleys, were very unfavourable to any great concentration of power. Altogether otherwise was it with the flats of Jutland and the Danish Isles.[1] There a more stable monarchy was built up by Gorm the Old, who brought into subjection the Danish Islands, Jutland, Sleswick, and even Scania, or the southern extremity of modern Sweden, say, from the outlet of Lake Wener to Carls Krona. Gorm died about 936,[2] and was succeeded by his son, Harold Blaatand, who, at the period that we have reached, was still living. Both Gorm and Harold were fully occupied with struggles against their German neighbours. Henry the Fowler (919–936) had pushed back Gorm's frontier from the Eyder, the frontier of the days of Karl the Great, to the Dannewerk, an inner line of defence said to have been constructed by Gorm.[3] Apart from the expedition under his son Eric, who came over by invitation, Harold Blaatand had never meddled with England, though he is alleged to have visited Normandy, once if not twice, as the "disinterested friend" of the Duke and his subjects.[4] On the other hand, about 960 he succeeded in establishing an over-lordship over Norway[5]; but again, in 965, he saw Jutland overrun by the Emperor Otto I., the Great, when he and his son Swein were forced to do homage and receive baptism; while in 974 he suffered another defeat at the hands of Otto II. But the great difficulties of the latter years of Blaatand's reign were those created by his unfriendly relations with his son Swein, known to his countrymen as Swein Tiugeskegg[6] (*Forked-Beard*), and to the Christian writers as Swein-Otto. This man was a barbaric warrior of the purest type, whose whole life, by all accounts, must have been one round of wild adventure, ending with parricide. Twice was he taken prisoner by Sclavonians (*Sclavi*), and twice was he ransomed by his countrymen. Baptized under the name of Otto, he took an early opportunity of

State of Scandinavia.

Harold Harfager.

Gorm.

Harold Blaatand.

Swein Tiugeskægg.

[1] See Green, *Conq. of Eng.*, 361, citing Dahlmann, *Geschichte von Dännemark*, I. 68, 128. [2] Dahlmann, *sup.*, 59.

[3] Henry's invasion of Denmark is placed by some authorities in 931; by others in 934. See Dahlmann, I. 69.

[4] For these alleged visits to Normandy, placed in the years 945 and 962, see Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, I. 216, 233, where, however, sound doubts are expressed as to the Harold in question being really the King of Denmark.

[5] Green, *sup.*, 364, citing Dahlmann, I. 78.

[6] "Tiugskægg," Langebek, I. 145, 154; "Tyugescheg," 143.

rejecting the new faith, to which his father continued to adhere; while we are assured that of his life fourteen years were spent in exile, either in Norway, or England, or Scotland. The writer from whom we have these facts derived his information from Swein's grand-nephew, the younger Swein, son of Estrith. Fourteen years of continuous absence from Denmark cannot be made out. But fourteen years with a break at Harold's death can be made out: seven years before and seven years after that event, which occurred about 986. On this supposition the ravages in 980, in which both Danes and Norwegians took part, would coincide with Swein's first exile, when, with aid from Norway, he made his way first to the shores of England, and ultimately to a friendly refuge at the Scottish Court,[1] there apparently to rest awhile on his oars. Anyhow, after 982 a lull occurred, and England for some years was left in peace.

At home, in the year 982, we hear of another great fire in London,[2] probably one of those accidental conflagrations so common and so destructive in cities chiefly built of wood. In 983 we find Ælfhere of Mercia invading Brecknock ("Brecheinauc") in concert with Howel, son of Idwal, one of the kings of North Wales.[3] That was the last of Ælfhere. In the same year he died.

Attack on Wales.

In his honours and estates he was succeeded by his eldest son Ælfric,[4] while a younger son, by name Eadwine, became Abbot of Abingdon.[5] Ælfric was known as 'Child' Ælfric,[6] perhaps to distinguish him from the other Ælfric, of evil reputation, who had succeeded Æthelmær as Ealdorman of Hampshire or the Central Provinces.[7] Child Ælfric's career as recognised Ealdorman of Mercia was short. In 985 he was arraigned before a Council at Cirencester on charges vaguely described as involving misappropriation of land, and disobedience to the King's orders. He was found guilty of treason, sentenced to banishment, and all his vast possessions made over bodily to Æthelred.[8] Ælfric retired to Denmark to ally himself in the true spirit of an exile with the most effective enemies of his country.[9] The split between his family and the leaders of Wessex, already indicated by his father's action in the burial of Eadweard, became the stumbling-block of the reign, involving the ultimate fall of the dynasty.

With respect to the administration of Mercia after Ælfric's banishment we find three King's Thegns—Leofric, Ordbryght, and Ælfweard—raised to

[1] See Adam of Bremen, Pertz, IX. 316, etc. The writer died in 1076.

[2] Chron. C. [3] *Ann. Camb.* "Alfre dux Anglorum."

[4] Chron., Flor. Both father and son sign as "dux" in 983. The son was in office down to 985; *Cod. Dip.* 639, 646, 1,279. [5] Flor.; *Hist. Abingdon*, A.D. 978.

[6] "Cognomento Puer"; *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,312.

[7] "Wentanensium Provinciarum dux"; *Cod. Dip.* No. 698.

[8] A.D. 985, Chron. C,D,E; Flor. (A.D. 986); *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 703, 1,312.

[9] *Hist. Abingdon*, A.D. 978, where, however, the name is given as "Edricus."

the dignity of ealdormen.[1] It is reasonable to suppose that Ælfric's government was divided among these men. But they disappear again, and then we have a charter by Oswald the Archbishop expressed to be granted with consent of 'Ælfric Ealdorman of the Mercians.'[2] If this can be trusted Ælfric-Child must have recovered his position through local influence.

Ælfric Re-instated.

In 984 Bishop Æthelwold, the 'Father of the Monks,' died (August 1), and was buried in the Old Minster at Winchester, rebuilt by himself, and re-consecrated 20th October, 980.[3] He had injured his health by over-asceticism, refusing to partake of any kind of meat except on two occasions: once when he indulged for three months by Dunstan's orders —another instance of the Archbishop's good sense—and again shortly before his death.[4]

In the then state of Church politics, with Regulars and Seculars contesting each cathedral, the appointment of a new Bishop must have been a matter of more than ordinary importance. Dunstan had a clear conviction as to the proper man for the place, in fact a conviction so clear that it passed for a special revelation made to him through St. Andrew. The man pointed out was Ælfheah (St. Elphege II.), a monk who had taken vows at Deerhurst, and was then Abbot of Bath. Dunstan had influence enough with Æthelred's Government to carry his appointment. On the 19th October Bishop Ælfheah was consecrated.[5]

St. Elphege.

Once more, and once more only, we have Dunstan coming forward in public affairs. In 986 a quarrel, of uncertain origin,[6] broke out between the King and Ælfstan Bishop of Rochester. As Æthelred had reached the age of twenty-three, and had been for some years a father, we may give him credit for personal action in the matter. But the only mode of settling the difference that occurred to him was to call out the *fyrd* and besiege the Bishop in his cathedral city. Dunstan attempted to arrest the attack by an inhibition, and an appeal to the patronage of St. Andrew. Æthelred was not daunted by the spiritual menace; but, finding that Rochester was too strong for him, he was proceeding to ravage the Bishop's estates when Dunstan, changing his tactics, sent an offer of £100. The King took the money and disbanded his men.[7] Here we have an apt instance of that mixture of violence, weakness,

Rochester Besieged.

[1] *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 657, 658, A.D. 987. [2] *Id.*, No. 670, A.D. 989.

[3] See his Life, written by the Precentor Wulfstan during the reign of Æthelred; Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ordinis St. Bened.*, sæc. V. 621.

[4] "Muneca fæder," Chron. A,C,D,E; *Vita Æthelwoldi* (Ælfric), 263, 265.

[5] *Memorials Dunstan*, 61 (Adelard), 116 (Osbern), 217 (Eadmer), 312 (W. Malm.).

[6] Probably the quarrel arose over certain lands abstracted by Æthelred, and afterwards restored by him with expressions of regret; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 688, 700, A.D. 995, 998. We have a similar confession and restitution with respect to a hundred hides taken from the Old Minster at Winchester, No. 698.

[7] Chron. C, D, E; Flor.; *Memorials Dunstan*, 117 (Osbern), 310 (W. Malm.).

and meanness that we shall find characteristic of the second Æthelred.

Two years later the great Archbishop ended his noble and useful career. On Ascension Day (17th May), 988, he not only officiated at Mass, but also preached three sermons—short sermons we must suppose—during the service. The first was given in the usual place after the Gospel, the second after consecrating the elements, and the third after communicating, but before dismissing the people. The two extra addresses seem to have been delivered in answer to calls from the congregation.[1] The service over, Dunstan repaired to the Refectory, and dined with his clergy as usual. After dinner he lay down for a *siesta*, when he was attacked by a fit of illness, from which he never rallied. On the Saturday, 19th May, he passed away,[2] being, as we suppose, from 65 to 70 years old. If we may add one or two touches to the portrait of him already given, we should notice "his delight to make peace between man and man," his hospitality to strangers and pilgrims, his strictness as a judge, whether in ecclesiastical or civil cases, and his careful management of Church property. No alienations can be brought home to him, as so freely to Oswald of York.[3] According to a tradition preserved by William of Malmesbury, in order to moderate drinking he invented "peg-pots," drinking cups marked off internally into equal divisions to measure the quantity that each man should drink at a toast.[4] The favourite saint of the old English Church, Dunstan "was canonized in popular regard almost from the day he died." But his glory in later days was eclipsed by the paramount claim on the ecclesiastical world of St. Thomas of Canterbury.[5]

Death of Dunstan.

Justice and Integrity of Dunstan.

The Primacy. In the Primacy Dunstan was succeeded by Æthelgar, formerly Abbot of the New Minster at Winchester, and then Bishop of Selsey.[6] Brief was his tenure of office. One year and three months he lived after his consecration, and then passed away on the 13th February, 990.[7] His successor was Sigeric, Bishop of Ramsbury, or Wiltshire. A monk trained at Glastonbury, his first act was to expel the secular canons from his metropolitan church, where Dunstan had allowed them to remain. Monks were introduced to fill their places.[8]

We must now return to the dismal chapter of the Northern inroads. In

[1] See *Memorials*, 219 (Eadmer), 318 (Malm.), conf. 51.

[2] See *Memorials*, 50 (B), 64 (Adelard), 121 (Osbern), 318 (Malm.).

[3] For Oswald's grants for lives of Church lands see *Cod. Dip. passim.*

[4] *Memorials*, cviii.; W. Malm., *G.R.*, s. 149.

[5] Stubbs, *Memorials*, ix. [6] Chron. C, D, E; W. Malm., *G.P.*, s. 20.

[7] *West Saxon Calendar*, *Hampson*, I., 436; Stubbs.

[8] Chron. C, D; Flor.; *Reg. Sacrum.* For the Itinerary of Sigeric on his return from Rome with his Pall, eighty stages, see *Memorials Dunstan*, 391. They crossed the Alps by the great St. Bernard from St. Remi to Orsieres, and the Jura from Yverdon to Pontarlier.

988 we hear of a landing in Somerset, on the Bristol Channel, when Watchet was sacked, and the Thegn Goda and other good men were killed. We are told that the invaders were ultimately repulsed, but it is clear that the locality was left to work out its own salvation, no help of any sort from head quarters being recorded.[1] This attack, again, may safely be credited to the Island chief, Guthfrith, son of Harold, who had plundered Anglesey in the previous year, and in this very summer was busy all along the neighbouring Welsh coast, from Cardigan to Glamorgan.[2] It is possible, however, that he may have been emboldened by the presence of Swein Tiugeskægg, who was undoubtedly in exile at this time. On the other hand there seem no grounds for connecting the affair with the coolness between England and Normandy which two years later elicited the intervention of Pope John XV., through whose influence a treaty of peace was signed at Rouen on the 1st March, 991, between Æthelred and Duke Richard I., the contracting parties agreeing to harbour no refugees from each other's dominions.[3] This last stipulation probably gives the clue to the grounds of difference.

Renewed Invasions.

The real storm burst in the course of the same year, 991, when a Wiking force, spoken of as Danish by the writers of the time, but apparently in fact Norwegian, and led by two men named Justin and Guthmund, landed on the East coast and plundered Ipswich. Moving southwards to Maldon, they were confronted by Byrhtnoth, the old Ealdorman of the East Saxons, with his *fyrd*. Five and thirty years he had ruled his district, but age had not broken his spirit.[4] Gallantly he rode at the head of his men, dismounting for action after he had set his ranks in order. The armies met on the banks of the river Pant,[5] or Blackwater, within the influence of the tide. At first the waters were at flood, and three English champions were able to hold the narrow bridge[6] against the enemy. The Wikings offered to retire to their ships for *gafol* (*tribute*), a solution not unknown even in the times of Ælfred. But Byrhtnoth, though standing on the defensive, thought it shame to let them go 'unbefoughten.' But after flood came ebb; the invaders plunged boldly into the water, and, closing with the English, broke up their 'war-hedge'—*i.e.* their front line of locked shields—and overwhelmed them. Byrhtnoth fell early in the action, the bulk of his Thegns and 'household men' (*hired men*) falling round him, as in duty bound. The relics of the

Battle of Maldon.

Death of Byrhtnoth.

[1] Chron. C and D; Flor. [2] *Ann. Camb.*

[3] See the treaty *Memorials Dunstan*, 397; conf. Lappenberg, II. 154; Freeman, *N.C.*, I. 284. [4] He signs as "Dux" from 956; *Cod. Dip.* No. 448.

[5] "Panta." See the ballad below.

[6] Two tidal streams join the sea below Maldon: one the Chelmer, which flows past the hill on which the town stands; the other the Pant, or Blackwater, a little further North. Both are crossed by bridges. Byrhtnoth must have arrayed his men between the two rivers, as the invaders are said to have crossed the Panta "west" to attack him, doubtless at Heybridge.

force, however, were able to rescue his body for due burial in the Minster at Ely.[1] Probably the mound fort at Maldon in their rear was their salvation. This defeat brought the weak Government of King Æthelred to its knees. A treaty was signed with the invaders under which we are told that ten thousand pounds were paid as the price of peace and immunity from further depredations, the first fatal precedent of Danegeld, certain to invite fresh attacks. It is important to notice that the advisers of the measure are given as Archbishop Sigeric and the Ealdormen Æthelweard and Ælfric.[2] The latter must be taken to have been the Ealdorman of the Hampshire provinces, as we cannot suppose Ælfric-Child to have been at court. The humiliating payment therefore was made at the suggestion of the three rulers of Wessex, and, as they themselves tell us, for the protection of Wessex and Wessex only.[3] In immediate sequence on this treaty we seem to have a fresh pirate chief coming forward with reinforcements to take the lead from Justin and Guthmund, namely Olaf, probably Olaf Tryggvason, afterwards King of Norway. The Witan, improving on the ideas of Sigeric Æthelweard and Ælfric, persuaded Æthelred to make a fresh arrangement, enlisting the swords of Olaf Justin and Guthmund for protection against further inroads, with a tacit permission to conquer and occupy lands in England. The treaty distinctly contemplates the invaders' remaining in the country, and on their own resources, as the King only binds himself to support them during actual operations on his behalf; while we hear of districts which were, or might be considered, "unfrith," *i.e.* outside the King's peace, and so open to the strangers. In certain cases the foreigners may wage war on a whole Ealdordom.[4] But the King evinces a misgiving that his subjects might be inclined to follow his example by making similar treaties on their own account with other raiding bodies. Any district guilty of such conduct to be at war (*utlah*) with both parties to the present contract. As the price of this precious compact 'two and twenty thousand pounds of gold and silver' are said to have been paid down.[5]

First Danegeld.

Fresh Hordes.

Another Treaty.

More Danegeld.

With respect to this and other sums of Danegeld that we shall find alleged by the chroniclers we must point out, once for all, that in 1096 William Rufus had to raise a sum that seems credibly given as 10,000

[1] Chron. B, C, D; Flor.; and *Hist. Ely*, p. 494, but especially the spirited contemporary Ballad printed by Thorpe, *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, 121, from which all the details are taken. For a translation see Mr. Freeman's *O. E. H.*, 192.

[2] Chron. C, D, E; Flor. See also the later treaty, Schmid, p. 204, which refers to an earlier arrangement made through Sigeric, Æthelweard and Ælfric.

[3] See the later treaty with Olaf, c. 1, Schmid, p. 204. [4] Cap. 6.

[5] See the treaty, Schmid 204; Thorpe, 285. The treaty bears no date, but seems to have been executed not long after the other one to which it refers. So, too, Lappenberg and Freeman. "Justin (Jósteinn) was apparently the maternal uncle of Olaf." Thorpe, *sup.*

marks, or £6,666 13*s.* 4*d.* The money had to be levied from a thoroughly united England. Yet the chroniclers groan at the pressure of the tax, and assure us that church-books, relics, and plate had to be disposed of to meet the call.

If the latter part of the reign is disgraced by unprecedented acts of treason, we may say that the King set the example by betraying his own subjects to the enemy. We may say that in our view of the situation Mercia, with the dispossessed Child Ælfric at large, must have been very much in a state of "unfrith" with King Æthelred. On the other hand, it is likely that the Scandinavian settlements in the Lake district date from this time. We can find no period outside the reign of Æthelred to which they can with any probability be referred, nor any point in his reign so likely as the one now under consideration. A writer of the period, while enumerating the miseries of the reign, speaks of tracts of land assigned to invading bands for permanent occupation.[1] The place-names show the settlers to have been largely of Norse blood,[2] while it is also clear that the land must have been parcelled out in smaller lots, and on a more popular footing than in other colonised districts of England. The settlement, in part, might be regarded as made at the expense of Cumbrian Strathclyde. Lastly we may add that from this time Justin and Guthmund disappear from history, as if they had found comfortable quarters somewhere.

A Fleet Collected.

We now hear of the gathering of a grand armament in the Thames, the command of which was given to Ealdorman Ælfric, Earl Thored,[3] and the Bishops Ælfstan[4] and Æscwig, of London and Dorchester. A grand plan was laid to 'betrap the enemy about.' Whether the signitaries of the recent treaty were reckoned among the enemy, we cannot say, but the position given to the Ealdorman Ælfric, whom we must take to have been Child Ælfric, suggests that perhaps the King had been induced to change his policy, and make friends with Mercia against the common foe. But when the time for action came Ælfric turned against his countrymen, first sending warning to the 'Danes,' and then actually joining them with his whole contingent. The result was that the enemy escaped with the loss of one vessel only. The English gave chase, and, having been reinforced by the East Anglian fleet, brought the Danes to action. But the Danes too must have been reinforced, as the English only succeeded in capturing one ship, but the ship, as it happened, was that of the traitor Ealdorman, and there, we take it, ended the career of Ælfric-Child, who certainly is never heard of again.[5] Next year we hear that Ælfgar, Ealdorman Ælfric's son, having

Desertion.

[1] Thietmar of Merseberg, Pertz, III. 848.

[2] See J. J. A. Worsae's *Danes in England.*

[3] The difference of title, as Mr. Freeman points out, indicates that Thored was either of Danish extraction or a ruler of a Danish district. Probably Deira was his province. He signs as *dux* from the year 979; *Cod. Dip.* No. 621.

[4] Florence gives Ælfstan's See as Wiltshire, or Ramsbury, but that Ælfstan died in 981.

[5] See Chron. C, D, E, A.D. 992, whose words do not in the least imply that Ælfric

fallen into the King's hands, was deprived of his eyesight.[1] Now it is impossible to suppose that Æthelred put out the eyes of the son of a man whom, as well after this cruel outrage as before it, we find regularly attesting the King's charters as one of his innermost circle, namely, Ælfric the Hampshire Faldorman. Ælfgar's traitor-father, therefore, must have been the other Ælfric—Child Ælfric of Mercia.[2]

Death of Archbishop Oswald.

The year 992 witnessed two noteworthy deaths, namely those of Archbishop Oswald of York, and his friend Æthelwine of East Anglia. Oswald passed away on the 29th February, and was buried at St. Mary's Worcester.[3] With all respect for his memory, we must say that he set a bad example in the way of alienating Church lands on leases for lives,[4] one of the distinct scandals of the English Church in much later days. His successor in the combined Sees of York and Worcester was Ealdulf, Abbot of Peterborough.[5] Ealdorman Æthelwine died on the 24th April, and was duly buried, as he deserved to be, in Ramsey Abbey.[6]

The efforts of 992 do not seem to have been wholely fruitless. In 993 we only hear of plunderings along the North-Eastern coast, beginning at Bamborough, Ida's fortress, still the seat of Bernician government, and ending in Lindesey (North Lincolnshire). We are told that the people gathered in strength for resistance, but that their treacherous leaders, Fræna, Godwine, and Frithegist set them an example of flight.[7]

Of Northumbrian affairs since the expulsion of the 'beloved' Oslac in 976 we have heard literally nothing. The governments, however, North and South of the Tyne had probably been shared between Waltheof I. and Thored, as already mentioned. Thored disappears about this time, and a new Earl or Ealdorman comes forward as if to succeed him, Ælfhelm, expressly styled "Northanhumbrensium Provinciarum dux." But as Waltheof was still living, and beyond doubt Earl of Bernicia, Ælfhelm's district must have been limited to Deira.[8]

But Wessex was not destined to enjoy any lengthened period of immunity. In 994 a grand Scandinavian armament of 94 ships,

escaped. A statement to that effect, however, is introduced by Florence, who confounds the two Ælfrics on his own authority; so also W. Malmesbury, *G. R.*, s. 165.

[1] Chron., A.D. 993.

[2] The evidence is really conclusive. In 997 we have a charter which tells us that the Ælfric still at court was "Dux Wentanensium Provinciarum," *Cod. Dip.* No. 698; while next year he actually attests a charter which refers to the condemnation of the former Ealdorman Ælfric "Puer." See No. 703 compared with 1,312.

[3] *Vita Oswaldi, sup.*, 472, 475; Flor. [4] The *Codex Dip.* is full of these grants.

[5] Chron; Flor. He signs as "electus" in 995; *Cod. Dip.* No. 988.

[6] *Vita O., sup.*, and *Hist. Ramsey*, 106.

[7] Chron. C, D, E; Flor. Fræna signs as "Minister" or Thegn both before and after this. Frithegist signs in 1005; *Cod. Dip.*, No. 1214.

[8] See *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 687, 698; and above, A.D. 975, 992. The first of the above charters is the only one that bears Waltheof's signature, long as his rule was.

say 3,500 men, led by two noted captains, appeared in the Thames. The leaders were none other than Olaf Tryggvason,[1] now King of Norway, and Swein Tiugeskægg, now King of Denmark.

Two Kings Land.

Olaf was the grandson of Hakon I., 'The Good,' the younger son of Harold Harfager, who was said to have been baptized by Æthelstan. Like Swein, he had wandered in exile for years, being kept out of Norway by Earl Hakon 'The Bad,' a ruler originally put in by Harold Blaatand, who had eventually made himself independent.[2] Swein had finally obtained the mastery over his father, Harold Blaatand, about the year 986, driving him from throne and country to die of his wounds at Jornsberg, a Danish outpost at the mouth of the Oder.[3] But the kingdom of Denmark was not yet to be Swein's. Eric, the victorious Swedish king of Upsala, taking advantage of Denmark's dissensions, attacked Swein, and drove him into exile for another term of seven years, as already stated.

About 993 Eric died, and then at last Swein became master of Denmark, clenching his title by a marriage with Eric's widow, Sigrid Storrade. This lady was a Polish princess, daughter of Duke Miseko, or Mieczyslav, and by her Swein became father of the Great Cnut.[4] Olaf Tryggvason had sheltered Swein during his last exile, and the two, being still on friendly terms, resolved to turn their new resources to account by a descent on England, well known to both of them within and without. Theirs was no mere Wiking expedition for buccaneering adventure, but a league of monarchs aiming at political conquest or territorial settlement. With that end they directed their first efforts towards the reduction of London, the commercial capital, the natural seat of a naval empire. On the 8th September (Nativity of the Virgin Mary) they attacked the city with fire and sword, but the citizens were equal to the occasion, and beat them off with heavy loss, 'and on that day the Holy Mother of God shewed her mercy to the burhmen, and rid them of their foes.' Repulsed from London, the allies fell down the river, ravaging both banks of the Thames. To save Canterbury, Archbishop Sigeric paid them ninety pounds of silver and two hundred mancus (=400 ounces) of pure gold.[5]

Formidable League.

London Saved.

'And they wrought the most evil that any invaders (*here*) ever did in burnings and harryings, and manslaughter . . . both on the coast of the East Saxons, and on Kent-land, and among the South Saxons, and in Hamp-

[1] See Adam of Bremen, Pertz, IX. 317.

[2] Adam of Bremen, *sup.*, 318–320; Dahlmann, I. 91–92.

[3] Saxo G., 185; Green, *Conq. of England*, 366; Dahlmann, I. 73.

[4] Adam of Bremen, Pertz, IX. 319, and notes. By Sigrid Eric left a son, another Olaf distinguished as "Skautkonung."

[5] This must have been one of the last acts of Sigeric's life. See *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 689–691, where the year must be read 994 in accordance with the Indiction, instead of 995. The mancus was=2 ora or ounces=$\frac{1}{4}$ mark=$\frac{1}{8}$ pound.

tonshire; and then they gat them horses and rode withersoever they would, and wrought harm unspeakable.'

In the agony of this crisis Æthelred and his Witan could think of nothing better than their old expedient of submission and tribute. Again the invaders were bought off. Their ships were brought round to Southampton, regular rations were supplied, and money paid down to the alleged sum of sixteen thousand pounds.[1]

Danegeld.

With respect to the Norwegian King, the campaign had a singular ending. Swein had been converted in 975, but only under pressure from Otto II., and he had taken the first opportunity of abjuring the Faith, as already mentioned. Whether Olaf Tryggvason had as yet been baptized or not is doubtful. We incline to the view that he had not. At all events he now freely in his hour of triumph intimated a wish to be either baptized or confirmed. A man of many superstitions, and much ruled by omens and portents,[2] it may be that he hoped to find among the Christian priesthood some powers of divination greater than any enjoyed by his own soothsayers. At his invitation Bishop Ælfheah and Ealdorman Æthelweard went to Southampton, and, having deposited proper hostages, were allowed to bring Olaf, 'with mickle worship,' to Æthelred's court at Andover. The English King 'took him from the bishop's hands,' gifted him royally, and sent him back under promise to return to his own country, never again to trouble England, a pledge to which the Norse King faithfully adhered. He sailed off in the spring, and five years later fell fighting against his previous ally, King Swein.[3] Of the latter we hear nothing in the English records for some years to come, but the Welsh Annals tell us that in the ensuing summer (995) he ravaged the Isle of Man.[4] From this we gather that both kings left Southampton in the spring.[5] Part of their force was left, as if to retain a footing in Wessex; but on the whole we must say that so far they had achieved but little for the scale of their armament. But, on the other hand, no words can express our contempt for the Government that could allow piratical squadrons to nestle in its harbours without an attempt made to excise the festering sores.

Olaf is Baptized,

And Leaves England.

Of troubles on the North coast we get an indirect notice through an ecclesiastical event of some interest that happened in this year (995), namely, the translation of the remains of St. Cuth-

St. Cuthberht at Durham.

[1] A.D. 994, Chron. C, D, E; Florence. The latter seems to say that the supplies were found by Wessex; the money by a tax laid on all England. One would like to know how far North Æthelred's power of levying a tax extended.

[2] "Artis magicæ studio deditus," etc. To his regard for omens derived from crows he owed his nickname of "Cracabben," Adam of Bremen, *sup.*, 320, "a voce Ilandica, *Kraka*, cornix, avis fatidica, et *bein* os," note Pertz.

[3] Chron.; Flor.; A. Bremen, 320; Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 288.

[4] "Eumonia"; *Ann. Camb.*, A.D. 995; *Brut-y-T.*, A.D. 994.

[5] Attacks on Germany come in here, as if coinciding with the retirement of Olaf and Swein from England; Lappenberg, citing Adam of Bremen, Pertz, IX. 317.

berht to their last resting place, and the final establishment of the great Bernician Bishopric on the castled heights of Durham,[1] till then a mere wilderness. One hundred and twelve years the Saint had rested at 'Cunegaceaster," Chester-le-Street. As in the case of the first migration from Lindisfarne, so again now, fear of Northern inroads led to the change of domicile. Under a sudden alarm, Ealdhem, the Bishop at the time, removed the relics to a temporary refuge at Ripon, far inland. The danger past, Ealdhem started to return to Chester-le-Street; but on reaching "Wrdelan" (qy. Weardale?) the vehicle on which the ark (*theca*) was borne, stuck fast, doubtless in a ford, and could not be moved. The significance of the portent, however, was obvious. The Saint refused to go back to Chester-le-Street. In this perplexity the good Bishop ordered a three days' fast, with special prayer for light and leading. The result was that a revelation was vouchsafed to a man of Religion, by name Eadmer, to the effect that the wooded hill of Durham was the Saint's appointed resting-place. The monition was accepted, and a temporary wattled chapel at once set up to enshrine the remains.[2] Three years later Ealdhem consecrated a stone church,[3] the germ of the later pile of William of St. Carilef. Another ecclesiastical event of the year 995 was the appointment of a new Archbishop of Canterbury to succeed Sigeric, who had died on the 28th October, 994.[4] The man selected was Ælfric, Bishop of Ramsbury, or Wiltshire[5]; and the appointment was made by the King and Witan in a council held at Amesbury on Easter Day (21st April), 995. A monk trained at Abingdon, Ælfric,[6] on taking possession of his metropolitan church, found himself surrounded by men of the sort that he could least endure, namely, secular canons. Clearly Sigeric had failed to carry out his work, or to carry it out fully. The canons and vested interests had been too strong for him. The King was appealed to, and he suggested a reference to the Pope. The suggestion was adopted, and the clergy sent representatives of their own to Rome. But the Pope (John XV.) would not listen to them, deciding entirely in favour of Ælfric and the monks, and to monks accordingly the cathedral church of Christ at Canterbury was handed over.[7]

The Cathedral.

A New Archbishop.

[1] "Dunholm"; Symeon, *H. R.*, *in anno*. This seems the oldest form of the word.

[2] Symeon, *H. D. E.*, p. 78; Florence.

[3] 4 Sept. 998; Symeon, p. 82. [4] *Reg. Sacr.*; Flor.

The reader will not follow Dean Hook and Mr. Freeman in confounding this Ælfric with Ælfric "Grammaticus," the distinguished writer. The latter never rose to any dignity higher than that of Abbot, and lived on years after the Archbishop of Canterbury was dead. There were at this time two Abbots of the name of Ælfric, one at Malmesbury, the other at Evesham; *Cod. Dip.* No. 618, but the writer was not one of these.

[6] See his bequests to Abingdon; *Hist. Ab.*, I. 415, etc.

[7] See the Canterbury Chronicle F (MS. Cott. Domitian A, VIII.), A.D. 996. Malmesbury would have it that Canterbury all along had been in the hands of monks.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXI

Ælfric Grammaticus, *Abbot, first of Cerne, and afterwards of Ensham*

Ælfric, surnamed *Grammaticus*, the well-known writer, scholar, and theologian, must be carefully distinguished from three or four contemporaries who bore the same name. He must not be confounded with Ælfric, at first Bishop of Ramsbury, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who died before him (A.D. 1005). Nor may *Grammaticus* be identified either with Ælfric, Abbot of Malmesbury, or Ælfric, Abbot of Evesham; nor again with Ælfric, surnamed Puttoc, who became Archbishop of York in 1023, and died in 1051. Yet another Ælfric must be distinguished in the person of Ælfric Bata, the disciple of *Grammaticus*. The facts of our Ælfric's life must be gathered from the Prefaces to his own works. Thus he tells us that he was a priest and a monk, trained at Winchester—"*Wintoniensis Alumnus*"—and trained under Bishop Æthelwold—"*Alumnus Adelwoldi*"—(963-984). This we learn partly from his Life of Æthelwold (*Hist. Abingd.*, II. 255), and partly from the Preface to the Latin, or first edition of his Homilies. As in this Preface he dedicates to Archbishop Sigeric, he must have written it between 985–990.

Again we find that he was on terms of friendly intimacy with Ealdorman Æthelweard, the chronicler, to whom several of his works are dedicated, and whom in one place he addresses as 'dear Ealdorman.'

In the Preface to the English or later edition of his Homilies, Ælfric refers to Æthelweard as having asked for a copy with five extra homilies in it, so that even this edition must have come out before the death of Æthelweard, which event occurred about the year 998. In this same Preface Ælfric refers to the approaching end of the world, *i.e.* the year 1000. "On thisum timan the is geendung thissere woruld" (p. 3, Ed. Thorpe, Ælfric Society, 1844).

In another passage he tells us that he had been appointed to Cerne Abbey by Bishop Ælfheah (he succeeded Æthelwold in the See of Winchester in 984) on the nomination of the Thegn Æthelmær. This man, again, was the son of Æthelweard, and from the reference to him, and not to his father, as the patron, the probability is that Ælfric became Abbot of Cerne between 998 and 1000. A few years later Æthelmær founded the Monastery of Ensham, near Oxford. The confirmation charter of King Æthelred is dated in 1005 (*Codex Dip.* No. 714). That Ælfric then became the first Abbot of Ensham seems to us pretty clear. The foundation charter no doubt does not give us the name of the first Abbot, but it tells us that he had been nominated by Æthelmær, the patron of *Grammaticus*, and we find the latter among the first members of the community. Amongst the writings of Ælfric we have a set of constitutions for the guidance of the house at Ensham, in which he refers to himself as living among them. Now as Ælfric had already enjoyed the position of abbot, we cannot suppose that he could take a lower rank at Ensham.

With respect to the other Ecclesiastics of the name of Ælfric, the Life of Æthelwold is dedicated to Cenulf, Bishop of Winchester, as already stated. But Cenulf only became Bishop of Winchester after the death of Archbishop Ælfric, when Ælfheah was translated to Canterbury; the distinction, therefore, between Ælfric *Grammaticus*, and Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, is perfectly clear. The distinction from Ælfric Puttoc, the Archbishop of York, may also be taken as plain, inasmuch as the latter, when appointed to the Northern Primacy, in 1023, was only Prior or Dean of Winchester (*Wintoniensis præpositus*; Florence), while *Grammaticus* had been an abbot at any rate since the year 1000. With respect to the abbots of the name, we have one signing as abbot of Malmesbury and the other as abbot of Evesham in the year 997 (*Codex Dip.* No. 698), a date rather earlier than that we have assigned to the promotion of *Grammaticus*. As we have no charter attested by Ælfric, 'Abbot of Cerne,' or 'Abbot of Ensham,' these men may probably be identified with the two indesignate 'Abbots Ælfric' found signing between the years 1002 and 1005, though one of the deeds is the foundation charter of Ensham. (Nos. 707, 712, 713, 714.) In 1009 we have a grant to a small House at Athelney (Athelinganye) under Abbot Ælfric (No. 1306), and lastly, a signature of "Ælfricus Abbas" in 1012 (No. 1307), but we cannot offer any suggestion as to these. With so many persons of the same name living at the same time, the confusions naturally have been endless. Some verses printed by Somner with his edition of Ælfric's Glossary, are treated as addressed to him, but the person addressed is styled "*Præsul*," and the day of his death is given as the 16th of November, the day of Archbishop Ælfric's death, to whom the verses were doubtless addressed. Again we have, in the same volume, a letter addressed to an

Ælfric, begging for his good offices with Cnut and his Queen. We would rather refer this to Ælfric Puttoc than to the humble *Grammaticus*, who never attained to a place among the High Witan even under Æthelred. Besides, we refuse to believe that our scholar Ælfric could have reconciled himself to intimacy with a man who had killed the son and banished the son-in-law of his patron Æthelmær. In none of his writings does Ælfric claim a higher title than that of Abbot. True, in his Canons (cap. 37), and again in his Pastoral Epistle (81), he uses the phrase 'we Bishops,' but clearly because he was writing for the Bishops, in whose names the Canons were to be published. The actual writer is expressly described in the former work as a monk, and in the latter as an Abbot. The range of Ælfric's attainments may be judged of by the list of his principal works, which we append. At the present day they will be valued chiefly for their language, as the most perfect models that we possess of the literary English of the period. (H. Sweet, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, 56.) But Ælfric has also been held up as as authority on dogmatic theology. In some of his Homilies, and notably in that for Easter Day, he appears to combat the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and so has often been quoted to prove that the Anglo-Saxon Church held Reformation doctrines on that point. Yet Dr. Lingard maintains that there is nothing in his views inconsistent with the doctrines of the Council of Trent.

WORKS OF ÆLFRIC *Grammaticus*

(From T. Wright's *Bibl. Brit. Lit.* 485, comparing the article in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

(1) Latin Grammar and Glossary, being excerpts from *Donatus* and *Priscian* (Temp. Æthelwold? before 984). Printed by W. Somner, Appendix to *Dictionarium Sax.-Lat.-Angl.*

(2) *Colloquium* or Boys' Reading Book in Latin. Printed in Thorpe's *Analecta*, p. 101. Said to have been republished and enlarged by Ælfric's pupil, Ælfric Bata.

(3) Homilies; dedicated to Archbishop Sigeric, 985–990 (Ælfric Society, B. Thorpe, 1844). The English or later Preface contains a reference to 'the days of Æthelred.' This has been thought to indicate that the writer survived Æthelred. If so, the passage must have been added in a later edition, as we have already shewn that this Preface must originally have been written before the year 1000.

(4) More Homilies, or Lives of Saints. (*MS. Cott. Julius E*, VII.) Before 998. Dedicated to Æthelweard. The Life of King Oswald is printed by Mr. Sweet in his *A.S. Reader*, 95.

(5) Epistle *Quando Dividis Chrisma*; before 998; Ælfric not yet Abbot. Printed by Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, II. 391.

(6) *Heptateuchus*. Written for Æthelweard before 998; Ælfric not yet Abbot. (E. Thwaites, 1699; Thorpe, *Analecta*, p. 25.) An abridged translation of the first seven books of the Old Testament with the Book of Job.

(7) Ecclesiastical Canons, 991–998. Wulfsige Bishop of Sherborne, but Ælfric not yet Abbot. (Thorpe, *Laws*, II. 343; Wilkins, *Conc.*, I. 250.)

(8) Treatises on the Old and New Testaments; being in fact short summaries of their contents. Written for Sigward of (*æt*) East Heolon: after 998, Ælfric an Abbot. Printed by W. L'Isle, "A Saxon Treatise" (1623). The Old Testament treatise is also printed in Mr. Sweet's *Reader*, 56.

(9) Pastoral Epistle, composed originally in Latin, and afterwards translated for Archbishop Wulfstan (1003–1023); Thorpe, *Laws*, II, 364.

(10) *Vita Æthelwoldi*, 1005–1006. Cenulf Bishop of Winchester. (*Hist. Abingdon*, II. 255, Rolls Series.)

(11) Constitutions for Ensham; after 1005. (MS. C.C.C., Camb., No. 265.)

(12) Qy. A Treatise on Astronomy, *De temporibus Anni*. Printed by Mr. T. Wright for the Historical Society of Science, 1841.

Ælfric has also been credited with a Treatise on the Trinity, addressed to Wulfgeat of "Ylmandune" (MS. in the Bodleian Library: see Wanley, 69); a letter to Sigferth on the marriage of the clergy; and a translation of the Life of Guthlac (MS. Cott. Vesp. D, XXI.

CHAPTER XXI

ÆTHELRED II—*continued*

A.D. 997–1009

Intermittent Danish Attacks—English Resistance Growing Weaker—The King's Marriage—Massacre of Danes—Second Invasion of Swein Tingeskægg—Cabals at the English Court

WITH the year 997 we have the Danes again on the move, and sallying from their quarters at Southampton to ravage the western seaboard. Two years they had been allowed to remain without an effort made to suppress them. Doubling "Penwithsteort,"[1] *i.e.* the Land's End, they ravaged both sides of the Bristol Channel; then, returning eastwards, they sailed up the Tamar, burning 'Ordulf's Minster'[2] at Tavistock, and making their way inland as far as Lidford,[3] on the borders of Dartmoor. Now in the course of this same summer Æthelred had held a grand Witenagemot at Calne, in Wiltshire. The gathering was especially large and influential. The King's mother, both Archbishops, thirteen Bishops, fourteen Abbots, and the five great Ealdormen of Devon, Hampshire, Essex, Mercia, and Northumbria were all there. With their retainers they represented a complete army; and so the King himself describes them, *exercitus*. But the only recorded business was a penitential restitution by the King to the Church at Winchester of a large estate, of which he had robbed it in the days of his ill-advised youth. Of military preparations we hear not a word. On the contrary, we are told that the assembly found it desirable to adjourn to Wantage for the undisturbed prosecution of their labours.[4] Calne is not very near the coast. Bristol, the nearest harbour, would be five and twenty miles distant; while the Danes are not spoken of as coming nearer than Watchet, in Somersetshire, sixty miles off. Yet Æthelred's "*exercitus*" did not feel safe within that distance of the Danish *here*; and, accordingly, retreated eastwards into Berkshire, there to frame a digest of English and Danish customs for the benefit of the men of the Five Burghs, *i.e.* the old Danish population of Mercia. So far as the object was to secure the orderly behaviour of those people, the end was good. But why was

Southampton Danes.

Futile Councils.

[1] See Earle, *Parallel Chron.*, 334.

[2] Ordulf, a leading Western Thegn, was brother to Ælfthryth and uncle to the King. See Robertson, *Hist. Essays*, 189.

[3] Chron. C, D, E; Flor.

[4] See the charter, *Cod. Dip.* No. 698.

there no thought for the most pressing needs of the hour? Poor old England was in a headless state.

In 998 the Danes, having apparently wintered at Plymouth, moved 'eastwards to the mouth of Frome,' *i.e.* Poole harbour. Very likely they may have established their head-quarters in the old Roman camp at Wareham, where 122 years before their countrymen had under similar circumstances piled up a barbaric *mote*.[1] From this base of operations they pushed inroads far into Wiltshire. Now at last we hear of native resistance, but of a pitiful sort. 'And often was the fyrd gathered against them; but so soon as they should have met [in battle] then through something was flight ever resolved upon, and so they (the enemy) ever had the victory.'[2] From Poole the invaders moved back to the Isle of Wight, the best basis for depredations in Hampshire and Sussex. Still retracing their steps eastwards, in the ensuing year (999) they reappeared in the Thames, and, entering the Medway, laid siege[3] to Rochester. The men of Kent came to the rescue, and actually crossed swords with the foe; 'but, well-away! too readily they broke and fled, and then they (the Danes) took horse and harried well-nigh all West Kent.'[4]

Feeble Action.

Now at last King and Witan felt stirred to action. Ship-fyrd and land-fyrd were called out. The result was a deplorable exhibition of weakness. The Chronicler, in a few lines, gives a vivid picture of insufficient forces, always brought together at the wrong time, or the wrong place, without concert and without plan; 'and when the ships were ready they delayed from day to day, distressing the poor folk that were in them; and when things should have been forwarder so were they ever backwarder; and ever they let the foes' army increase; and ever they drew back from the sea; and ever they (the enemy) went after them; and so in the end it served for nothing but the folks' distress, and wasting of money, and emboldening of the foe.'[5]

The Fyrd.

With respect to the delays to which transport vessels might be subjected, we may give the reader the benefit of lights derived from later centuries of our history, but still applicable to the times of Æthelred. Shipping was procured by the simple expedient of laying an embargo on as many vessels as the King needed, and then sending them, crews and all, to the port where the troops were to be taken on board. The ships thus were soon ready, but weeks or more might elapse before the soldiery could be raised, equipped, and brought down to the coast.

For Æthelred's inactivity some excuse has been offered in the formalities of constitutional government, especially in a State whose union was really of

[1] See above, A.D. 876. [2] Chron. C, D, E.

[3] So Florence, expanding the words of the A.S. Chroniclers. [4] Chron. D, etc.

[5] Chron. C, D, E; Flor. One original narrative (whoever wrote it) transcribed by the others.

a federal character. "The very institutions which secure national, local, and personal freedom sometimes form a temporary, though most certainly only a temporary, hindrance, especially in the case of civil war or of sudden invasion."[1] All this is true, and would apply either to the case of desultory attacks on the coast, as from 980 to 982, or to the first invasion of Olaf and Swein. But the enemy had been harassing Wessex for at least five continuous years. A deeper source of England's weakness may be traced in the want of any middle class, and the depressed condition of the agricultural population; that is to say, of the whole bulk of the nation.[2]

England's Weakness.

Of the social state of England we have a dismal, but probably not an exaggerated picture, given in a Sermon or Address to the Nation put forth about this time by one "Lupus," who has been conjecturally identified with Wulfstan, afterwards Archbishop of York (1003–1023).[3] The writer, no doubt, regards everything from an ecclesiastico-religious point of view; sin, and nothing but sin, has been the undoing of the nation. The crying sins are represented as having broken out since the days of Eadgar, an allegation by no means true. The roots of the evil were of much longer standing. But, making allowance for a certain amount of confusion in the writer's ideas, and laying aside his theory of causation, we shall find that his allegations as to matters of fact can be fully corroborated, on every important point, by the test of evidence. The head of the nation's offending, on which the writer naturally touches first, is that of sins against the Church, such as plunder of Church property and charitable endowments, and invasions of clerical rights. To the truth of this allegation the charters of the reign bear the amplest testimony. Half of these documents simply embody regrants of land, formerly given by one man, and afterwards taken away by some one else. Charitable donors endeavour to protect their grants by denunciations against those who would infringe them. The curse is a common form, plainly suggestive of the impotence of the law. It is clear that the magnates took with the left hand just as freely as they gave with the right. The next charge is equally indisputable, but far more to the point. There is no real liberty of the subject. 'The freeman cannot go whither he pleases, or do what he will with his own.' Of course not; every man of moderate position had to be under a lord, and under personal guarantees for his good conduct

The Causes of it.

No Personal Liberty.

[1] Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 296; Lappenberg, II. 161.

[2] See Kemble, *Saxons*, I. 306; Green, *Conquest of England*, 359.

[3] Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 367, 667. The writer is not styled 'bishop,' so that if it was the work of Wulfstan it must have been composed before 1003. Apparently various editions were issued, as one MS. in the heading gives the year 1008 as the date; another MS. gives 1014; while in the text we have a reference to the approaching end of the world, *i.e.* the year 1000. Whether written in 999 or 1014, the testimony of the address is equally valuable.

(*Borh*), necessitating his settlement in one locality. It was the system of police devised by the landlords. The reader has already heard of the extraordinary restrictions on dealings in cattle,[1] evidently suggested by the landowners' nervous dread of cattle-stealing. These restrictions reach a climax in this reign, when we actually have a prohibition against any man killing an ox or a sheep without witnesses, and even so the head and the skin must be kept for exhibition for three days.[2] In natural juxtaposition with the complaint of the want of liberty, comes the counter charge that slaves are so untrue to their masters; running away to join the enemy, leading them on to the attack, and possibly killing, or even reducing to slavery, their former owner. In this state of things we can only see a natural assertion of the primary rights of man. Then we have a disgraceful complaint, entirely supported by the repeated prohibitions in the legislation of the times, namely, that of the kidnapping of men and children for sale.[3] We are told that the bonds of family affection had been so utterly broken up by the pressure of misery that a father would sell his son, a son his mother, brothers a brother. Here we may point out that a man, suddenly called upon to contribute to a Danegeld, might have no saleable article to realize except a child. To the same pressure of extreme want we would ascribe the practices of a polyandric character to which the writer alludes with disgust. Finally the writer tells us that the enemy, 'by God's permission' (*thafung*), had grown so strong that one of them would scatter ten Englishmen; two or three 'seamen' could traverse the land with impunity. 'The more we pay them, the worse they treat us. As in the days of Gildas, so now, we suffer for our sins.' The writer's conclusion is: 'Turn from your iniquities, eschew evil and do good, and the Lord will have mercy on you.'[4] His idea evidently was that, as a mysterious visitation had brought the invaders in, so a merciful dispensation might sweep them out again, like locusts, into the sea.

Slaves and Slavery.

But whatever the social state of England, Æthelred cannot be relieved of his share of responsibility. His father had the same social state to deal with, yet in his days England held an unassailable position; and Æthelred himself, as the events of the very next year will show, when anything touched him personally, could act, and act with vigour.[5]

The mystical year 1000, looked forward to by Christianity with some apprehension as possibly bringing with it the end of the world, and the advent of the great and terrible Day of the Lord, brought in fact to the people of Wessex a short breathing-space of relief from trouble. The Danes, or the

[1] So again *Laws of Æthelred*, I. c. 3. [2] *Id.*, III. c. 9.

[3] *Id.*, V. c. 2, and VII. c. 5. [4] Hickes, *Thesaurus*, I. Pt. III. p. 99.

[5] See also the passage in Malmesbury, *G. R.*, s. 165, where he wonders at Æthelred's utter failure, inasmuch as he understood from tradition that he was "neque multum fatuus, neque nimis ignavus"; neither a fool nor a coward.

chief part of them, disappeared, winging their flight across the Channel to try their luck in Normandy, now ruled by Duke Richard II., surnamed the Good.[1] But how did Æthelred utilise this opportunity? Why, by leading an army into "Cumberlande" to ravage the district, a fleet co-operating. The man who could not relieve Rochester, distant from Winchester say 90 miles, could march 250 miles to invade Cumbria, and send a fleet to join him, presumably in the Solway. The ships, however, failed to reach that point, but they managed to overrun the Isle of Man,[2] a Danish possession.[3] Of the grounds of Æthelred's action we know nothing. We cannot even tell whether "Cumberlande" is here used in the wide sense as equivalent to Strathclyde, or in a narrower sense as denoting only the southern parts of our Cumberland that were connected with England. This district we believe to have been already occupied by the well-known Scandinavian settlements. Fordun, the Scottish writer of the 14th century, considered the war to have been waged against Strathclyde in consequence of a refusal by the under-king Malcolm, son of Kenneth, afterwards King of Scotland (A.D. 1035), to contribute to Danegeld.[4] But Æthelred had no right to claim Danegeld from Strathclyde, and war with Strathclyde would have been war with Scotland. But of any war with Scotland we hear nothing from English, Scottish, or Irish writers, the last careful in recording battles between the Scots and 'Saxons.' On the whole we would regard the quarrel as one with the new settlers in the Lake district, as in fact suggested by Henry of Huntingdon.

Invasion of "Cumberlande."

With the year 1001 the Danes break out again. It seems probable that a detachment had been left in the Southampton waters to retain a footing there; while others again had been taken into Æthelred's service, and notably one Earl Pallig, a man of high position, as he was married to no less a person than Gunhild, sister of King Swein of Denmark.[5] The first recorded event of the year was a Danish inroad into Sussex, pushed as far as "Æthelingadene," a place not yet identified, but stated to have been within the limits of that county.[6] There the enemy was encountered by the forces of Sussex and Hants. The English made a stout fight of it, but were defeated with the loss of eighty-one men, a moderate total that inspires confidence. Among the fallen were two 'Kings' High-Reeves,' a Bishop's Thegn, and 'Godwine of Worthy, son of Bishop Ælfsige.'[7] The Danes, however, mus have fallen back to the coast, as their next recorded move was to the mouth of the river Teign in Devon. There they were joined by Earl

The Danes again.

[1] Son of Duke Richard I., the Fearless, who died in 996; Freeman.
[2] Chron. C, D, E; Flor. [3] See *Ann. Ulst.*, A.D. 989, 1005.
[4] Book IV. c. 34; Ed. Skene. [5] W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 177.
[6] So Æthelred's charter, *Cod. Dip.* No. 707.
[7] Ælfsige was the Bishop of Winchester, translated to Canterbury in 959, who died on the Alps on his way to Rome.

Pallig, who, doubtless being sick of Æthelred and his ways, again changed sides, with equal disregard of the King's largesses and of his own pledges. They burned Kingsteignton, and then, the natives having come to terms, went round to Exmouth.[1] Here again they were reinforced by the main body from Normandy. Duke Richard, at any rate, was strong enough to turn them out of his dominions, if Æthelred was not. Sailing up the river Exe, they attacked the great Western 'burh,' Exeter. But Æthelstan's stone walls defied their assaults; so they pushed on to Pinho, there to encounter the forces of Somerset and Devon. Two counties at this era were the most that could be got to act together. Again the English were defeated, and again Reeve and High-Reeve fell at the head of their men in the manful discharge of their duty.

English Defeats.

For the winter the Danes returned to Southampton Water, their last exploit being to burn Waltham—presumably Bishop's Waltham. Another local composition ended the campaign.[2]

The year 1002 was one of varied incidents, but ever-deepening dishonour. The King and Witan, admitting with some discomfort that possibly present troubles might be due to the Nemesis of the sainted brother Eadweard,[3] resolved that local truces would no longer do, and that a general pacification ought to be aimed at. Leofsige, Ealdorman of Essex, was appointed to negotiate with the Danes, and he succeeded in buying one more shameful peace at the alleged price of twenty-four thousand pounds, besides 'meat,' *i.e.* rations. The next occurrence recorded is a murder, a foul murder, perpetrated by this same Leofsige the plenipotentiary. The victim was Ælfric the High-Reeve, one of the king's most trusted servants.[4] He was attacked and done to death in his own house—an aggravation of the crime in the eyes of Anglo-Saxon law. Of course Leofsige was immediately outlawed.[5] But the expulsion of a man in his position would cause a fresh split in the ranks, and be a fresh source of weakness to the nation at large.

A Pacification.

All this must have happened early in the year, apparently before Lent (18th February–29th March), as we hear in the next place that during that season a Royal bride landed in England. Emma, daughter of Richard I. and sister of Richard II. of Normandy, came to marry Æthelred. With respect to the King's private life so far, the indisputable evidence of the charters tells us that at this time he had six sons old enough to attest deeds.[6] With respect to their mother or mothers, we also find that, whereas Ælfthryth signed constantly as 'Queen' or 'King's Mother,' no other Queen or Lady of any sort is noticed. Florence

A Royal Bride.

[1] Chron. A.

[2] Chron. A, C, D, E; Flor. I follow Mr. Freeman's harmony of their narratives.

[3] See *Cod. Dip.* No. 706.

[4] See *Cod. Dip.* No. 719. Ælfric was "Disc-thegn," Sewer or House-Steward to the king's natural sons; *Id.* No. 693. [5] Chron.; Flor. [6] *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 706, 707.

of Worcester calls the mother of Æthelred's elder sons Ælfgifu, daughter of Ealdorman (*comes*) Æthelberht,[1] an unknown man. Ælred of Rievaulx calls her daughter of Earl Thored[2]; while William of Malmesbury frankly tells us that she was of humble birth, and that he did not even know her name.[3] The legitimate conclusion from all this is that Æthelred as yet had contracted no regular marriage. As foreigners were not popular in England, the new Lady was made to assume the name of Ælfgifu.[4] In its domestic aspect the marriage did not prove a happy one. Probably no woman of any spirit could have been happy with a man of Æthelred's character and habits.[5] Politically, to Æthelred himself the connection proved of some use, as he lived to find in Normandy a refuge in time of sorest need. On the national history it had an important bearing, as beyond doubt it was the first link in the chain of events that eventually led up to the subjugation of England by Normandy.[6] With a Norman Queen on the throne Normans for the first time were introduced to the English court, and there began to exercise an ever-growing influence. From the time of Emma's marriage Normandy becomes a distinct factor in English politics.[7]

Consequences of the Marriage.

Æthelred, who had begun the year with penitent tears and prayers for peace, ended it with the perpetration of a huge crime, a crime for which parallels can only be found in the Vespers of Sicily or the Mattins of Paris. For eight years Danish ships had been established in English harbours. We heard of some of these men being taken into Æthelred's service, while we know that under Eadgar Danes had been encouraged to visit England in a friendly way. Thus there would be a certain floating Danish element in the country, independently of the men of old Danish extraction, who, like Odo and Oswald, had become to all intents and purposes Englishmen. Altogether the Danish element might well be viewed by a weak, timid government with alarm. We are told that Æthelred was assured that a plot had been formed to make away with him and his Witan, and seize the kingdom. The Danish plot had probably as little reality as the Popish Plot of the notorious Titus Oates, but Æthelred accepted it, as the later generation accepted that of Titus. In an agony of terror he resolved to anticipate the plot by a counter-plot, and accordingly sent private instructions to his officers to arrange for a general massacre of Danes on a given day. It is needless to point out that the measure would not touch the armed warriors safely established in their ships, and drawing Æthelred's rations, but only

Massacre of Danes.

[1] p. 275 (ed. Thorpe). [2] *Decem Scriptt.*, cc. 362, 372. [3] *G. R.*, s. 179.
[4] Flor. She signs within the year as "Ælfgifu conlaterana Regis"; *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,296.
[5] See W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 165 (p. 191), and again s. 176; "veneri vinoque studentem." [6] So Henry of Huntingdon, A.D. 1000. [7] Green, *Conquest of England*, 392,

scattered individuals living 'at the peace,' either of the king or of some minor jurisdiction, while even the shipmen would be covered by Leofsige's recent pacification. The English, however, distracted by fears from within and without, took up their king's orders with only too great alacrity, and, on St. Brice's Day (11th November), disgraced their country and themselves by an extensive slaughter of Danes, in which women, and perhaps even helpless children, were involved.[1] Among those sacrificed was Gunhild, wife of Earl Pallig, a convert to Christianity, who had been given up as a hostage under the treaty.[2] No details can be given, unless we take the case given by a doubtful charter, according to which at Oxford the Danes took refuge in the church of St. Frithswyth, now Christ Church Cathedral, and there were besieged by the mob, who, unable to expel them, fired the building, and burned it over their heads.[3] At any rate Henry of Huntingdon, who may have been born three-quarters of a century later, tells us that in his boyhood the horrors of St. Brice's Day were still a standing topic of talk among old folk.[4]

St. Brice's Day.

The only other incident of the year was the death of Archbishop Ealdulf of York, who passed away on the 6th May. Wulfstan, above referred to, was appointed to succeed him in the combined Sees of York and Worcester.[5]

The See of York.

The massacre of 1002 was "not only a crime but a blunder." It brought the King of Denmark once more into the field. Swein's victory over Olaf Tryggvason (A.D. 1000) had made him master of Norway as well as of Denmark. We are told that he had finally embraced Christianity,[6] but that did not affect his relations with England. Sailing, apparently, round the northern and western coasts of Britain,[7] he landed under the walls of Exeter. The city (*i.e.* the Royal rights over it) had been assigned to Emma as part of her 'morning-gift,' and she had placed there as her Reeve one Hugo, a fellow-countryman. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles describe Hugo as a *ceorl*, a base-born churl, an allegation so improbable that, with all respect for their authority, we can only take it as evidence of a disposition to disparage a Frenchman. Hugo however, proved unequal to the trial that befel him. Exeter, which two years before had utterly repelled the Danish assaults, now succumbed. The city was stormed and sacked, and Æthelstan's walls pulled down 'from the East Gate to the West

Swein again.

Exeter Sacked.

[1] Chron. C, D, E; Florence; W. Malm., *G. R.*, ss. 165, 177. [2] W. Malm., *sup.*

[3] *Cod. Dip.* No. 709. The charter purports to be a renewal by Æthelred of deeds destroyed in the fire. It is clearly of much later date, but it may embody a genuine Oxford tradition.

[4] *Hist. Anglorum*, A.D. 1002. For details supplied by later writers see Mr. Freeman's *N. C.*, I. 634. [5] Florence. [6] Adam of Bremen, Pertz, IX. 322.

[7] The *Annales Cambriæ* record the sack of St. David's under the year 1003. Bishop Morganeu was killed.

Gate."[1] The Chronicles insinuate treachery or incapacity on the part of Hugo. The allegation of treachery is a standing excuse in times of national failure. But in justice to this particular man we are also bound to recognise that the difficulties of a foreigner placed in command of English levies would be immense.

Later in the season came an inroad into Wilts, pushed doubtless from Poole or Southampton. The men of the two counties (the usual *maximum*) were gathered together under their Ealdorman, Ælfric of Central Wessex. We are assured that the men were 'of one mind,' and all for fighting, but that again their leader failed them. 'When Ealdorman Ælfric should have led the fyrd on, then began he to show his old tricks. When the hosts were so near that either might behold the other, then gave he himself out as ill, and said that he was sick; and so turned back all the folk that he should have led on; as it is said when leader weaketh[2] then is army sore hindered.' The fyrd having gone to pieces, Swein led his men to Wilton and 'Searburh,' *i.e.* Old Sarum—the latter a formidable stronghold, if there had been men to defend it. Both places fell into Swein's hands, and then he went back to the sea, 'where he knew that his sea-horses (*yð hengestas*) were.[3]

A Timid Ealdorman.

Old Sarum Captured.

With respect to Ælfric's 'old tricks' we are not driven to find a meaning for this allusion by taking it as referring to the bold act of treason committed in 992, when a man of the name, no doubt, of Ælfric went over openly to the enemy, apparently never to be heard of again.[4] Far simpler and more natural will it be to take the expression 'tricks' as pointing to the miserable weakness exhibited throughout by Wessex,—a weakness for which the Ealdorman of the Central Province would be largely responsible. In 998 we had exactly the same picture exhibited of the people on the one hand ever panting for the fray, and the leaders on the other hand ever finding excuses for keeping them back.

Next year (1004) East Anglia came in for the storm. Swein appeared with his fleet in the waters of the Yare, and made his way up to Norwich—some twenty miles from the sea—and sacked and burned the defenceless city. But East Anglia had a leader in one Ulfcytel, a man presumably of Scandinavian origin. His name, however, is not to be found among the ealdormen of the reign, and he only attained to the dignity of a King's Thegn this very year.[5] But he was clearly ruler of the district, probably as High-Reeve, as we find him conferring

Norwich Burnt.

[1] Chron. C, D, E. [2] "Waeath," *grows weak*. [3] Chron. C, D, E.

[4] Florence, no doubt, by using the expression "supra-memoratus dux," seems to identify the sick Ælfric of 1003 with the traitor Ælfric of 992, but this is simply an addition of his own. Henry of Huntingdon represents the original Chronicle more correctly by simply describing Ælfric as "dux eorum," *i.e.* of Hants and Wilts.

[5] *Cod. Dip.* No. 710.

with the East Anglian Witan, or local council. Their conclusion was that being utterly unprepared and taken unawares, their best course was to buy peace from the enemy, 'ere they to mickle harm on the land did.' 'Then under the truce[1] that should have been between them the enemy bestole them from their ships, and wended forth to Thetford.' That would take them thirty miles further inland—a bold march. Ulfcytel, however, acted with promptitude and vigour. He sent a party to surprise and destroy the enemy's ships, while he himself gathered all the men that he could raise to intercept Swein on his return from Thetford. Apparently he attempted too much. The men who should have captured the ships failed in their attempt. Of course the Danes, as veteran warriors, knew better than to leave their ships at the mercy of a sudden attack. Then

Also Thetford. Swein having spent one night at Thetford, and burnt the town, turned backwards on the morrow, when Ulfcytel encountered him manfully and gave battle. A stout fight ensued, in which 'the Elders of East Anglia' fell on the field, not ingloriously. But there were not enough of them, otherwise we are assured that Swein would never have got back to his fleet. As it was the Danes

High-Reeve Ulfcytel. themselves were understood to have said that 'they had never met with worse hand-play on Angle-kin than Ulfcytel brought them.'[2]

The year 1005 brought a short lull in the storm of war, but no relief from suffering to the unfortunate people of England, as it proved to be a season of "hunger," *i.e.* famine, 'grimer than any man had mind of.' Under the circumstances Swein went back to Denmark[3] to look after affairs there.[4] The only other incident of the year was the death of Archbishop Ælfric of Canterbury.[5] His successor was Bishop

Ælfheah Archbishop. Ælfheah, translated from Winchester; the vacancy there being filled by Cenulf, Abbot of Peterborough, who, again, died next year.[6]

With 1006 we plunge into a lurid fog of cabal and intrigue, as if a "union of hearts" was not the first need of the time. Of course the facts

Court Cabals. are but dimly indicated. The short record of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles is first that Wulfgeat was deprived of all his inheritance; secondly, that Wulfheah and Ufegeat were deprived of their eyesight; and, thirdly, that Ealdorman Ælfhelm was put to death.[7] The Thegns Wulfgeat and Wulfheah had been among the most regular attendants at Æthelred's councils since the year 986.[8] Ælfhelm, of course, had been Ealdorman of Northumbria, that is to say, as we suppose,

[1] "Grith"; here apparently used as equivalent to "frith," the proper word for truce. "Grith" in strictness was the protection given by a truce, sanctuary or the like.

[2] Chron. C, D. The rendering in Florence seems inexact.

[3] "Denemarce," *i.e.* the March of the Danes. [4] Chron. C, D, E; Flor.

[5] Chron. A, 16th Nov.; *Reg. Sacrum.* [6] *Id.*

[7] Chron. C, D, E. [8] *Codex Dip.* Nos. 654, 657, etc.

of Deira, since 994, and he likewise had been an habitual signitary of the King's charters. Wulfheah and Ufegeat are said to have been his sons[1]; at any rate we find all three associated in the Will of Ælfhelm's brother,

Wulfric Spot.

Wulfric Spot, the distinguished founder of the Abbey of Burton-upon-Trent. This man, accommodating himself to the times, confers upon his relatives vast benefactions between the Ribble and the Mersey, and in Wirral (Cheshire) and elsewhere in Mercia, to secure their goodwill and patronage for his young foundation.[2] This, however, is by the way; all that is material to point out is the fact that Wulfgeat, Wulfheah, and Ufegeat, as well as Ælfhelm were landowners of the highest class, men who could not be attacked except under cover of the King's authority; men whose fall would be certain to excite strong local feelings. Florence of Worcester tells us that Wulfgeat had been an especial favourite with the King, but that he was degraded for maladministration of justice, and 'acts of pride,'[3] meaning, we suppose, acts held to involve contempt for Royal authority; while Æthelred himself tells us more distinctly that Wulfgeat was condemned because he had failed to clear himself of a charge of plotting with the king's enemies,[4] and that his wife Ælfgifu was involved in his fall. This Ælfgifu is said to have been the widow of one Ælfgar. If, as seems probable, this Ælfgar was the son of Ælfric-Child, we should simply have here the embers of old jealousies breaking out afresh.[5] With respect to Wulfgeat's failure to clear himself, the reader will bear in mind that the legal form of procedure was to produce compurgators to swear their belief in the innocence of the accused. But if the king was known to take a personal interest in a matter compurgators might hesitate to come forward. In itself the charge was quite on a par with that under which Ælfric-Child had been dispossessed in 985. With respect to the fate of Ælfhelm and his sons, Florence tells us that the Ealdorman was treacherously murdered during a hunting-party near Shrewsbury, through the agency of his entertainer and

Eadric Streona.

host, Eadric, son of Æthelric, better known as Eadric Streona, a young Thegn, recently admitted to the King's Council.[6] Of Wulfheah and Ufegeat, he tells us plainly that their eyes

[1] So Florence.

[2] See *Hist. Abingdon*, I. 411; and Wulfric's Will, *Cod. Dipl.* No. 1,298 (dated in 1002); also No. 710. The reference to the estates as situate between the Ribble and the Mersey is an interesting proof of the incorporation of the southern part of our Lancashire.

[3] "Propter injusta judicia et superba quæ gesserat opera."

[4] "Quia inimicis regis se in insidiis socium applicavit et in facinore inficiendi etiam legis satisfactio ei defecit." "Propter machinationem," etc.

[5] See *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 1,305, 1,310; Freeman, *N.C.*, I. 643. The writer's suggestion that Ælfgar may have been the son of Ælfric-Child is strongly supported by the fact that he is taxed with having received an improper grant of lands belonging to Abingdon from Abbot Eadwine. But Abbot Eadwine was brother to Ælfric-Child, put in through his interest, and notorious for jobbery. See *Hist. Abingdon*, I. 355, 357.

[6] See *Cod. Dip.* No. 705, A.D. 1001. Wulfheah and Wulfgeat and one Æthelric

were put out at Cookham, where the court was, and by the king's orders.[1] We shall find in this writer a disposition to disparage Eadric that somewhat takes from his authority in matters relating to him. Thus he describes him as being of humble origin,[2] a statement that we cannot accept unless in a very modified sense, say, that he could not boast of Royal blood. But even if we leave Eadric out of the story the fact remains that we have a noble family, long connected with the King's circle, treated in the cruelest manner without one word of explanation or justification that any chronicler could find to put on paper. The natural inference is that the King's jealousy or the King's cupidity had been excited by the suggestions of some new favourite. Ælfhelm's earldom was conferred upon Uhtred, the son of Waltheof I., as a reward for his gallant conduct in connexion with a Scottish inroad which took place in this same year.

Malcolm mac Kenneth, previously under-king of Strathclyde, having become King of Scotland in 1005, thought fit to inaugurate his reign by an invasion of England. If Æthelred's campaign of the year 1000 was, in fact, directed against Strathclyde then Malcolm would have old scores to settle. Waltheof, who was superannuated, shut himself up in Bamborough, leaving the defence of the country to his son, who apparently had been acting for him for some years already.[3] Sweeping through the present Northumberland, the Scots finally laid siege to Ealdhun in his new seat at Durham. Uhtred hastened to the rescue, as in duty bound. He had received the hand of the good Bishop's daughter in marriage with a handsome dowry in Church lands. His efforts were crowned with success. The Scots were defeated with great slaughter and chased across the Border. Æthelred was so pleased that he gave Uhtred not only his father's earldom but also the vacant earldom of Deira.[4]

A Scottish Inroad.

By again uniting all Northumbria under one ruler Æthelred was

attest this same charter, and so down to 1005; No. 1301. The name Streona has generally been taken in the sense given to it by the later writer, Orderic, who renders it "Acquisitor" = "The Gainer," or "The Greedy One." Mr. W. H. Stevenson argues that Streona was a pet diminutive form of a second name beginning with the name-stem Streon, like Streonwulf or Streonberct; *Academy*, 11th July, 1885, and 4th June, 1887.

[1] Flor., A.D. 1006. Neither Symeon, William of Malmesbury, nor Henry of Huntingdon have any reference to these affairs.

[2] "Hominem humili quidem genere sed cui lingua divitias ac nobilitatem comparaverat, callentem ingenio, suavem eloquio, et qui omnes id temporis mortales tum invidia atque perfidia, tum superbia et crudelitate superavit"; Flor., A.D. 1007. For Eadric's character see also the *Encomium Emmæ*, 16 (below), where he is described as "consiliis pollens sed dolositate versipellis."

[3] See Symeon, *H. D. E.*, p. 81.

[4] See the tract "De Obsessione Dunelmi," printed with Symeon, *H. D. E.*, p. 215. For the year, the *Annals of Ulster* clearly establish the date already assigned on general grounds by Mr. Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 325. The tract itself gives the absurd date 969. Uhtred signs as *dux* in 1009; *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,306.

reversing the policy of his father Eadgar. The change might be condemned on two grounds; one the dangerous concentration of power; the other the probable irritation of the Yorkshire Danes, who had always shewn a distinct preference for a ruler of their own.

Meanwhile the short respite from Danish assault had already come to an end. The Scottish foray may have been part of a concerted scheme of action. Anyhow 'after Midsummer' a great fleet appeared at Sandwich, then and for centuries later an important harbour, but now abandoned by the sea. Kent and Sussex were ravaged without mercy. Æthelred called out the whole *fyrd* of Mercia and Wessex. 'And they lay out all harvest on fyrding against the enemy; but it served naught the more than it ever had done.' The enemy marched hither and thither, just as it suited him, without an attempt being made to arrest him or bring him to action, while the country had a second army quartered upon it. About Martinmas (11th November) the weary game was given up in despair, and the *fyrd* sent home. The king retired to Shropshire[1] for his Christmas, while the Danes went back to their pet 'sanctuary' (*frithstol*), the Isle of Wight.

The Danes at Sandwich.

At Shrewsbury we may suppose the King to have been the guest of Eadric Streona, making partition of the spoils of their recent victims. Eadric for his share got the Ealdordom of Mercia,[2] that is to say the Northern part of it, or Cheshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire, the Southern counties being still under Leofwine, who signs as *dux* alongside of Eadric.[3] The rest of Mercia, in all likelihood, had been in hand since the final expulsion of Ælfric-Child. A further distinction conferred upon the new favourite was the hand of the King's daughter Eadgyth.[4] Here Florence of Worcester, while taxing Eadric with ignoble birth, appends the names of six brothers, clearly all known men. This, again, seems to militate against the theory of their humble origin. A man of no connexions might raise himself by his talents, but he could hardly float a band of six base-born brethren.[5]

But the hardy invaders did not long remain in idleness. To drive the English Government to the desired point of money-payment, they shortly started on a bold march through Hants into Berks, 'kindling their war-beacons as they went,' *i.e.* heralding their approach with pillared clouds of smoke from burning houses and homesteads. From Reading they passed up the Thames valley to Wallingford, which they destroyed, halting for one night at the neighbouring village

Raid through Hants.

[1] "Scrobbesbyrigscire"; Chron. This seems the first mention of the shire. [2] *Id.*

[3] *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 698, 1,303. Leofwine was "dux Wicciarum Provinciarum," *i.e.* Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and part of Warwickshire, "the old diocese of Worcester, before Henry the Eighth founded the Sees of Gloucester and Bristol"; Freeman, *O. E. H.*, 39, 82. [4] Florence, A.D. 1009.

[5] Names corresponding to those of four out of the six brothers are to be found signing as King's Thegns at this very time. See also Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 649.

of Cholsey. Then turning South-Westwards, they marched along high ground, past Ashdown of glorious memories, to the heights of Cuckamsley,[1] a known trysting place for open-air *gemots*.[2] Here the invaders made a halt as if in defiant bravado. A native saying was current to the effect that if the Danes should come to Cuckhamsley they would never get back to the sea again. But no Englishman appeared at Cuckamsley to take up the challenge, so the raiders moved on to "Cynetan," Kennet, now Marlborough.[3] Here at last they found a *fyrd* prepared to encounter them. 'But they soon brought those men to flight,' and so, haughty and fearless, they marched past the gates of Winchester 'with meat and treasures brought fifty miles from the sea.'[4]

Berks, And Wilts.

From the above facts we may gather that this, and perhaps other inroads, like the Scottish raids of which we get fuller details later, was pushed through at a rapid pace, and that consequently it did not cover a very wide tract of country. King and Council, after anxious deliberation, could neither 'think nor devise' of any escape from destruction other than payment of blackmail. Negotiations were accordingly opened, and the Danes were induced to concede a truce in return for £36,000, the largest sum yet alleged.[5]

The breathing space bought with such ignominy was not wholly wasted. At any rate an attempt was made to turn it to account. If England could not produce a man able to lead her she was not destitute of material resources. The King called for an effective fleet and an effective *fyrd*. To meet these requirements assessments in kind were laid on the land. As the text of the majority of our authorities stands, every three hundred and ten hides were required to build and equip a ship of war; and every eight hides were required to furnish a helmet and coat of mail,[6] the panoply of a heavy-armed soldier, or man-at-arms, in the language of later days. Three hundred and ten hides seems an odd basis of assessment. A certain ambiguity in the words of the primary authority the Worcester Chronicle (D), has led to the suggestion that perhaps each shire was required to furnish ships in the proportion of one for every three Hundreds that it contained.[7] In like manner the Danegeld was probably assessed by Hundreds. In any case it is likely that the details of the

[1] "Cwichelmes hlæwe"; Cwichelm's Low or Law, *i.e.* Hill.

[2] See the reference to a meeting held there, *Cod. Dip.* No. 693. [3] Freeman.

[4] Wallingford would be just about fifty miles from Southampton. See the narrative, clearly contemporary, given in identical words by the Chronicles C, D, and E, but supposed to be originally due to D, the Worcester Chronicle. Florence and Huntingdon give Latin renderings without one single fact added. [5] *Id.*

[6] Chron. C and E; Florence; H. Hunt.

[7] Chron. C and E read "of thrim hund hidum and of tynum ænne scegth." D reads "of thrym hund scipum and X be tynum anne scægth." The *scegth* seems to have been a smaller kind of vessel (skiff ?). See Mr. Earle's note, *Parallel Chron.*, 336, and Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 647.

assessment were left to the county authorities. The helmet and coat of mail from the eight hides point to a composition under which a smaller number of fully armed men would be sent up instead of a mass of imperfectly armed men. On the question whether these assessments were really novel or not, the Will of Archbishop Ælfric, who died in 1005, speaks of two ships in his possession, of which he bequeathed one to the people of Kent, and the other to Wiltshire,[1] as if they might be called upon to provide something of the sort; while a provision in a body of Laws enacted in this very year directs the ship-fyrd to be always ready as soon as possible after Easter, the very time at which we heard that Eadgar's fleets used to turn out. From all this we would infer that the principle of ship-assessments, though never mentioned before, was not in fact new.[2] Archbishop Ælfric also left forty stand of arms, doubtless representing the contingent he had to find for the land-fyrd.

Pious Legislation.

The so-called Laws published in the course of this same year, and shortly re-issued both in English and Latin, strike one with amazement. Apart from the provision already referred to, and another one fixing penalties for desertion from the *fyrd*, we have not one section dealing with the necessities of the situation, or calculated to inspire patriotic action. Instead of this we have a mild homily urging the people to be righteous in all their ways, and, in their several stations, to eschew evil and do good. Let bishops and abbots, monks and nuns,[3] priests and canonesses[4] lead clean lives, wear their proper dress, and conform to rules. Let mass-priests remember they may not lawfully marry.[5] Let the common folk respect all Church rights, and pay all Church dues; plough-alms, tithes, Rome-fee, soul-shot, light-shot. Let them observe Sundays, Fasts, and Feasts, not forgetting the Feast of the latest English Saint, 'the martyred King Edward.' Let them be ready with all dues for Lord or King; *frithesbot*,[6] *feosbot*,[7] *burhbot*, *bricgbot*, and *fyrd*.[8] Be regular at shrift, frequent at *Housel* (the Sacrament); use no false weights, no crooked measures; avoid false witness and foul fighting; avoid perjury,

[1] *Cod. Dip.* No. 716; Earle, *sup.*

[2] Mr. Freeman speaks of this system of assessment as "the germ of the famous ship-money of the seventeenth century," p. 338. But the precedent is completely met by other precedents of Parliamentary days. See *Lancaster and York*.

[3] "Munecas and Mynecena."

[4] "Nunnan"; *Laws Æthelred*, V. c. 4. The reader will note that the Anglo-Saxon "nun" was a canoness, not under strict vows.

[5] "Mid rihte thurh hæmedthing wifes gemanen."

[6] Of *frithesbot* it is directed that it should be performed so as to be least onerous to the householder (*bonda*), and most effectual against the thief, from which we may infer that it meant personal attendance to police duties.

[7] *i.e.* payment of money-dues. One standard of currency is to hold for all the country.

[8] The well-known *trinoda necessitas*, from which not even boc-land was exempt, or the duties of repairing fortifications, repairing bridges, and serving in the army.

murder and manslaughter, theft and robbery, covetousness, gluttony and drunkenness. Let men found guilty of crimes pay the penalties with cheerfulness. Fear God and honour the King; then will the Son of God be gracious to His servants. The presence of the enemy is treated, not as a practical evil to be manfully wrestled with, but as a mysterious visitation of Providence, a Cross to be borne with all meekness and humility. The reader will probably say that all this is a mere repetition of the Address to the Nation of "Lupus"; and so doubtless it was, if Lupus and Archbishop Wulfstan were one and the same man, because one version of this precious enactment gives it as the work of the Archbishop.[1] Of duties on the part of King, Bishop, or Lord to the people we hear nothing.

A Fleet at Last.

As the result of all the ship-building, by 1009 a great fleet was gathered at Sandwich, 'greater than any that the books tell us of.' King, Ealdormen and high Witan were all there in force. But again the accursed spirit of factious intrigue, for which Æthelred must be held primarily responsible, intervened to mar the nation's efforts. As some person or persons unknown had probably caballed against Ælfric-Child of Mercia; as Eadric Streona had caballed against Ælfhelm and Wulfgeat; so now Eadric's brother Brihtric came forward with an accusation against Wulfnoth 'Child of the South Saxons.'[2]

Outlawry of Wulfnoth.

Æthelred must have lent an ear to the calumny—as the chroniclers evidently take it to have been—because Wulfnoth at once 'went out,' *i.e.* broke into open rebellion,[3] the only resource known to the times. Off he went with twenty ships, doubtless the Sussex contingent,[4] and began ravaging the coast. Brihtric hastened after him with eighty ships, vowing to bring him back 'quick or dead.' But his fleet was wrecked by a terrible storm, and the vessels that came ashore were burnt by Wulfnoth. When this disaster was reported at Sandwich, King and 'High Witan' lost their heads, and, lightly forsaking the ships, went their several ways home. The bulk of the fleet, still untouched, was quietly taken round to London to be laid up in the Thames. 'And so the victory that all Angle-kin had hoped for was never the better.'[5]

The Armament Broken up.

[1] See *Laws of Æthelred*, V., A.D. 1008, practically repeated; *Id.*, VI. (Council of Ænham), with a third version in Latin, expressly given as the work of Archbishop Wulfstan; Schmid, p. 239.

[2] As Mr. Freeman remarks, "the title of Cild or Child is a puzzling one." It is usually rendered in Latin by Puer = Boy or Lad. But Florence in one place translates it by Minister = Thegn; and it is used by the Peterborough Chronicle (A.D. 1074) as = Ætheling. From this, considering that 'Elder' was the highest title of nobility, I would infer that Child meant "Young Lord," or perhaps "Master," in the Scottish sense, as the honorary title of the eldest son of a Baron. For other instances see Freeman, *sup.* [3] Conf. the Scottish phrase "Out in the Forty-five."

[4] Sussex contains 68 Hundreds. On the theory that three Hundreds sent a ship, 22 ships would be the full contingent. [5] Chron. C, D, E; Flor.; H. Hunt.

CHAPTER XXII

ÆTHELRED II. (*continued*)

A.D. 1009–1016

Collapse of English resistance to Danish Attacks—Murder of Archbishop Ælfheah—Third Invasion of Swein—Flight of Æthelred—Death of Swein—Return of Æthelred—Invasion of Cnut—Death of Æthelred

THE breakdown of the great Sandwich armament of 1009, a proof of the utter rottenness of the Government, was enough to kill all further spirit of resistance; and from this time onwards we find the Danish ravages assuming year by year more alarming proportions, and extending to fresh districts. In August two hostile fleets met by concert at Sandwich; one under the command of Thurkill, a man whom we shall find figuring conspicuously for years to come; the other led by two lesser men named Hemming and Eglaf.

Thurkill.

It is likely that one of the two fleets, perhaps Thurkill's, came from the Isle of Wight, and that it had been established there drawing rations since the year 1006 under the last pacification. But this is not stated.

The first advance was on Canterbury, which would have fallen had not the citizens, in concert with the men of East Kent, ransomed themselves by a payment of £3,000.(?) The enemy then moved westwards to the Isle of Wight, harrying everything as they went. Presumably fleet and army kept in touch to support each other in case of need. Having re-established their position in the Isle, they pushed another bold raid along the old track through Hants into Berkshire, and so back again. Æthelred once more called out his *fyrd*, and actually took up a position to intercept the invaders on their way back to their ships. Again we are told that the people were ready to fight, and again that at the last their leaders lost heart. The blame this time is laid not on Ælfric of Hampshire, who was still living, but on Eadric Streona. In November the Danes moved for winter quarters to the Thames, foraging on both sides of the river. At what place they took up their position we are not told, but from what we hear later we gather that they entrenched a standing camp at Greenwich. On more than one occasion they assaulted London. 'But, praise to God, it yet stood; and there they ever fared ill.' [1]

Danes in the Thames.

The New Year (1010) was signalized by a raid through the Chiltern Hills,[2]

[1] Chron. C, D, E; Flor.

[2] "Per saltum qui dicitur Ciltern"; Florence. The well-known Chiltern Hundreds comprise Burnham, Desborough, and Stoke, all in Bucks; J. Bartholomew, *Gazetteer*.

perhaps *viâ* Richmond, Hounslow, and High Wycombe, to Oxford, which was burned. The return journey was effected in two columns down the Thames valley, one body on each bank of the river. So they went till they came to Staines. There the northern division, being warned of a force coming out of London to engage them, joined their brethren on the south bank, and so together they made their way back to Greenwich, where they rested through the Lenten Fast (February 22–April 6), devoting the time to refitting their ships for further action.[1]

Hitherto, if we except the attacks on Ipswich and Norwich in 991 and 1004, the war had been practically confined to the borders of Wessex; while in both the above attacks on East Anglia the invaders had met with stout resistance. But now East Anglia has to endure a far more fearful visitation, while the adjacent districts of Mercia, hitherto untouched, fall a prey to the destroyer. But this does not procure even temporary relief for the unfortunate land of Wessex, which again has to drain its cup of misery to the very bottom. The broad results are summarized very clearly; the details are not free from doubt, but we seem to have three several campaigns, with three successive stages of demoralization on the part of the English people. The first campaign began shortly after Easter (April 6) when Thurkill took his fleet from its station, apparently in the Thames, round to Ipswich and landed there. The brave Thegn Ulfcytel was ready to receive him with the East Anglian *fyrd*. The Danes attacked him at once in his position in a place given as Ringmere,[2] and gained a complete victory. The men of Cambridgeshire (*Grantabricscir*) are given the credit of having made the best fight of it, while the opprobrium of having set the example of flight is cast upon a Danish Thegn, Thurcytel, surnamed Mareshead (*Myranheafod*) The slaughter was great, and, as usual, fell heavily on the leaders and gentlemen. Among the fallen were Æthelstan, a son-in-law of the king, Eadwig, brother of the murdered High-Reeve Ælfric, and Wulfric, son of Leofwine.[3] Horses were now the only thing wanting to the Danes, but these were soon procured, and then all England lay at their feet. Three months were first devoted to ravaging East Anglia 'up to the wild fens.' Thetford, destroyed six years before, was again given to the flames; Cambridge suffered likewise. With buildings mostly made of wood, or with timber frames filled in with wattle and daub, the destruction by fire would be complete. But the work of reconstruction would not be very arduous.

An English Defeat.

[1] 1010, Chron. C, D, E; Flor.

[2] Florence. The place does not seem to have been identified; but there is a Rushmere near Ipswich.

[3] Mr. Freeman seems quite wrong in identifying Wulfric, son of Leofwine, with Wulfric Spot, the founder of Burton Abbey. This man was brother of Ælfhelm and son of one Wulfrun, or Wulfruna; *Cod. Dip.* No. 692. He does not mention Leofwine in his Will, though Leofwine survived him, No. 1295, and he does not sign after 1002.

East Anglia having been devastated, the Danes paused to secure their booty. Turning South, they marched through Essex to their ships in the Thames,[1] and then, having disencumbered themselves, started on a fresh raid round an inner circle, through Middlesex, Bucks, Oxon, and Beds, up the Ouse to Tempsford, near Biggleswade, from which point, according to the chronicler, they returned again to the Thames, once more to lighten their loads. So far it would seem that a *fyrd* had been dragged up and down the country in helpless attendance upon the enemy's movements. 'For when they were east, then man held our force west; and when they were south, then was our force taken north.' This deplorable state of things need not however be attributed to treachery or wilful mismanagement on the part of the English, but rather to the better scouting and quicker movements of the enemy, which would enable them to anticipate and baffle the evolutions of the *fyrd*. But to the popular mind the facts would be inexplicable on any theory but that of treachery. 'Then man called all the Witan to the king to devise how the land should be guarded. But if somewhat was devised, it never stood a month. Next no Headman would gather a fyrd, but each man fled as best he might. Next no shire would help other.'[2] Disintegration and collapse could go no further. The unwillingness of one shire to help another was the worst feature of all; because England as a country endowed with local institutions ought to have been well suited for partisan warfare. But the local magnates were too jealous of each other to act together, and the "particularist" tendencies of the class must have been fostered to the utmost by the king's readiness to listen to the promptings of intrigue.

The Home Counties Visited.

Collapse of Resistance.

All semblance of resistance having been dropped, the Danes started on a third and yet bolder raid to Northampton, which they fired, thence moving round by Oxon, Berks, Wilts, Hants, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent,[3] back to their station on the Thames.

With respect to the three stages of demoralization the reader will notice that in the first campaign of the summer we had an actual battle: in the second campaign we had a *fyrd* being marched and counter-marched; while in the third campaign we had not the smallest attempt at resistance. Sixteen counties, or seventeen according to our present arrangement, had been more or less overrun, namely, East Anglia—otherwise Norfolk and Suffolk, the two shires being counted as one[4]—Essex, Middlesex, Oxon, Cambridgeshire, Herts, Bucks, Beds, half Huntingdonshire, part of

[1] Chron. C, D, E. Henry of Huntingdon preserves a local memory that the Danes passed through Balsham, near Linton, in South Cambridgeshire, on their way into Essex.

[2] Chron. C, D, E.

[3] I infer this route from the list of devastated shires given by the chronicler, which otherwise cannot be made out. Henry of Huntingdon implies that the last campaign started from Tempsford, without any intermediate visit to the Thames.

[4] So Mr. Freeman points out, p. 347.

Northants, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Berks, Hants, and a good part of Wilts.[1] These would represent more than one-third of the area of the proper kingdom, and in point of population and wealth probably more than one-half. The deposition of the incapable King in favour of a younger and abler ruler was probably the only measure that could have offered any effectual remedy for current evils, and precedents for such a course were not wanting even in English history.[2] In fact, as the sequel showed, the only alternatives were deposition either with or without foreign conquest. But the English of the eleventh century had not the spirit or the moral purpose to change their ruler of their own accord. The result was that twice within the century we shall find them accepting a new dynasty at the hands of a conqueror.

Tribute and rations as the price of a truce was again the only suggestion that the Witan could offer (1011), and again naturally the Danes raised their terms. £48,000 is the sum now mentioned as demanded and agreed to, being a sum greatly exceeding the entire yearly revenues of Henry I.[3] But as the money, whatever it was, could not be raised at once, petty plunderings went on, 'for all the grith and frith,'[4] as the Chronicles dolefully complain. But there was worse yet to come. In September the Danes laid siege to Canterbury, and took it. Of course at this period of our national history no misfortune could happen without treachery somewhere, and the traitor alleged this time was one Ælfmær, described by Florence as an Archdeacon, who, according to him, betrayed the city to the enemy. Pique against the Archbishop would seem to have influenced him, because it is mentioned as an aggravation of his crime that his life had once been saved by Ælfheah. Canterbury was gutted, and the whole population, clerical and lay, carried away captive. Among these were Archbishop Ælfheah; Godwine, Bishop of Rochester; Ælfweard, a King's Reeve; Leofrune, Abbess of St. Mildred's, Thanet, and another Ælfmær, Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. The last for some reason or other was 'let away' at once. The others, apparently, in time regained their liberty, all but the unfortunate Archbishop.[5]

Danegeld.

Canterbury Taken.

But the English, if powerless to defend themselves against the Northern sea-rovers, could still bully their Celtic neighbours. Under this year the Welsh annalists record a devastation of South Wales by an English leader,

[1] Chron. C, D, E; Florence; H. Hunt.

[2] See above, 227, 245; and Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, I. 149.

[3] See below. Henry's income was apparently under £30,000 a year.

[4] *Grith*, as already mentioned=protection; *frith* is peace, or the security given by *grith*.

[5] Sept. 8–29; Chron. C, D, E; Flor. The last, with Osbern in his *Life of Ælfheah* (*Anglia Sacra*, II. 122), taxes the Danes with wholesale massacre and other cruelties passing belief. Osbern's work is a tissue of absurdities. He makes Eadric Streona lead the attack on Canterbury, etc.

whose name "Entris," "Edris," or "Edrick,"[1] must be identified with that of Eadric Streona. Such a waste of national energy at such a time, though by no means unparalleled, would seem as inexplicable as unpardonable. An apology, however, has been offered for Eadric in the shape of a suggestion that perhaps the Welsh had been called upon to contribute to the Danegeld, and had refused[2]; or it may be that Eadric invaded Wales on his own account in the hope of gleaning something to eke out his own contribution to the tribute. By the spring of 1012 the stipulated geld, whatever the amount, had at last been scraped together. Towards Easter (April 13) Eadric, the prime favourite, and the other 'Eldest' Witan, clerical and lay, made their ways to London, each dignitary bringing the subvention of his own district or flock. As Uhtred appears at court at this time,[3] an uncommon circumstance, we may suppose that Northumbria had been called upon to contribute, and had done so. In Easter week the money was duly handed over, but the payment was followed by a shocking incident, which to the mind of the country must have seemed the climax of all the horrors of the reign. Archbishop Ælfheah was still a captive in the hands of the Danes at Greenwich. For his liberation they demanded a further ransom, which he absolutely refused to pay. He would not, 'he said,' be a party to laying any further burdens on his impoverished tenants. He even forbad his friends to interfere or give anything on his behalf. The Danes then became unmanageable, and, having got drunk on wine brought into the Thames from the South, dragged Ælfheah to their "husting" or meeting place. There they pelted him with ox-bones, and otherwise maltreated him, till one more merciful than the rest ended his miseries with a blow from an iron axe.

Danegeld Paid up.

Further Demands.

'His holy blood to earth he lent,
His soul to Heaven's kingdom sent.'[4]

This is believed to have happened at Greenwich, probably on the very site of the parish church, which is dedicated to the Archbishop. Thurkill must not be held responsible for this cruel deed. He was taken into the King's service shortly afterwards, and a contemporary account expressly exonerates him.[5] To his influence, doubtless, we may attribute the fact that on the morrow the body was given up to Bishops Ælfhun of London, and Eadnoth of Dorchester, to be buried with all due honour at St. Paul's, 'and there God now shows forth the holy martyr's might.'[6]

[1] *Ann. Camb.*; *Brut-y-T.*; *Annales Menevenses*; *Angl. Sacr.*, II. 648; Freeman.

[2] Lappenberg, II. 175. [3] *Codex Dip.* No. 719.

[4] Saturday, 19th April; Chron. C, D, E; W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 165; conf. Flor. For a confused account given not long afterwards by an Englishman to Thietmar, Bishop of Merseburg, see Pertz, III. 849; extracted by Mr. Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 662.

[5] See Pertz, *supra*; *contra* W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 176, but his account of this reign is a mere jumble, and very inaccurate.

[6] Chron C, D, E. The reference to the Martyr's remains being as still at St. Paul's,

The Danegeld having been settled and oaths of peace sworn, the Danish fleet broke up. Most of the men went home; but Thurkill and the crews of some forty or forty-five ships took service with Æthelred for the defence of England.[1] Doubtless Thurkill, like his master Swein, had already embraced Christianity.

Thurkill in the Service of England.

The vacancy created by the death of Ælfheah was filled by the translation of Bishop Ælfstan, better known as Lyfing, from Wells to Canterbury. But the state of England made a journey to Rome impossible, and Lyfing had to wait for his *Pallium* and the attainment of his full dignity till the year 1019.[2]

The events of the year 1013 illustrate in a signal manner the futility of all attempts at buying peace on the part of a nation not prepared to assert itself in the field. Thurkill's main force had been got rid of by a great pecuniary effort; oaths of peace had been exchanged, and he himself taken into permanent pay. What was the result? Why that within a few months King Swein, of whom nothing had been heard for six years, reappears in greater force,[3] and with more definite purpose than ever. England's helplessness had been fully revealed for some time, but Swein's action may have been quickened by the report of Thurkill's defection.[4] As a hostage the King brought with him Olaf, son of Harold Grenski, the heir of Norway, and afterwards its King, known to the world as Saint Olaf.[5]

In the month of July Swein landed at Sandwich, having doubtless followed the coasting line from Denmark, as Wessex was not the district he was intending to attack first. From Sandwich he sailed again round the East coast to the Humber, making his way up the Trent to Gainsborough, where he established a camp[6] in the heart of an Anglo-Danish population, in fact a population so Danish that the English writers still speak of them as a *here*. A marked change in Swein's procedure at once presents itself. Not a word have we of any devastations or plunderings on his part, but, on the other hand, we hear of prompt submission to him from all quarters. Within a few days we are told that Earl Uhtred gave in the adherence of all the Northumbrians, that is to say of Deira as well as of Bernicia, both being

Submission of Northern England.

proves that the original narrative was written before 1023, when Ælfheah was translated to Canterbury. [1] Chron., *sup.*; Flor.; *Encomium Emmæ.*

[2] A.D. 1013, Chron.; Flor. Lyfing only signs as "episcopus" down to the year 1018. In 1019 at last he signs as archbishop; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 728, 729, 730.

[3] For a grandiloquent description of Swein's ships with their gaudy paint, gilt figure-heads, and rows of shields round the gunwales, see *Encomium Emmæ*, 8.

[4] So *Encomium Emmæ*, p. 7. [5] Adam of Bremen, *sup.*, 324, and note.

[6] About three-quarters of a mile North of Gainsborough, a typical Danish stronghold may be seen, consisting of a conical mound with two base-courts surrounded by an earthen rampart, but the dimensions are rather small, the entire works not exceeding 800 feet diameter in the widest part. The tide reaches up to Gainsborough.

under his rule. The example thus set was followed by the men of Lindesey, or North Lincolnshire, by the men of the Five Burghs (Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Derby), and in fact by all to the North and East of the Watling Street.[1] This clearly implies that if Swein had not come over by invitation or arrangement, the North of England at any rate was prepared to accept a change of King. The people could hardly have forgotten that sixty years before Swein's own brother Eric had ruled Deira as its Danish King.[2] Swein, however, as a soldier and statesman of considerable experience, was careful to exact material guarantees for the future good conduct of his new subjects, taking hostages from all quarters. These were sent to the fleet to be safely guarded by the King's son Cnut. Swein then called for supplies of food and horses, and so with his army reinforced by native contingents crossed the Watling Street. Being now in a country supposed to be friendly to Æthelred, the old system of ravaging was resumed, 'and there they wrought the most evil that any *here* might do.' But exhausted Wessex hastened to save itself by prompt submission. When Swein came to Oxford, doubtless by the North Road, the 'Port Street' of the charters,[3] he was received with a tender of hostages; so again at Winchester. From Hampshire he turned Eastwards to London, where Æthelred and Thurkill were. The importance of London as a national centre, like that of Paris, had been greatly enhanced by the Danish wars.

Wessex Follows Suit.

Under the walls of London at last even Swein met with a check, the only check he met with. Twice was he repelled by the burghers. The first time in an attack which must have been made from the river, perhaps at Billingsgate, as we hear that the Danes 'taking no care for a bridge'[4] lost many men by drowning. After that, the army having been transported across the Thames, a more regular attack was made on the city from the North, but that failed likewise. Swein then marched to Wallingford, and then recrossing the Thames into Wessex, advanced to Bath, where he made a halt. The pause, like that at Gainesborough, had a meaning, and the meaning shortly became clear when the Western Thegns appeared with hostages and proffers of allegiance. At their head came Æthelmær, styled the Great, founder of Eynsham Abbey, and son of Æthelweard the chroni-

London Holds out.

[1] "Eall here be northan Wætlingan stræte"; Chron. D, etc.

[2] See above, A.D. 950–952. The Encomiast of Emma refers to the fact, p. 7. So too Adam of Bremen, Pertz, IX. 324.

[3] *Cod. Dip.* No. 709. I assume that Swein came to Oxford from Northampton *viâ* Towcester and Brackley. The importance of Oxford in those days lay in the fact that it was on the direct road from Winchester to the West Midlands and the North.

[4] "Fortham the hi nanre bricge ne cepton"; Chron.

cler, a trusted friend of King Æthelred,[1] who had just been appointed Ealdorman of Devonshire and the Western Provinces.[2]

Submission of the West. These proceedings amounted to a deposition of Æthelred, and were so understood by the people at large, who, we are told, from this time forth held Swein 'full king.'[3] He retraced his steps to the Thames, and then the Londoners, conscious that they could not hope to stand alone, tendered their allegiance.

Under these circumstances Æthelred and Thurkill retired to their ships at Greenwich, but for a while no further, the Danish soldier of fortune being the last man to desert the King of Wessex. Queen Emma-Ælfgifu had already left her husband to seek a refuge at her brother's court in Normandy, under the escort of Ælfsige, Abbot of Peterborough; while her sons, the Æthelings Ælfred and Eadward, had been sent after her, with their tutor, Bishop Ælfhun of London.[4] Æthelred lingered at Greenwich as long as he prudently could. Base man as he was, we must admit that in this supreme crisis he did not disgrace himself by personal cowardice.[5] Towards Christmas he found it necessary to quit Greenwich for the Isle of Wight. There he kept his Christmas Feast, and then in January, 1014, went over to Normandy to join his wife and younger sons. His elder family, we must suppose, had been left to find hiding places at home as best they might.

Flight of Emma,

And Æthelred.

When London submitted Swein issued orders for raising 'a full geld,' with rations for his army. Similar stipulations were made on behalf of Thurkill's men, a proof that by that time Swein and he had come to terms. But again we are assured that plundering never ceased.[6]

In the face of Swein's landing, some time before, a council had been held by Æthelred at a place given as "Haba."[7] And what had the Witan to suggest in that hour of need? Nothing but a three days' fast before Michaelmas, with a daily celebration of a special Mass against the heathen in every parish church, and a special chaunt of the third Psalm ("*Domine quid multiplicati sunt*") at each of the Canonical hours. 'So may God grant us that we overcome our foes.'[8] Cromwell

[1] See *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 714, 1,312; Robertson, *Hist. Essays*, 184.

[2] Chron.; Florence. Æthelmær was only a Thegn in 1012, *Cod. Dip.* No. 719. He signs as "dux" in 1014, No. 1309.

[3] At least so H. Hunt. and Florence, "Rex si jure queat rex vocari"; conf. W. Malm., *G. R.*, ss. 177, 179, "Quod non esset ille dominus legitimus, sed tyrannus."

[4] Ælfhun must have died shortly, as a new bishop of London, Ælfwig, was consecrated 16th Feb., 1014; Chron. D; *Reg. Sacr.*

[5] This bears out Malmesbury's remark given above, p. 350.

[6] See Chron. C, D, and E, one account, and the only one.

[7] "Apud Habam" (Hadham?). The year is not given, but the acts come next before those of 1014, and the time is clearly indicated as that when 'the mickle *here* came to land'; Schmid, p. 240.

[8] *Laws of Æthelred*, VII., issued both in Latin and English.

told his soldiers to trust in the Lord; but he also charged them to keep their powder dry. Æthelred's advisers would have had the English look to Providence for the powder itself and everything else. One is inclined to suggest that England was too much under clerical government. The only other measure worthy of notice was a renewed prohibition—unaccompanied, however, by any penalty—against selling men of any sort into foreign slavery.[1] Previous enactments had not forbidden the sale of penal slaves (*wite-theowas*). Of course the people are charged to pay all 'God's rights' as fully 'as when things stood best.'[2]

Death of Swein.

Within a month from the time of Æthelred's departure the wheel of fortune underwent a complete revolution. On the afternoon of the 3rd February, 1014, Swein suddenly dropped down dead at Gainesborough.[3] Earlier in the day he had held a council.[4] In all probability he was a man of an advanced age. It would seem that on his way to Gainesborough he had passed through Bury, and we are told that he had dared to levy a contribution from the lands of St. Eadmund. In consequence his death was popularly attributed to the vengeance of the Martyr King.[5] Apparently Swein was going round the country to collect his Danegeld in person, having no other machinery for the purpose. It is said that his body at first was interred at York,[6] but that in the course of the ensuing year, through the care of an English (Anglo-Danish?) lady, it was taken to Denmark, and buried in the church of the Holy Trinity at Roskild, founded by Harold Blaatand, which from that time became the recognised place of coronation and sepulture for Danish kings.[7]

Whatever view be taken of Swein's title to the crown of England his death as a matter of fact left three thrones vacant. The Danes at home took one son, Harold, who was with them, to be King of Denmark; the army at Gainesborough elected their leader, the other son, Cnut, to be King of England; while the Norwegians revolted, declaring for the heir of the House of Harfager, Olaf son of Harold, a cousin of the late King Olaf Tryggvason,[8] and at the time detained in Swein's camp, as already mentioned.

Swein had not had the time, if he had the capacity, to organize a government, a point which his treatment of the Bury monks makes doubtful. The short period of his rule must necessarily from its character and incidents have seemed a hateful usurpation, in mediæval language, a 'tyranny.'[9]

[1] *Id.*, cap. 5 (Latin version). [2] *Id.*, cap. 4 (Latin), s. 6 (English). [3] Chron.
[4] Florence. [5] See the tale in Florence, and more briefly in Malm., *G. R.*, s. 179.
[6] Lappenberg, II. 182.
[7] See Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 364, 667; *Encom. Emm.*, 10, 12; Thietmar, Pertz., III. 848, 849.
[8] Saxo Grammaticus, 192; Koch, *Tableau des Revolutions de l'Europe;* Freeman, I. 501.
[9] "Suanus tyrannus"; Flor.; also above, p. 370, note.

Relieved of the terror of Swein's name, the English turned, not unnaturally, to their exiled King, hoping against hope that perhaps, after the lessons of the past, the spirit of his rule might even yet be amended. 'For they said that no lord dearer than their born lord could be, if he would hold them rightlier than he ere did.' The Witan, clerical and lay, met and resolved that an offer of restoration on those terms should be forwarded to Æthelred. Of course Æthelred was willing to promise every reform for the future, with full amnesty for the past; and, to clench the matter, he sent back envoys with his son Eadward, a boy at most eleven years old. Another Witenagemot was held, at which a compact was sealed 'with word and with pledge,' and all Danish kings declared outlaws for ever. Losing no time, Æthelred returned during Lent.[1] 'Gladly was he received of all.'

Æthelred Recalled.

In the enthusiasm of the moment offensive operations were actually resolved upon. An army was raised, the King in person leading it to attack Cnut at Gainesborough. It would seem that the latter remained there from the time of his father's death till Easter (April 25). But the defection of the English from the Danish rule had been so general that the only men now prepared to support him were the men of Lindesey, and their support of him apparently was limited to an agreement for a plundering expedition on joint account. Cnut, however, threw them over. At the report of Æthelred's advance he judged it prudent to fly from the coming storm; to leave England for a while to its own devices; and to return home to look after his interests in Denmark, where he had a competing brother to reckon with. Cnut, therefore, took to his ships, leaving the men of Lindesey to the tender mercies of their English brethren, who wasted the district with fire and sword, 'slaying all mankind they could get at.'

An Army Raised.

This timely retreat on Cnut's part, we may remark, made him in due course of time King both of Denmark and of England. In his voyage back from the Humber to Denmark it is worth while noting that he took the same route that his father had taken, but of course in the reverse direction, namely, the usual coasting line *viâ* Sandwich, because we are told that he put in there to land the hostages given to Swein, but, shocking to tell, he landed them all barbarously mutilated by loss of hands, ears, and noses.[2]

The year did not close without further trials for the English. As an earnest of his purposes of amendment Æthelred, 'besides all other evils,' called for a geld, given as £21,000, for the fleet at Greenwich, Thurkill's fleet, which had again been taken into pay.

Thurkill in Service again.

[1] March 10–April 18 (Ash Wednesday–Palm Sunday).

[2] Chron. C, D, E, copied by Florence, Malmesbury, and Huntingdon; *Encomium Emmæ*, 9, 10.

Of the real intentions of this leader different opinions were entertained, but as we are told that the largest part of the fleet remained with him, we may take it that he was resolved under all circumstances to continue to be the indispensable man.[1] From this period for eight and thirty years onwards our chroniclers date the maintenance of a little standing army, of which we shall hear as the Housecarles.[2]

But again, among all trials, the King and clergy could find time for ecclesiastical legislation. Canons rather than Laws the measures ought to be called, as in forty-four sections there is not one unconnected with Church interests—whether Church rights of sanctuary, Church privileges, or Church dues. It is fair to add that offences committed by priests are dealt with as well as offences committed against priests.[3] But the severance between 'Christ' and the world is never lost sight of. The priest is not commissioned to blow the trumpet for the armies of the Lord in the spirit of a Joshua. Quite otherwise. The servant of the altar is strictly charged not to meddle with the wars of the world.[4] It was clearly the tendency of the monastic revival of the last reign to accentuate, if not to create, that severance. Under the circumstances of Æthelred the dualism must have been most detrimental to the interests of the nation.

Sharp as were the lessons that he had received, Æthelred, after five and thirty years of rule, could not resist the temptation of plunging into one more cabal, one more crime, as if to precipitate a final crash. Experience had no lessons for him. Again we have the prime favourite, Eadric Streona, scheming the downfall of Mercian rivals. Again the King is there ready to pounce upon the prey kindly provided by his jackal. In all this there is nothing new. But what is new is the appearance on the scene of a grown-up Ætheling, Eadmund, the Heir Apparent, a young man of determined purpose, who elbows out his Royal father and appropriates the spoil. Thus the guilt and obloquy remain with Æthelred and Eadric. The 'ironsided' Eadmund carries off the prize. But the deadly split created between him and Eadric involves his father's downfall and his own. The facts as given are as follows: In 1015 a Grand Witenagemot was held at Oxford. During its sittings, Sigeferth or Siferth,[5] and Morcar, said to be sons of one Earngrim,[6] and represented as the two leading Thegns of the Five Burghs,[7]

One more Cabal.

[1] *Encomium Emmæ*, 10, 11; Chron.; H. Hunt. [2] See below, A.D. 1051, etc.

[3] *Laws Æthelred*, VIII. Mr. Freeman places the council before the march against Cnut, which seems very unlikely.

[4] See *Laws Æthelred*, VIII. c. 30, and the *Pastoral Epistle* of Ælfric; Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, etc., II. 387. [5] *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 714, 719. [6] Flor.

[7] 'Seven' Burghs is the phrase here used by Chron. D., followed by the other A.S. Chronicles and by Florence. Lingard suggested that this might mean the Five Burghs *plus* York and Chester, and his conjecture is accepted by Mr. Freeman. But as the writers revert to 'Five Burghs' a few lines further down, and the 'Seven Burghs' are never heard of before or after, I suspect that the 'Seven' was a mere clerical error. As

were invited by Eadric to his quarters in the town, and there assassinated —perhaps at a banquet.[1] The King, who must have been at Oxford at the time, immediately confiscated the estates of the murdered men, thus proclaiming himself an accessory, at any rate after the fact. But we should be quite warranted in ascribing to him a fuller complicity in this foul deed.[2] Morcar and his wife, Ealdgyth, are both remembered in the Will of Wulfric Spot, the founder of Burton Abbey. Their child was his goddaughter, perhaps his granddaughter.[3] At any rate all three took large benefits under his Will,[4] and must have been nearly connected with him. Wulfric Spot of course was the brother of Ælfhelm, assassinated by Eadric in 1006; while Wulfgeat, another victim of the same plot, also connected with Wulfric, was, as we have seen reason to believe, married to the widow of Ælfgar, the son of Eadric Child, the dispossessed son of Ælfhere, the Mercian Ealdorman who invaded Wessex to do honour to the memory of Æthelred's martyred brother Eadweard. The Oxford murders, therefore, might represent, on the one hand, Eadric's jealousy of personal rivals, and, on the other hand, the king's abiding hatred of the Mercian Houses who had protested against the plot that raised him to the throne.

Confiscation.

Siferth left a widow, Ealdgyth. It would seem that in those days marriage with a widow was held to give some title to her deceased lord's property.[5] The King, to avoid this risk, sent the Lady for safe keeping to Malmesbury; but the Ætheling Eadmund, the King's eldest surviving son, followed her thither, demanded her hand, and, in defiance of his father, made her his own. Having done that, he rode off to the Five Burghs, and fairly installed himself in all the vacant inheritance both of Siferth and of Morcar.[6]

With respect to Eadmund's action, it is very likely that he found it necessary to assert his position as against the influence exercised by Eadric over his father.[7] Or, again, Siferth and Morcar may have been his personal friends,[8] as they certainly were the friends of his elder brother, Æthelstan.

In this distracted state of affairs Cnut reappeared in England, again landing at Sandwich (Sept.). It would seem that in Denmark he had

for York, that was under Uhtred, and Chester must have belonged to Eadric's own province.

[1] So W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 179.

[2] Malmesbury treats the crime as simply perpetrated by the king's orders, *sup.*

[3] He bequeaths to her a personal ornament 'that was her grandmother's,' a "*bul*" (*bulla*, brooch); Robertson, *Hist. Essays*, 185; *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,298.

[4] Namely, estates in our Yorkshire (Doncaster for one), Lincolnshire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, etc., etc.

[5] So Swein had married the widow of Eric the Victorious, and so his son, Cnut, lived to marry the widow of Æthelred.

[6] Chron. C, D, E; Flor.; W. Malm.

[7] Green, *Conq. of E.*, 414.

[8] Eadmund's one charter leaves lands to the New Minster Winchester, for the benefit of the souls of Siferth, Ealdgyth, and himself; *Cod. Dip.* No. 726.

found his brother Harold too firmly established to be dispossessed,[1] and that in consequence he had only ventured to suggest a partition both of England and of Denmark. Harold declined to surrender any part of the kingdom assigned to him, as he said, by their father with Cnut's own consent, but he urged Cnut to prosecute his work in England. Cnut's action was finally determined by the arrival of Thurkill, who doubtless came to report the latest phase of English affairs, and the promising opportunity opened up.

Return of Cnut.

Of Cnut's fleet, its glittering shields and gilded figure-heads, we have as glowing an account as we had of Swein's fleet in 1013. But we are expressly told that in all the force there was not one servile man nor even one freed man; all were of noble birth (*nobiles*), *i.e.* free *odallers*, all in the flower of their age, and all trained in martial exercises.[2]

Free Warriors.

From Sandwich Cnut shortly sailed to Poole Harbour, his intention being this time to make his first attack on Wessex, Æthelred's stronghold. From Poole he was able to overrun all Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, and Somerset, Æthelred lying ill at 'Cosham'[3] presumably Corsham Regis, near Chippenham. Two fyrds, however, were raised, one under Eadric, probably acting as the King's Lieutenant, and the other 'up in the North' under the Ætheling Eadmund.[4] When the forces effected a junction, Eadric's manœuvres were directed against the life of his enemy, the Ætheling. Co-operation having thus been rendered impossible, the fyrds parted and broke up, and then Eadric went over bodily to Cnut's camp. The submission of all Wessex followed as a matter of necessity.[5]

Submission of Wessex.

England was now divided in a very strange manner. The Dragon of Wessex followed the Scandinavian Raven, while Mercia and Northumbria supported the national cause under Eadmund.[6] Æthelred, ousted from his proper capital, again found a refuge in London.

In the first days of 1016, Cnut and his new ally, Eadric, started on a bold raid northwards, into the Western Midlands. Crossing the Thames at Cricklade, they advanced into Warwickshire, harrying, burning, and slaying. The district must have belonged to the ealdordom of Leofwine, who was still living.[7] The Ætheling Eadmund then called out a fyrd; but when the men came together complaints were

Struggle in the North.

[1] According to Bishop Thietmar Harold was the elder brother, *contra* the Economiast of Emma, p. 10.

[2] *Encomium Emmæ*, 12, 13, 15. The number of the fleet is given as 200 vessels.

[3] So the Chronicles: there is a Cosham 4½ miles N. of Portsmouth, but that would be too near the coast. [4] "Be northan."

[5] Chron. C, D, E, still one account, copied by Florence, Malmesbury, and Huntingdon. According to this account, Eadric took over with him forty ships — evidently Thurkill's fleet. [6] Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 374.

[7] The ealdormen attesting charters at this time were Uhtred of Northumbria, Eadric

raised that the King was not there, nor any contingent from London, and so the force disbanded itself and went home. The incident strikes one as very extraordinary. If we consider the disposition of mankind to worship the rising sun, the very last complaint that we should expect to hear raised in an army would be that of the appointment of an able and athletic son to lead them in the place of an old and broken-down father. Either Eadmund must have occupied a doubtful position in the eyes of the nation, or the people must have been ready to clutch at any excuse to shirk fighting.

Eadmund called out a fresh fyrd under the strictest penalties, but to no better purpose than before. The King was dragged from London to the place of muster, only to discover when he got there that some foul play was contemplated, and so he returned to Town. We may take it that he was determined not to act in concert with his son. The Ætheling then fell back on Northumbria, seeking the aid of Earl Uhtred, who was married to his sister. 'Then thought all men that they would wage war on King Cnut.' Nothing of the sort. In the wretched spirit of the times their first care was to ravage Eadric's ealdordom, and so they marched into Staffordshire and from thence wheeled round through Shropshire into Cheshire, harrying as they went. Cnut retaliated by pushing eastwards through Bucks into Bedfordshire, and thence into Huntingdonshire; then across the north end of Northamptonshire, along the edge of the Fen country, to Stamford, and so into Lincolnshire, the Ætheling's country, and from thence again through Northamptonshire into Northumbria (Deira) making for York. This brought the combined operations of Eadmund and Uhtred to a sudden end. Uhtred hurried home to make his peace with Cnut, while the forlorn Ætheling had to make for his last refuge, his father's court in London.[1]

Raids and Counter Raids.

Uhtred had submitted to Swein in 1013, but had not extended his allegiance to his son in 1014. Cnut now accepted his submission and his hostages, but did not spare his life. As his instrument for the murder he chose a man already at feud with the Earl, one Thurbrand, surnamed Hold (*the True*), a leading Thegn or nobleman.[2] Uhtred was pledged to kill Thurbrand, but had neglected the duty. In consequence Thurbrand turned the tables on him. The circumstances seem without parallel. Uhtred, as already mentioned, had taken as his first wife Ecgfrithe, daughter of Ealdhun, first Bishop of Durham. After a while he discarded Ecgfrithe for Sige, daughter of one Styr, son of Ulf, a rich Thegn, who gave his daughter to Uhtred on condition of his killing Thurbrand, with whom Styr had a blood-feud. Sige died or was put away, and then Uhtred took as his third wife Eadgifu, daughter of King Æthelred. But the murderous obligation

of N.W. Mercia (as we suppose), Leofwine of S.W. Mercia, Æthelmær of Devonshire, Ælfric of Hants, and Godric, whose district is uncertain.

[1] Chron. C, D, E; Flor. [2] See *Cod. Dip.* No. 722.

contracted with his second marriage had never been fulfilled, and Uhtred now paid the penalty. When he came under safe conduct to render his homage to Cnut at a place given as "Wiheal,"[1] Thurbrand and a posse of armed men were secreted behind a curtain in the audience chamber. Rushing out at the proper moment, they despatched Uhtred and his attendants.[2] Cnut, by this device perhaps, kept out of the feud, which, as between the families of Uhtred and Thurbrand, was maintained by alternate assassinations to the end of the century, and was only closed by the final extinction of both Houses.

Assassination of Uhtred.

Uhtred left by his first wife a son, Ealdred, who lived to avenge him. But Ealdred was not allowed to take the earldom at the present moment. It would seem that Cnut divided the office, giving Deira to his brother-in-law Eric, son of Hakon, and Bernicia to Uhtred's brother Ealdulf, surnamed Cudel.[3]

Having so far settled affairs in Northumbria, Cnut hastened to return to his ships, his intention being to complete his work by the reduction of London. Marching by a route 'all to the West,' he reached Poole before Easter (April 5). Three weeks later Æthelred the Unredy, "King and Martyr," was gathered to his fathers. He died in London on Monday, 23rd April, 1016,[4] being, as we suppose, some fifty or fifty-one years old. His body was laid to rest in St. Paul's Cathedral. Assuredly few less deserving names have ever been enshrined on the pages of the Roman Calendar. For that distinction he was probably indebted to the circumstances that his enemies were pagans; that he was always willing to express contrition for the past; and that the spirit of his legislation was altogether ecclesiastical. To us he seems to have been a man not destitute of purpose when it suited him to act, but utterly without sense of honour or kingly duty; of low personal habits, mean, grasping, and suspicious; absolutely callous to the suffering of his subjects so long as his own personal convenience was not interfered with.

Death of Æthelred.

Æthelred's legislation, if it contains little or nothing that is absolutely new, at any rate throws light on a good many points of interest. We have already called attention to the trammels in which even the free population were kept, by their vassalage to their lords on the one hand, and by their mutual liabilities under *frithborh* on the other hand. The two sets of liabilities are clearly distinguished in the first chapter of Æthelred's Laws:—Every freeman must have a trustworthy *borh* to hold him to every right, if accused. The obligation of having a lord is not expressly stated, but it is clearly implied in the next provision.

"Borh."

[1] "Perhaps Wighill, near Tadcaster," T. Arnold *ap.* Symeon.

[2] See the Tract written *circa* 1090 and printed with Symeon, *Hist. Dunelm.*, 216–218. The incident is placed after the death of Æthelred, but that must be a mistake; Chron., A.D. 1016.

[3] Chron.; *Encomium*, 15; Symeon, *sup.*

[4] Chron. C, D, E; Flor.

When any suit or complaint is preferred against a man the first step to be taken is to inquire of his lord concerning his character. If the lord can give him a good character,[1] and can bring two other Thegns or a King's Reeve to swear to the same effect, then the man need only undergo the single ordeal, or produce a moderate amount of compurgation. If the lord cannot establish favourable testimony as to character then the man must undergo the triple ordeal. If he fails in the ordeal he must be put to death. If he shirks the ordeal and absconds then his *borh* must pay the amount in dispute to the claimant, and also pay the amount of the man's *wer* to his lord. If the lord, however, should be implicated in the man's offence then the *wer* would go to the King.[2] Thus the obligations are all one-sided. The lord is only really responsible for persons actually members of his household (*hired-men*), as already mentioned. If a household man is accused of an offence and absconds or shuns trial the lord must pay the man's *wer* to the king.[3] Men of bad character must have *borh* found for them by the King's Reeve. But if no *borh* can be found for a man he must be put to death.[4] From this, however, we gather that the mutual responsibilities of *borh* were so far voluntary that men could refuse to be sureties for an untrustworthy individual, but only under the odium of sacrificing his life. The King claims all penalties (*witu*) from owners of *boc-land*, rendered *terræ liberæ* in the Latin version.[5]

In the regulations concerning *team*—*i.e.* vouching to warranty in the case of disputed ownership of goods, we have an early enunciation of two well-known maxims of later law. The first is, 'Negation is stronger than affirmation.[6] This seems equivalent to the *dictum*, "Oath for oath the defendant wins." Again we have 'Ownership is nearer to him who holds than to him who claims,'[7] otherwise, "Possession is nine points of the Law."

Sanctuary.

In the Laws of Æthelred we also get a fuller enunciation of the different grades of *grith*, or sanctuary, otherwise right of protection from assault. The reader will bear in mind that according to primitive law fighting was not in itself an offence against the State, being only the assertion of the primary right of self-defence, to be exercised of course at the risk of those having recourse to it. Highest in the scale of protections are those of the 'King's hand grith' and Church-grith 'within the walls.' The latter speaks for itself. The former was a protection extended by the King's special grant[8] to an individual who otherwise would not be under his standing guardianship or *mund*. No legal com-

[1] *i.e.*, 'that the man had never failed in oath or ordeal' since a given day.

[2] *Laws of Æthelred*, I. c. 1, ss. 1–9; and III. cc. 3–7 (Schmid).

[3] *Id.*, ss. 10–13. [4] *Id.*, c. 4. [5] *Id.*, c. 1, s. 14.

[6] "Bið andsæc swiðere thonne onsagu."

[7] "Agnung bið nér tham the hæfð thonne tham the æftersprecfð"; *Id.*, II. c. 9, ss. 3, 4.

[8] "Dæt he mid his agenre hand sylð"; III. c. 1; VI. 13, 14; VIII. 1–5.

pensation may be tendered for breach of either of these, unless the King under special circumstances allow compensation to be made. If he do allow compensation to be made the offender will have to pay smartly for it. First, he must 'inlaw' himself, *i.e.* purge his outlawry by paying his own *wer* to the King, and then make *bot* all round. This will include, besides the penalties due to the injured parties, a compensation to the church, according to its rank, for the breach of its privileges; with a further payment for purifying the church if desecrated by blood. Of the ranks of churches we have four; viz. Head-Minster, Middling-Minster, Lesser-Minster, and Field-Kirk.[1] The penalty in the highest of these cases is equal to that of a breach of the king's own *mund* (protection), namely, £5, sinking in the case of the Field-Kirk to £1. In regular gradation below the King's *grith* and Church-*grith* come those of the Ealdorman and King's Reeve in witenagemot, hundred or wapentake-gemot, and burgh-gemot. Lowest but not least prized of all would be the humble protection afforded by the *grith* of the village ale-house (*eala-hus*), that truly national and primitive institution.

Ranks of Minsters.

Ale-houses.

One chapter of the Laws gives us some insight into the trade of the Port of London. The men especially recognised as at liberty to frequent the port are the natives of Flanders, Ponthieu,[2] Normandy, and France; the men of "Hogge" (The Hague?), "Leodium" (Liège), "Nivella" (Nivelles, near Waterloo), and the Emperor's Men; *i.e.* the men of Cologne and other forerunners of the Hanseatic League. These are specially declared to be worthy of 'good law,' "*sicut et nos.*" Apparently they brought cloth, pepper, gloves, vinegar, fowls and eggs; taking home with them wool, tallow, and pork. Tolls were paid in kind; a 'dosser' or pannier of fowls paid one fowl as duty; a dosser of eggs, five eggs; buttermen dealing in butter and cheese paid one penny as license-duty fourteen days before Christmas, and the same one week after. The duties seem to have been calculated at the rate of five per cent. Men of Rouen, coming with wine and "*craspis*,"[3] paid 6 shillings harbour dues for a big ship and one-twentieth of the *craspis*. From the fact of the wine coming down the Seine, we may infer that it was wine from Burgundy and the North-East of France, not from Bordeaux. In general the foreigners paid *monstrationem* on their goods, a duty well known in later times as scavage or showage.[4] Small boats

Customs Duties.

[1] *i.e.* a church without a churchyard; *Laws of Cnut*, I. c. 3, s. 2.

[2] District of Montreuil between the Canche and the Authie.

[3] French *crapois*, apparently a rich pickle or relish made from fish caught on the coast of Normandy and eaten with peas and other vegetables (qy. sardines?). Godefroy (*Dict. Langue Fran.*) accepts a passage identifying *crapois* with whale-blubber, but other quotations given by him seem to exclude whale as well as sturgeon, porpoise, turbot and eel, all of which are distinguished from *crapois*.

[4] See the *Liber Albus* and the passages cited in the Index (Rolls Series, 12).

coming to Billingsgate or London Bridge with fish paid a halfpenny toll; large boats with sails, one penny; a keel or hulk lying at Billingsgate, four-pence; a timber-ship, one log.

To ensure a proper supply of lawful money, three moneyers are to be established in every chief port; one in other ports.[1]

Ecclesiastical matters, always prominent in Anglo-Saxon legislation, occupy perhaps a larger space in the Laws of Æthelred than in those of any previous king. Yet we have an amazing complaint, inexplicable except as an utterance of helpless discontent, that since the days of Eadgar the world's laws had been severed from the laws of Christ.[2] Offences committed by the clergy, however, are dealt with as well as offences committed against them, as already stated. The priest who marries forfeits his special rank and *wer*, namely, the rank and *wer* of a Thegn.[3] On the other hand, the same thegn-wer and thegn-worship are offered to all 'servants of the altar (*weofud-þen*) who order their lives according to the books'; that is to say, they must not meddle with wife or worldly warfare.[4] The class of 'servants of the altar' would of course include persons in Minor Orders. Again, in these laws we have the broad line of demarcation between the Regular and the Secular clergy very clearly illustrated.

Seculars and Regulars. The 'minster-monk' (*Regular*) may neither implead nor be impleaded: he may neither claim compensation for a blood-feud (*fæhð-bot*), nor can he be called upon to contribute to one. He is dead to the world. 'He leaves kin-law when he submits to the law of the Rule' (*mæg-lagu, regollagu*).[5] The Secular clergy may implead or be impleaded, like any other men of the world. A Mass-priest living the life of a Regular (*regollice*), if accused of a simple offence, clears himself by his own simple oath on the housel. If accused of a triple offence he must bring two fellow priests to swear with him. A Deacon, if accused of a simple offence, clears himself with two of his order; if accused of a triple offence, with six of his order. A Mass-priest not living the life of a Regular must clear himself as a deacon would have to do.[6] A Mass-priest found guilty of perjury or robbery to be stripped of his orders and lose all fellowship (*geferscipe*), friendship, and worship unless he makes double amends, and finds security, etc. A priest convicted of murder to be sent into utter exile at the Pope's discretion.[7] A servant of the altar without friends, if accused of anything, to go at once to the

Clerical Ordeal. ordeal, namely the ordeal by *corsnaed*.[8] Under this form of appeal to Heaven the accused was required to take and eat a piece of barley cake, one ounce in weight, with certain formalities. If the

[1] *Laws Æthelred*, IV.; *De Institutis Londoniæ*.
[2] *Laws*, VIII. cc. 36–37. [3] *Id.*, V. c. 9. [4] *Id.*, VIII. cc. 28, 30.
[5] *Id.*, c. 25. [6] *Id.*, cc. 19–21. [7] cc. 26–27.
[8] Literally 'curse-need.' "Ned bread" or 'need-bread,' is given as another name.

morsel stuck in his throat, or if he betrayed any emotion or nervousness in eating it, he was guilty.[1]

The King claims all penalties incurred by owners of boc-land (*terras liberas* in the Latin version), they being regarded as tenants *in capite* in the language of the later law.[2] So again we hear that no man may claim jurisdiction (*socne*) over a King's Thegn but only the King himself.[3] This passage is of interest as undoubtedly pointing to the existence of the private jurisdictions of *Sac* and *Soc*, the historic beginning of which is involved in great obscurity. Fifty years later we shall find the system widely established, but so far the charters have absolutely no reference to any privileges of the sort. The few charters containing grants of *Sac* and *Soc*, which purport to belong to this reign, are manifest forgeries, and in fact the appearance of such a grant in a charter of the period would be enough to involve it in great suspicion.[4]

Soc and Sac.

By a nameless mother, or nameless mothers, Æthelred had the following sons, mostly known only through their attestation of charters, namely, Æthelstan, Ecgberht, EADMUND, Eadred, Eadwig (put to death 1017), and Eadgar; and three daughters—Eadgyth, Ælfgifu, and one whose name has not been handed down. Of these sons only Eadmund and Eadwig seem to have survived their father.[5] Of the daughters Eadgyth was married to Eadric Streona, Ealdorman of N.W. Mercia,[6] and perhaps after his death to Earl Thurkill[7]; Ælfgifu was married to Uhtred Earl of Northumbria, by whom she had a daughter, Ealdgyth[8]; and the unnamed third daughter was married to the Thegn Æthelstan, killed at the battle of Ringmere in 1010.[9]

By his wife Emma-Ælfgifu, daughter of Duke Richard I. of Normandy, (she died March 6th or 14th, 1052), Æthelred had Ælfred[10] and EADWARD II. 'the Confessor,' and seemingly two daughters. Godgifu or Goda was married first to Drogo Count of Mantes, by whom she had Walter, afterwards Count of Mantes,[11] and Ralph, created Earl of Hereford in 1050; and secondly, about that same year, to Eustace II. of Boulogne,[12] by whom she had no issue. The other daughter, whose name again has not been preserved, became Abbess of Wherwell.

[1] See Lingard, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, II. 135, where he compares Numbers v. 11–31.
[2] Laws, I. c. 1, s. 14. [3] III. c. 11. [4] See Earle, *Land Charters*, xxiii.
[5] See *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 698 and 706, and the Will of the Æthelings Æthelstan No. 722, apparently executed in 1014, in which he only mentions two brothers, Edmund and Eadwig, as living. See also No. 1,309, A.D. 1014.
[6] Florence, A.D. 1009. [7] See Flor., A.D. 1021, and Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 458.
[8] Symeon, *H. D. E.*, p. 216. [9] Chron., *in anno*. [10] *Hist. Ramsey*, p. 120.
[11] Freeman, *N. C.*, II. 295.
[12] Eustace II. succeeded his father Eustace I. about 1049; Goda died before 1056, and then Eustace married Ida of Bouillon, by whom he had issue; *Art de vérifier Dates*, XII. 350.

CHAPTER XXIII

EADMUND II. 'IRONSIDE' ("IRENESIDE")[1]

Born *circa* 990?[2]; succeeded April, 1016; died 30th November, 1017

Renewal of Struggle with Danes—Actions at Penselwood, Sherston, Brentford, Otford, Canewdon—Transaction with Cnut, and Death of Eadmund

AT last England was rid of the clog of her 'unredy' King. Honesty and courage might now assert themselves, and the nation had at hand an embodiment of both in the young Ætheling Eadmund, a man clearly cast in a heroic mould; one who under circumstances less utterly desperate would assuredly have rescued England from the humiliation of foreign conquest. But Eadric Streona had not forgiven the man who had ventured to rob him of his share of the spoils of Siferth and Morcar. The administration must have been in his hands during the latter years of Æthelred,[3] and he clearly had the Wessex Magnates, the King's kin, who ought to have been Eadmund's chief supporters, under his thumb. He was determined to give Eadmund no chance, and he gave him none.

Election of Eadmund.

No sooner were the bones of Æthelred laid in the grave than the civic authorities and such of the Witan as were in London hastened to proclaim his son.[4] Archbishop Lyfing may have crowned him,[5] but the fact is not certain. On the other hand, another set of Magnates, ecclesiastical and lay, representing probably the larger part of England, met under the leadership, doubtless, of Eadric Streona, and, repairing to Cnut's quarters at Southampton renewed their acceptance of him as King. Re-election at their hands he could hardly accept. He must have considered himself full King by virtue of his original election at Gainsborough, confirmed by the recognition given to him by all England outside of London within

Counter-Recognition of Cnut.

[1] Chron. D, A.D. 1057; H. Hunt., A.D. 1016; *Hist. Ramsey*, p. 117; "*Ferreum Latus*"; Flor.; H. Hunt.

[2] We conjectured Æthelred to have been born *circa* 967. He might have had three sons by the time he was twenty-four years old—say 989–990. Eadmund must have been a full-grown man when he married Siferth's widow in defiance of his father in 1015.

[3] For his ability and influence see again *Encomium* 16, where, in Norman phrase, he is described as "comes primus consiliis pollens sed dolositate versipellis," but the writer goes wrong in making him the factotum (in omnibus negotiis) of Eadmund instead of Æthelred.

[4] Chron. C, D, still one narrative, and the basis of all the others.

[5] So Ralph Diceto, *De Archiepp. Cant.*, *Angl. Sacr.*, II. 683; Rishanger, *Annal.*, 426 (Rolls Series, No. 28, *v.* III.); Freeman.

the last few months. The constitutional compact, however, was renewed, the Witan swearing allegiance, and the King in return swearing to be 'a good lord to them before God and the world.'[1] As we saw that his father Swein had conformed to Christianity before the year 1000, we may be assured that Cnut likewise had been baptized years before.

Cnut then made ready to lay siege to London, satisfied that if London fell the war would be at an end. During the 'Ganging Days,'[2] otherwise Rogation Days (May 6–8), he brought his fleet to Greenwich.

London Besieged.

Resolved to make the investiture complete, he arranged to bring his ships above bridge, to blockade the river front of the city, and complete his communications between the two banks of the Thames. For that purpose he dug a 'mickle dyke' or canal, through which the vessels were towed up and launched in the upper waters.[3] That done, he proceeded to throw up earthworks on the north side of the city, and finally beleaguered it so completely that we are assured that 'nane man might ne in ne out.'[4]

Eadmund did not wait to be blockaded in London. At Cnut's approach he slipped away to the South-West, where he met with considerable support from the people if not from their leaders. Before long he was able to risk a first action at Penselwood by Gillingham,[5] in Somerset-

Battles of Penselwood,

shire, a little to the North of Shaftesbury. The result of the engagement is not stated: but as we hear that Eadmund after an interval came forward with a second army, with which he fought his next battle at Sherston,[6] 5½ miles S.W. of Malmesbury, we must suppose that his advance into Wilts had been checked at Penselwood, and that he had been obliged to draw off to the North and West to recruit. The

And Sherston.

battle at Sherston was evidently one of the severest engagements of the entire campaign, and one that lived in popular memory, as shown by the heroic details engrafted by the secondary writers on the primary account. It appears, however, that Eadmund was opposed by Eadric Streona, and by one Ælmer "Dyrling" (i.e. *Darling*)[7] with the

[1] Florence.

[2] "To tham gangdagum," Chron. C and E, *i.e.* Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday before Ascension Day, when litanies were sung in processions (gangings) round the fields, to invoke blessings on the crops. A survival may be traced in the custom of beating the parish bounds at this season; Earle, *Parallel Chronicles*, 339.

[3] Cnut's canal may be supposed to have started from the east side of Bermondsey, originally an island, the district even in the last century being full of ditches and canals, of which one remains. From Bermondsey it advanced towards Newington Butts, where on Rocques' Map of London (1746) we have ditches or canals running past the site of the present Tabernacle, and so along the edge of St. George's Fields, past the present Bethlehem Hospital to Lambeth Marsh. It is clearly described in the letter of Dr. Wallis to Pepys (24th Oct., 1699, Pepys, V. 376). He brings it from Redriff (Rotherhithe) to Lambeth "nearly in a straight line."

[4] Chron. C, D, E, etc.; *Encom. Emmæ*, 15.

[5] "Æt Peonnan wiþ Gillingaham."

[6] "Sceorstane."

[7] "Dilectus," Florence.

men of Wilts and Hants[1]; while a Danish contingent was brought against him by Thurkill,[2] who, doubtless, had been left in command of a *depôt* at Southampton. The action is represented by the English writer as a drawn one; but again Eadmund's attempt to break into the central zone of Wessex was frustrated.[3]

Again the King fell back northwards, to raise a third army, each *fyrd* apparently dispersing after a battle—"like the Highlanders ages afterwards."[4] The third army apparently was raised North of the Thames, comprising, doubtless, the contingents from Mercia and East Anglia, of which we shall hear presently. The King's friends at a distance had now had time to rally round him. The relief of London was the operation taken in hand and executed with complete success, the Danes abandoning their works at the King's approach from the North.[5]

London Relieved.

Having effected a junction with the citizens, Eadmund followed up the enemy, who had drawn off to Brentford, and, two days later, defeated them in an action there. We must suppose the battle to have been fought on the North side of the Thames, as we hear that many Englishmen lost their lives by drowning while attempting to press on in rash pursuit. The Danes of course would have their ships in attendance, and so would be able to cross in safety. Cnut having moved down the river towards Kent, Eadmund, instead of following him up, went into Wessex to reinforce his army, whereupon Cnut returned to the siege, pressing London with attacks by land and water. But the citizens faced him at every point, and 'Almighty God delivered them.' Finding the reduction of London too much for him, Cnut very prudently abandoned the attempt, and, embarking his men, sailed round to the Orwell. Probably he was in want of supplies, as we hear that he began ravaging 'Mercia.' This in the usual acceptation would imply an advance far inland, but, as a few lines further on we have the same expression 'Mercia' applied to a locality situate in Essex, if not in the South-Eastern corner of Essex, we are not obliged to suppose that the inroad went beyond the limits of East Anglia.

Here we may repeat the suggestion already made, that without questioning the extension of the Danish ravages to this or that district specially mentioned, we need not understand the destruction to have extended to

[1] Chron.; Flor. [2] *Encomium*, 14.

[3] 'After Midsummer,' Chron. Florence represents the action as lasting two days, a Monday and a Tuesday. He ascribes the arrest of the English attack on the second day to the stratagem of Eadric (Florence always brings him in), who cut off a man's head and held it up as that of Eadmund. Malmesbury (*G.R.*, s. 180) only represents Eadric as holding up a bloody sword and crying, 'Fly, your king is dead!' Huntingdon introduces this incident into the battle of Ashingdon. This part of Florence's work shows a great falling off. He introduces Cnut into the battle, for which there seems no authority, and then he sends Eadmund off to the West, etc. [4] Freeman.

[5] Eadmund's line of march is said to have passed through "Clæghanger," a place I cannot identify, but there is a Clay Wood in the N.W. corner of Essex.

the whole area of the enumerated districts, otherwise a great part of England would have been reduced to a desert, and the population utterly starved out.

Having reaped the needful harvest, Cnut returned with his corn and his cattle, partly by sea and partly by land, to the Medway.[1]

If we accept the account of our one original narrative, to which the secondary writers here add nothing, we must suppose that Eadmund had gone back to London when the siege was raised, because we are again told that he crossed the Thames at Brentford to attack Cnut in Kent, which seems to imply a deal of marching and counter-marching. Perhaps he had been intending to follow the enemy into East Anglia. Be this as it may have been, and the point is not material, it is certain that Eadmund now led a fourth 'army' into Kent, and that he came into collision with the van of Cnut's force at Otford,[2] defeating him and driving him back.

Campaign in Kent.

Affairs beginning to look more hopeful for Eadmund, Eadric came forward and met the king at Aylesford, 'and this was the most ill-advised thing that ever was done.' This is all that we are told at the moment, but we soon find out that the ill-advised step so bitterly lamented was this, that Eadmund in the simplicity of his heart accepted Eadric's overtures, and, without further ado, admitted him to his camp. Every allowance should be made for Eadmund and his advisers, who must have been placed in a sore dilemma by Eadric's offer of support. But still we cannot help thinking, that in dealing with such a man, some caution might have been exercised—some material guarantees demanded. That Eadric acted with premeditated treachery cannot be doubted. Some authorities have it that the matter was prearranged with Cnut.[3]

The first result of Eadric's adhesion was that the defeated Danes withdrew into Sheppey,[4] an impregnable stronghold. But ere long they were reported as having once more sailed round to Essex. Strong in the support of Wessex, East Anglia, and Mercia, with the all-contriving Eadric, his father's Ahitophel, at last on his side, Eadmund was naturally eager to bring the war to a decisive issue. Eadric's own district, as we have seen, lay in North-West Mercia; but on the present occasion we are specially told that he had the *Magesætan*, or men of Herefordshire, with him, while contingents from South Mercia, East Anglia, and even Lindesey, are mentioned as being with the King.[5] No sooner did Eadmund get word that the Danes were 'up' again than for the fifth time he called on the English to follow him, and so, crossing the Thames, went in pursuit.

[1] Chron. C, D, E; Flor. [2] So Flor.

[3] So Florence and W. Malm. The Encomiast mentions it as a report, "multorum assertio." [4] Chron. C, D, E; Flor.; *Encomium*, 16.

[5] Chron. C, D, E. "Cum exercitu quem de tota Anglia contraxerat," Flor.; "cum maxima gente," H. Hunt.

He came up with the enemy 'in Essex, at the hill that men call Assandun'—'that is to say the Asses' Down.'[1] "Assandun" may fairly be identified with the present Ashingdon[2] on the southern side of the estuary of the river Crouch, some six or seven miles north of Southend. There we have a well-defined range of downs, running East and West, with culminating points, some two miles apart, at Ashingdon at the west end and Canewdon at the east end.[3] At those points the range attains to a height of a hundred feet above the adjacent plains, the intermediate saddle only attaining to half that height. We are told that the Danes were returning to their ships[4] after a foraging expedition into Mercia. Their ships would be laid up in the Crouch. The English, on the other hand, were not strong in shipping, and therefore we may assume that they had simply crossed the Thames either to Southend or Leigh, from whence an easy march along a road would bring them to Ashingdon, the Danes meanwhile having established themselves at Canewdon, on the slope now known as the Beacon Hill,[5] facing towards Ashingdon, with the river and the ships on their right.

Campaign in Essex.

For the action that ensued details are not wanting, but the greater part of them, as of those given of the battle of Sherston, must be regarded as romantic embellishments. Our view must be based on a careful survey of all the circumstances. Eadmund clearly was the assailant; and we are told that at the last Cnut, meeting his adversary half way, came down somewhat from his higher position to array his men on more level ground.[6] From this we judge that Eadmund, descending from the Ashingdon hill and traversing the saddle, attacked Cnut on the western slope of the Beacon Hill, as asserted by tradition. The English were doubtless much the more numerous.[7] Florence seems to describe them as drawn up in three lines.[8] Henry of Huntingdon gives incidents which imply two lines; but we cannot accept these formations, for neither of which we have any parallels either in earlier or later mediæval history. The English line or phalanx, however—whichever it may have been—was very likely divided laterally into three divisions, a centre and two wings, a constant arrangement in later centuries, and this perhaps was all that Florence meant to convey. So, again, we quite believe that all fought on foot,[9] and that Ead-

The English Advance.

Their Formation.

[1] Chron.; Flor. The meaning of the name is given by the latter, *Mons Asini*; Malmesbury has the same name, "Assandunam," and Huntingdon one practically the same, "Esesdun."

[2] For the change from "an" to "ing," Mr. Freeman compares Abingdon from Abbandun, and Huntingdon from Huntandun, *N.C.*, I. 680.

[3] See Appendix to this chapter. [4] "Ad naves repedant festini"; Florence.

[5] So local tradition. But I cannot recognise any military earthworks at Canewdon, nothing but ordinary hedge-banks, ditches, and field-lanes.

[6] "Canutus paulatim in æquum locum suos deducit"; Florence.

[7] So *Encomium*, 16, 17; "Dani pauciores." [8] "Triplicibus subsidiis."

[9] "Prælium pedestre"; *Encom.*

mund was posted in the centre of his line between the Dragon or national ensign of Wessex, and the "Standard" or King's personal banner.[1] We also hear again of the Danish Raven, black on a ground of white silk,[2] the historic ancestor of the Spread Eagle of modern heraldry.

Eadmund had given the signal: the English were beginning to charge, the Danes making a slight advance towards them, when, before an actual blow had been struck, Eadric Streona, as if panic-stricken, turned tail, furled his flag, and went off with all his men.[3] He did not however carry his treason so far as actually to turn his sword against his countrymen. Perhaps he wished to let Eadmund and Cnut wear each other out, so as ultimately to leave himself master of the situation.

Undaunted by this grievous defection, Eadmund gallantly led his men on to the assault, telling them to let Eadric go; they were well rid of such cowards. 'From the ninth hour to vespers' (3 to 4 o'clock[4]), and in fact to the close of the short October day, the struggle was kept up as a series of hand-to-hand encounters between the two front ranks on either side, thrusting and parrying with sword and spear. But the English lost most men in this hand-play, the Danes being probably greater masters of their weapons, and having, as we believe, the advantage of the ground. After sunset, the English despairing of making any impression on the serried ranks of their opponents, began to break away, and finally dispersed under cover of darkness. But there was no rout, no sanguinary pursuit, the Danes being afraid to follow through an unknown and hostile country.[5] Eadmund made good his escape, but the casualties on the English side were very severe, including Eadnoth, Bishop of Dorcester[6]; Wulfsige, Abbot of Ramsey;

The Battle.

The English Retire.

[1] So at least H. Huntingdon.

[2] "Vexillum . . . simplissimo candidissimoque intextum serico: . . . tempore belli semper in eo videbatur corvus," etc.; *Encom.*, 16. The writer seems to say that the Raven was only attached to the flag in time of war. If it fluttered its wing victory was portended; if it drooped defeat was at hand.

[3] *Encomium*, 17; Chron. The latter account simply says that Eadric set the example of flight 'as he often ere had done' (qy. when?). Florence represents his defection as taking place in the heat of the action. Henry of Huntingdon introduces here the incident given by Florence in connexion with the battle of Sherston. Eadmund in his impetuosity having pushed through his own front line and broken the front line of the Danes to get at Cnut in the Danish rear, Eadric calls out "Flet (*fly*) Engle; flet Engle; ded is Eadmund." The incident, however, comes in better here than at Sherston, where Eadric was on the Danish side and could hardly have made himself heard by the English.

[4] H. Nicolas, *Chronology of History*. Mr. Skeat, in his *Etymological Dictionary*, also gives 3 p.m. as the original time of Nones, "afterwards changed to midday, whence our noon"; but he does not give the time when the change was made.

[5] See *Encomium*, 17, 18, essentially a Danish account.

[6] The second Bishop of Dorcester of the name. It is probable that the Bishop of Dorcester acted as Ealdorman of the original district, "which was not under the jurisdiction of the Mercian ealdorman"; Robertson, *Hist. Essays*, 181. In 992 likewise we had the Bishop of Dorcester in a military command.

Ælfric, Ealdorman of Hants; Godwine, styled Ealdorman of Lindesey, possibly the recreant of 993; Ulfcytel, the hero of East Anglia; and Æthelweard, the son of Æthelwine the 'Friend of God,' the patron of Ramsey Abbey.[1] The reader will notice the wide extent of territory represented by these names. We may also point out that the action, though known as the battle of Ashingdon, was in fact fought at Canewdon, two miles from Ashingdon. The Danes camped on the battle-field, devoting the next day to burying their own dead and stripping the corpses of the English; but the remains of Wulfsige and Æthelweard were taken by friendly hands to their own church at Ramsey, while Eadnoth's body found a last resting place at Ely.[2]

If we had only the brief record of the Chronicles, the only trustworthy English account, to go by, we should suppose that Cnut, eager for the fray, started in pursuit of Eadmund as soon as he knew where to find him. But another account, drawn from Danish sources, gives us a different view of the situation. It tells us that the Danes were in no bellicose mood. They were weary of fighting and marching and working their ships. They were most anxious for a settlement. If the English had lost most men they had the whole population of England to draw upon, while to the invaders every life was precious.[3] If the campaign were to be kept up as it had been by Eadmund, their eventual extermination or expulsion was inevitable. Accordingly we are told that after one day's rest Cnut took his ships round to the Thames, seeking a 'better way,' *i.e.* the way of negotiation and intrigue, a course much more in his line than that of open warfare. Besides, the acquisition of London was still his primary aim.[4]

Eadmund had fled to Gloucestershire, where, with unbroken spirit, he began to raise fresh troops. Men gathered round him, and he was pre-

Eadmund in Gloucestershire.

paring to resume the offensive when once more Eadric came forward to play Cnut's game for him, insisting upon a cessation of hostilities, negotiations, and a compromise. With a heavy heart the King submitted to have his better judgment overruled, and allowed envoys to be sent to Cnut. The wily Dane jumped at a proposal which offered the very thing he wanted, and, without loss of time, came down to Gloucestershire. The details of the pacification having been adjusted, the compact was formally sworn to by the Kings at a personal interview[5] held in an island of the Severn, given as "Olanege," and

[1] Chron. C, D, E; Florence; *Hist. Ramsey*, 118, 143. The Chronicles give the style of Ealdorman to Godwine; and Florence calls him as well as Ulfcytel and Æthelweard *duces*; but not one of them ever signs otherwise than as Thegn, their last signatures being in 1014 and 1015, *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 1,309, 1,310.

[2] *Encomium*; *Hist. Ramsey*, *sup.* [3] *Encom.*, 19.

[4] "Londoniam repetentes saniora sibi quærunt consilia"; *Encomium*, 18. Of course London was not Cnut's yet.

[5] The supposed duel between Eadmund and Cnut is a mere myth, started by Malmes-

usually identified with Alney, near Gloucester.[1] The meeting was held under careful guarantees in the way of exchange of hostages and the like. The two armies, safely kept asunder by the flowing waters, looked on, the English on the western, the Danes on the eastern bank of the river, while Eadmund and Cnut entered into a bond of sworn brotherhood.[2] The basis of the agreement was a partition of the kingdom, Eadmund taking Wessex and Cnut taking the 'north part,' *i.e.* Mercia and all the rest,[3] with London. The Danes would keep all booty they had gotten, and Wessex would contribute to a Danegeld for their benefit. The treaty on the part of the English was a mere capitulation, thinly veiled, as soon became manifest.

A Treaty.

The Danes marched back to their ships; London opened its gates to them; but the "unconquered city" was subjected to the humiliation of 'buying peace.'[4]

One thing and one thing only was now needed to make Cnut master of all England, and that came to pass within a few days. On the 30th November Eadmund died[5] at Oxford,[6] probably on his way from Gloucester to Wessex. The young King no doubt had been subjected to a terrible, an almost unequalled, strain during the last seven months, but still not more than a young man of iron frame might stand, while the last thing recorded of him was that he was anxious to continue the struggle. The primary English account, written not long afterwards, is prudently silent as to the circumstances of Eadmund's death[7]; later English writers tax Eadric Streona,[8] while Cnut's own countrymen claim for him the merit of having quietly arranged for

Death of Eadmund.

bury, and developed out of the expression of the A.S. Chronicle, "comon togædere" (*came together*), words which often are used of a hostile encounter, but not so here.

[1] See Mr. Earle, *Parallel Chron.*, 340. The Worcester Chronicle, however, describes the island as being near Deerhurst, two miles from Tewkesbury. The Rev. George Butterworth ("*Deerhurst*," North, Tewkesbury) would identify the place with a meadow near Deerhurst Church, no longer an island, but still known as "The Naight" (Eyot), marked as an island in John Speed's map of 1614, and again in Atkyn's *Gloucestershire* of 1712, p. 3.

[2] "Wurdon feolagan and wedbroðra" (*became fellows and pledge-brothers*), Chron. D.

[3] So all the authorities except Florence, who would give East Anglia, Essex, and London to Eadmund with the supremacy (*corona*). This last allegation is refuted by the fact that Wessex had to contribute to the Danegeld, a fact noticed by the Encomiast.

[4] Chron. C, D, E; Florence; *Encomium*, 20. [5] Chron., Flor., etc.

[6] So H. Hunt. Florence makes Eadmund die in London, as if in support of his allegation that London had been assigned to him. It seems incredible that Eadmund should adventure himself in the headquarters of Cnut's army.

[7] Chron. C, D, E, followed by Florence and again copied by Symeon (*Hist. Regg.*). The Encomiast has the assurance to moralise on the providential opportuneness of Eadmund's release, to save England from a divided rule, p. 20.

[8] So Malmesbury, Huntingdon, the *History of Ely*, R. Wendover, etc. They represent Eadmund as being stabbed in a privy either by Eadric or his son, etc. See Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 439 (Ed. 1867).

the removal of the one obstacle to peace.[1] For interment Eadmund was taken to Glastonbury and laid beside his grandfather king Eadgar.[2]

By Ealdgyth, widow of the Thegn Siferth (married in 1015), Eadmund had two sons, of whom the younger must have been posthumous, namely, Eadmund and Eadward. The first was married to a daughter of Stephen, King of Hungary, but died without issue. Eadward married Agatha, relative of Henry II., Emperor of Germany, and by her had Margaret, married to Malcolm Canmore, of Scotland; Christina, abbess of Ramsey; and Edgar Ætheling.[3]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXIII

The claims of the Ashingdon site are not undisputed, the Rev. Dr. Swete maintaining those of Ashdon, near Bartlow. (See the reprint of a paper read on the 24th May, 1889, at a joint meeting of the Essex Archæological and Cambridge Antiquarian Societies (Cam. Antiq. Society, 1893). But Ashdon, as he tells us, appears in Domesday as "Ascenduna," a name which could not be legitimately derived from Assandun, and which in fact has a different meaning, viz., *Ash Down*. The Encomiast, no doubt, gives the name as "Æscenedunum," rendering it "Montem Fraxinorum," so that there may have been an early doubt as to the name of the battlefield; but on this point the authority of the English writers, who are all at one, must be paramount. Then Ashdown is far from the coast, and Eadmund would surely make for the Danish anchorage, experience having shewn the extreme difficulty of intercepting their flying columns on the march. At Ashdon I could find no real local tradition as to the battle; and the site suggested by Dr. Swete, to the East of the church, seems to me too strong to be attacked by men with any sense of military prudence. His battlefield is really an impregnable position, consisting of a steep slope, terraced, if not enclosed by Roman earthworks, with a deep gully or watercourse at the foot, most difficult to cross. In 1020 Cnut built a church on the site of the battle, but this does not settle the question, because we have a church dedicated to All Saints at Ashdon, one dedicated to St. Andrew at Ashingdon, and one dedicated to St. Nicholas at Canewdon. This last I hold to be the memorial foundation. The place has all the appearance of an artificial settlement, off the road, on a height, far from water. Ashingdon is a comfortable village on a high road. The battle, in fact, should be called that of Canewdon. With respect to the name Canewdon, the accent being on the second syllable, if we could assume an original Cnut-dun, the expansion into Canut-dun, Canewdon, would be easy, in fact inevitable. But the proper A.S. form would be Cnutes-dun, and in Domesday, II. 44, the name appears as Carendun (Freeman), a corrupt form no doubt, but quite inconsistent with any derivation from the conqueror's name.

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[1] So Adam of Bremen, Pertz, IX. 324. He tells us that poison was the means employed. Saxo, p. 193, says, "memorant alii . . . clandestino Canuti imperio occisum." The Knytlinga Saga, p. 139, represents Cnut as employing "Heidrek Strjona" to do the deed (*Antiquitates Cello-Scandicæ*, J. Johnstone, 1786). Snorre, Laing, II. 21, attributes the deed to "Streon" without implicating Cnut.

[2] Chron. The burial at Glastonbury militates against the view that Eadmund died in London. [3] Florence, A.D. 1017.

CHAPTER XXIV

DANISH DYNASTY

CNUT OR KNUD

Born *circa* 995[1]; succeeded 1016; died 12th November, 1035
Style—usually "Rex Anglorum," but also "Britanniæ Monarchus," "Basileus," etc.[2]

Amalgamation of English and Danish Populations—Final Abandonment of Lothian to Scotland—King's Pilgrimage to Rome

THE Danish prince, now undisputed King of all England, may have been about twenty-one years of age. But Cnut was one of those men who are never young. Cool, sagacious, and far-seeing, in all things guided by motives of policy, and of policy alone, not arbitrary or capricious, but absolutely indifferent as to the means to be employed for attaining a given end, he was born to be a successful ruler of men. In England he brought to the throne no purposes of innovation, no troublesome schemes of reform; he had seen enough of the country to understand the susceptibilities that had to be humoured, the forces that had to be reckoned with. He did his best to consult local feelings; he made close friends with the clergy; he gave the landlords even fuller power over their dependants than they had enjoyed before. Dangerous men were promptly removed, but he gave the country the peace and order for which it sighed, and so was able to rule as a wise, a beneficent, nay even a popular King.

Character of Cnut.

Cnut's first act was to summon a grand Witenagemot of all England to London, "no doubt at the usual Midwinter Festival."[3] Coming at once to the point, he challenged a discussion as to the succession to Wessex, inquiring of those who had been at Alney if any rights had been reserved to the sons or the brothers of the late King. With one voice the Witan promptly answered that no rights of succession had been reserved to either of them. In fact we may judge for ourselves that it was not at all likely in a compact between two men so young as Cnut and Eadmund

[1] The date is uncertain. Eric the Victorious of Sweden, whose widow became the mother of Cnut, is believed to have died in 993, and therefore Cnut may have been born about 995.

[2] *Cod. Dipl.* vols. IV. and VI. *passim*. The original Latin form of the name is "Cnuto." "Canutus" seems to date from the time of Pope Pascal II. (1099-1118), and to be due to his inability to pronounce the name Cnut; Freeman.

[3] Florence; Freeman.

that any question of succession should have been mooted on either side.

Final Election of Cnut.

The point, however, having been raised and settled, Cnut was finally elected King of all England, to the formal exclusion of all members of the native dynasty. Of these, Eadmund's sons, if the younger one was yet born, were with their mother in England, but protected in a measure by their absolute infancy. Æthelred's sons by Emma had again retired with their mother to Normandy; but the one surviving son of Æthelred's earlier family, Eadwig, a young man of considerable promise, was still in England. A decree of banishment was issued against him, Cnut supplementing the action of the Witan by private orders for making away with the Ætheling wherever he might be found.[1]

The constitutional compact between the new King and his subjects was also renewed. All old feuds were abjured, and finally his coronation was performed by Archbishop Lyfing,[2] very likely at the Epiphany.[3] Cnut now propounded his scheme for the higher administration of the country, together with the names of the individuals selected for the chief posts. Following existing lines, he marked out four leading ealdordoms, or earldoms, namely, Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, and Wessex. Eric, his brother-in-law, would retain the first, and Eadric Streona the second. East Anglia he gave to Thurkill, and Wessex he kept for himself. The authority of these satraps or under-kings, as they really were, within these provinces is spoken of as co-ordinate with that of the King in the district administered by himself.[4] The reader will bear in mind that Eric's Northumbria apparently only extended to Deira, Bernicia being prudently left to Eadulf, the heir of the House of Bamborough. It is probable that Cnut may have consulted the feelings of the Witan by submitting these arrangements for their approval; all the more so that they were not altogether intended to be permanent.

Coronation.

Feeling comfortably established in his seat, Cnut shortly proceeded to get rid of certain individuals whose position might be considered fraught with danger to the State, that is to say, fraught with danger to Cnut himself. But as Cnut was clearly indispensable, whatever tended to strengthen his position was in fact best for the interests of the nation as a whole. Chief of the dangerous men, of course, as the man to whom Cnut owed most, and from whom he had most to fear, was Eadric Streona. He was invited to London, and there quietly beheaded. Three other notables were also put to death in one way or another, namely, Northman, eldest son of Leofwine, the surviving Ealdorman of the Hwiccas; Æthelweard, son of Æthelmær the Great, the former Ealdorman of the Western Provinces[5]; and Brihtric, son of

Political Executions.

[1] *Id.* [2] *Anglia Sacra*, II. 683. [3] Freeman.
[4] Chron. C, D, E; Flor.
[5] Æthelmær died in or soon after 1014; E. W. Robertson.

Ælfheah, a Devon magnate.[1] With Æthelweard one branch of the House of Æthelwulf came practically to an end, at least in the male line, his brother Æthelnoth being a priest in Holy Orders. Then we hear of the banishment of a mysterious individual, by name Eadwig, styled 'King of the Ceorls,'[2] of whom we can say nothing.

Again, Eadmund's sons, young as they were, might live to give trouble. Cnut sent them to his uterine half-brother, Olaf, son of Olaf the Victorious of Sweden, it was said with a pressing request that he would put them to death. Olaf, a zealous Christian,[3] shrank from the crime, but hesitated to harbour the boys in defiance of Cnut, so he sent them on to Stephen, the sainted King of Hungary, by whom they were duly cared for and brought up to manhood.[4]

Finally, the Ætheling Eadwig having ventured to return to England, was discovered at Tavistock and put to death by one, we are told, who ought to have been his friend, possibly the Æthelweard who next year appears among the Ealdormen.[5]

Neither Leofwine nor his second son Leofric were involved in Northman's fall, the one continuing to sign as *Dux*, the other as *Minister*.[6] What became of Eadric's earldom we cannot positively say. In fact the whole question of the distribution of the earldoms during the greater part of Cnut's reign is involved in obscurity. The chroniclers tell us little, and the *Duces* who attest the charters do not indicate the districts under their control. Eight new men appear during the next two years, five of them with foreign names.[7] Leofwine, as often mentioned, had long been Ealdorman of the Hwiccas, or South-West Mercia, corresponding to the diocese of Worcester. Apparently he had been to some extent subordinate to Eadric,[8] who was styled Ealdorman of Mercia in the fullest sense. One of the new *Duces* is Egillaf, or Eglaf, probably the leader mentioned

[1] Chron. C, D, E; Florence; *Encomium*, 20. Florence places these executions at Christmas (1017), when the magnates would be at court with all their retainers; a most unlikely time as it seems to me. The Chronicles and the Encomiast place them before the marriage with Emma, *i.e.* before July, 1017.

[2] Chron. D.

[3] Olaf wanted to destroy the national temple at Upsala. He was not allowed to do this, but he was allowed to found a church at Skara in West Gothland. Adam of Bremen, Pertz, IX. 326.

[4] Florence; W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 180; conf. Chron. D, A.D. 1057. Florence calls the Hungarian king Solomon, "but Solomon did not begin to reign till 1063. Stephen died in 1038," Freeman.

[5] See Flor., 1016, 1017; Malm., *sup.*; *Cod. Dip.* No. 728. The Æthelweard, the Ealdorman of 1017, was presumably the son-in-law of Æthelmær, and his influence in Devon would be great; Robertson, *Hist. Essays*, 185, 187, 188; *Cod. Dip.* No. 714.

[6] *Cod. Dip.* No. 730, A.D. 1019. [7] *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 728, 729.

[8] See the grant of Worcester lands by Archbishop Wulfstan, *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,313, which is attested by Eadric as well as Leofwine. *Prima facie* the consent of Leofwine alone ought to have been sufficient.

in 1009. His district was clearly that of the Hwiccas.[1] But Leofwine continues to sign as *Dux*. We suggest, therefore, that he was promoted to the earldom left vacant by the death of Eadric, a post undoubtedly held by his son Leofric a few years later. Another new *Dux* is Ranig. He can be identified as Earl of the Magesætas, or Herefordshire.[2] Æthelweard, again, is believed to have been brother-in-law to the executed Æthelweard, and son-in-law to Æthelmær the Great. If so he was probably appointed to the family jurisdiction in Devon. But the man selected for most exceptional honour was Godwine, who likewise first signs as *Dux* in 1013. He must be presumed to have been appointed at that time to the dignity, the unprecedented dignity, of Earl of the West Saxons,[3] the post certainly held by him at the death of Cnut. He would be the King's Lieutenant in the district retained by Cnut in his own hands.

Godwine Earl of West Saxons.

One word as to the career of Eadric Streona. This has hitherto seemed so unintelligible in its multifarious treasons as to be pronounced "one of the standing puzzles of history."[4] But if we make allowance for the evident disposition to make him the scapegoat of national vanity, the facts of his life when carefully sifted present nothing very mysterious. An able man of unscrupulous ambition, he uses Æthelred as his tool to attain to a commanding position, first in Mercia, and ultimately in the supreme councils of the State. The first man who thwarted him successfully was Eadmund Ironside. Eadric never forgave him, but worked for his downfall with persistent malice. Cnut made skilful use of him, and when he had done with him threw him away.

Meanwhile Cnut was seeking further support for his Throne through a matrimonial alliance. That in this as in other matters he would be guided by prudential considerations was to be expected. The connexion that he courted was one with the widow of the last English King whom he would recognise as such, King Æthelred. The match to us seems a disgraceful one, at any rate to Emma and her advisers:[5] but Cnut understood his own times, and he himself was the offspring of a precisely similar union. We are told that the Lady's Norman blood weighed with him; she would have a hold on Danes as well as Englishmen,[6] and so apparently it turned out to be. Emma did not scorn Cnut's overtures. But she asked for information and assurances as to the position of certain sons he was reported to have by another woman.[7] The sons in question were Swein and Harold, who lived to

Marriage of Cnut.

[1] *Cod. Dipl.* Nos. 728, 1,317, A.D. 1018. He is also mentioned in the *Hist. Ramsey*, p. 147, "Eylaf aldermannus."

[2] *Cod. Dip.* No. 728; Florence, A.D. 1041. [3] *Cod. Dip. supra.* For Godwine and his parentage see below, p. 420. [4] Freeman.

[5] So too Malmesbury thought; "ignores majore dedecore illius qui dederit an fœminæ quæ consenserit"; *G. R.*, s. 180, p. 218. [6] So again W. Malm., s. 181.

[7] "Dicebatur enim ab alia quadam rex filios habuisse"; *Encom.*

succeed him in different parts of his dominions. Their mother, if not Cnut's lawful wife, was at any rate an Englishwoman of rank, Ælfgifu of Northampton, daughter of Ælfhelm, the murdered ealdorman of Deira, a connexion that doubtless had served Cnut in good stead. The Dowager made no reservation on behalf of her sons by her first husband, but she required that any son she might have by Cnut should succeed in priority to his existing sons. Cnut pledged himself to this, and then the Lady came back to England and was duly married to King Cnut, fifteen years after her marriage to King Æthelred.[1]

Emma's sons by Æthelred remained in Normandy under the kind charge of their uncle, Richard II., surnamed the Good.

Under the year 1018 we have but two events recorded. The first was the payment of a Danegeld, doubtless the Danegeld stipulated in the treaty of Alney. We are told that the sum paid came to £72,000, besides £10,500 exacted from the city of London.[2] The amount strikes us as quite incredible. At the close of the century, as already pointed out, we shall find the levy of a sum of £6,000–£7,000 complained of as involving very great sacrifices. If there was a particle of truth in those allegations how could England in 1018, after years and years of devastating warfare, find £82,500 at a period when money was so scarce that rents were largely paid in kind? The figures must be looked upon as imaginary. Cnut, however, with the money that he did get was able to pay off the bulk of his army, which would have become a source of danger and difficulty, retaining only forty 'ships,' as a standing body-guard, just the number retained by Æthelred under Thurkill.[3] This House-

The House-Carles.

hold force, well known as the House-Carles or Thingmen, though subsequently still further reduced by Cnut, was never dispensed with, and will be found playing an important part at his death.

The other event of the year was the meeting of a national Witenagemot at Oxford, at which 'Danes and Englishmen agreed to live under the Laws of King Eadgar.'[4] This *pronunciamento* may be con-

Gemot at Oxford.

sidered in connexion with the demands for the Laws of the Confessor, of which we shall hear much hereafter. In both cases the call was not so much for legislation as for better government. In both cases the country had great griefs to complain of, but the griefs of the two periods were wholly different. In the later case the complaint was of oppressive innovations. In the earlier case the complaint was of devastating warfare, for which they had to blame a weak capricious Administration, incapable of discharging its primary duties. In both cases

[1] July, 1017; *Encomium*, 20–22; Chron. C, D, E; Florence. Mr. E.W. Robertson treats Ælfgifu of Northampton as Cnut's wife, but no writer earlier than Roger of Wendover ventures to assert this, and he only puts it very doubtfully. See more at end of the reign. [2] Chron. C, D, E; Flor.; and H. Hunt.; really only one account.
[3] Chron., etc., *sup.* [4] Chron. D; Flor.

popular memory went back to times when things were not as they had been of late. The call for the Laws of King Eadgar meant essentially a demand for a firm, equable government, capable of maintaining peace and order at home and abroad. As a further special point we may remind the reader that the rule of Eadgar had been distinguished by efforts to harmonize the relations of Englishmen and Danes. A return to that policy might well be called for now. Cnut met the popular wishes to the fullest extent. He established a government which was thoroughly efficient without being oppressive, and his legislation was essentially based on English precedents. Nor was he slow in proclaiming his intentions.

Gemot at Winchester.

To the close of this year we would refer the holding of another Grand Council at Winchester, and the enactment of a Code of Laws, ecclesiastical as well as civil, embodying the most approved existing regulations.[1] The secular dooms may be considered later, but the ecclesiastical enactments must be noticed at once, because they reveal the relations with the Church on which Cnut's domestic policy was based. In the last Laws of Æthelred, passed not many months before, we had the Danish incursions held up as a visible judgment on the nation for its manifold sins, to be confessed and atoned for by fasting and prayer. Now the first clause of the new Code tells the people to 'love God and be true to King Cnut.' Presumably the same men penned both sets of precepts. Perhaps they were right in both cases. The positive enactments are practically the same as before, with some re-arrangement, and some verbal modifications, exhibiting identity of style. All Church rights and privileges again receive the sanction of law.

Church Dues.

All Church dues are to be paid—plough-alms, tithes, Rome-fee, kirk-shot, light-shot,[2] soul-shot—all as before, and under the old crushing penalties. The gradations of clerical dignity are again recognised, as well as the special claims of celibacy and monasticism. The observance of fasts and feasts is again enjoined, and Sunday trading and Sunday hunting are again forbidden. The Code then closes with nine very charming chapters of exhortation to well-doing. But again the primary duty of loyalty to the King is placed in the forefront. 'Let

[1] The heading in the printed texts gives no date, only stating that the Laws were enacted at Winchester at "mid wintres tide." Cnut no doubt is there styled King of England, Denmark, and Norway. He did not attain to that position till 1028, so that *prima facie* the evidence is against my conjectural date. But Schmid points out that in his English charters Cnut never uses any foreign style, so that this heading may be a later addition. On the other hand, one MS. refers to these Laws as passed soon after the reconciliation between English and Danes, *i.e.* the Oxford Gemot, Schmid, lv. I cannot think that Cnut would have delayed publishing his code of Laws till 1028. Kemble dates them 1016–1020. But Cnut was out of England in 1019 and 1020.

[2] We here learn that this due consisted of one halfpenny-worth of wax from each hide, to be rendered three times in the year—at Easter Eve, All Saints, and Candlemas; *Laws of Cnut*, I. c. 12.

us ever with all our might exalt his worship and do his will. For God will be true (*hold*) to them that are true to their lord.' The clause, however, ends with one word on behalf of the people: 'And eke the lord has much need to hold his men rightly.'[1] Lastly, as a distinct recognition of the spirit of Eadgar's rule, we notice the enrolment on the Calendar of St. Dunstan's Day (May 19) as a Church festival.[2]

A Proclamation.

But if the date of this Code be assigned to a later year we have a working epitome of English law, with precepts for its enforcement, in a proclamation unquestionably issued not long after the Oxford Gemot to which it specifically refers. In this Cnut frankly admits the harm that he had done to the country when they were "unfrith," 'in fact more harm than he liked.' But he is sending back to Denmark the men that had done the most harm, and 'you need fear no unfrith henceforth so long as you hold me rightly.' He then charges all functionaries, archbishops, bishops, ealdormen, and reeves to suppress impartially all wrong-doing, whether by high or low, Englishmen or Danes, clergy or laity. They must punish all invasions of God's law, of his own 'kingship,' or of the world's law. The offences to be dealt with include not only ordinary crimes such as murder, robbery, or perjury, but also infractions of the moral law, witchcraft, sorcery, Sabbath breaking, abduction of nuns. The sheriffs are ordered to decide in accordance with the 'witness' of the bishops. The deference to ecclesiastical feeling is throughout conspicuous. Cnut clearly saw that if he had the clergy on his side they would be most efficient instruments for keeping the people to their duties.

In this proclamation we seem to see justice in the counties spoken of as administered by the sheriffs with the bishops as their assessors; the ealdorman or earl reserving himself for the higher administration of a province or group of counties.[3]

Battle of Carham.

The year 1018, however, witnessed some Northern events of unusual importance. A great battle was fought at Carham on the Tweed, two miles above Coldstream, between the Scots and the Bernicians. The former were led by their King, Malcolm mac Kenneth, and his ally or vassal Eogan or Owen the Bald, King of Strathclyde.[4] On the other side were arrayed the whole population from the Tees to the Tweed under their Earl, Eadulf Cudel, son of Waltheof I. and brother of Uhtred, assassinated two years before. The Scots gained a signal victory, inflicting terrible slaughter on the English. The disaster

[1] *Id.* c. 20.

[2] *Id.*, c. 17, s. 1. See Schmid and Thorpe. The greater part of c. 26 is verbally identical with, and probably taken from the *Institutes of Polity*, c. 6, Thorpe, II. 310.

[3] Earle, *Land Charters*, 229; and translated Stubbs' *Select Charters*, 75 (Ed. 1884). The proclamation appears to have been issued before Cnut's visit to Denmark in 1019; certainly before the disgrace of Thurkill in 1021, but after the Oxford Gemot of 1018.

[4] "Rex Clutinensium"; Symeon.

had been portended by the appearance of a comet. Good Bishop Ealdhun, the founder of Durham, died of grief after nine and twenty years of episcopate. But the lasting consequence of the battle was the final abandonment of Lothian by the English, and the recognition of the Tweed as the boundary between the two kingdoms.[1]

Having established affairs in England on a satisfactory footing, Cnut now found himself free after five years' absence to revisit his native land.[2]

A Visit to Denmark.

Thurkill apparently was left in charge as Regent or King Lieutenant.[3] Of Cnut's doings in Denmark during the year of his absence we know but little, except that his rule there was fully accepted, his brother Harold having disappeared, either by deposition or death.[4] According to one account Cnut led an expedition against the Wends, in which Earl Godwine greatly distinguished himself.[5]

In 1020 Cnut returned to England in time to hold a grand Gemot at Cirencester at Easter time (April 17). The event of the meeting was the banishment of Æthelweard, the English Ealdorman appointed only two years before, who was supposed to have earned his promotion to the family dignity by betraying the Ætheling Eadwig. If such was the case no man will deplore his fall. Two months later Archbishop Lyfing passed away (June 12), and the man selected by Cnut to succeed him

Æthelnoth Archbishop.

was the brother-in-law of Æthelweard, Æthelnoth son of Æthelmær, a monk trained at Glastonbury, and then holding the office of Dean at Christchurch, Canterbury.[6] Here again we notice the sagacious policy with which Cnut, when he had struck down one member of a powerful family, hastened to disarm the hostility of the clan by showing marked distinction to some other scion of the House.

The autumn of the year witnessed the consecration of a memorial church at "Assandun," a foundation which may be identified with the existing church of St. Nicolas, Canewdon, overlooking the traditional site of the great battle. The King and Thurkill were present with a train of bishops, abbots, and monks. The service was performed by Wulfstan, the Archbishop of York.[7] From this fact we infer that the ceremony took

[1] Symeon, *H. D. E.*, c. 5, and *Auct.* p. 218; *Hist. R.*, A.D. 1018, and p. 197. The event does not seem to be noticed by any Scottish authority except the Melrose Chronicle. In the *H. R.* Symeon gives the name of the English leader as Uhtred, but this is a palpable slip.

[2] A.D. 1019, Chron. C, E, and Florence; A.D. 1018, Chron. D.

[3] The Proclamation above, *Land Charters*, 229, is specially addressed to him.

[4] See Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 404.

[5] H. Hunt., A.D. 1019; *Vita Ædwardi Regis*, p. 392. William of Malmesbury refers Godwine's prowess to the year 1025 and the war against the Swedes, but Cnut was utterly defeated then.

[6] "Munuc, se the wæs decanus æt Cristes cyrcan"; Chron. D; Flor.; *Reg. Sacrum.* Æthelnoth was consecrated 13th November by Archbishop Wulfstan. See the letter of the latter to the king, *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,314.

[7] Chron. D; Flor. The church was of moderate dimensions; W. Malm., *G. R.*, s.

place before the 13th November, when Archbishop Æthelnoth was consecrated.

From this time onwards, and in fact from the time of Cnut's departure for Denmark in 1019 to the close of his reign, our records are reduced to a few bare entries of important events separated by whole years in blank, a time, we take it, of welcome peace and rest. In 1020 Thurkill was still the conspicuous man, but in the following year we find him relieved of his functions in England and relegated to Denmark with his wife Eadgyth.[1] The chroniclers speak of his dismissal as an outlawry (*geutlagode*). Rightly or wrongly—wrongly, as we believe—Thurkill's name was associated with the murder of Archbishop Ælfheah, and the English may have attributed to Cnut's action more than it meant.[2] On the other hand, it is quite possible that Thurkill was simply superseded in accordance with Cnut's steady purpose of ruling England as an Englishman and by Englishmen. Certain it is that the split between him and Thurkill was not serious, as we are told that in 1023 the Earl was appointed Regent of Denmark, and Governor of one of the king's sons, clearly one of his elder sons, either Swein or Harold.[3] What became of Thurkill's earldom, East Anglia, does not appear.[4]

Thurkill Dismissed.

Under the year 1023 we have the record of an event that would be viewed by the English with less mixed feelings than the consecration of the memorial church at Canewdon, namely, the translation of St. Ælfheah to Canterbury. Cnut not only gave 'full leave,' but even assisted at the first act in the proceedings, the exhumation of the body and its conveyance by water from St. Paul's to Southwark. There it was delivered to Æthelnoth and his clergy, to be carried on by stages in solemn procession. At Rochester they were joined by 'the Lady Emma' and her Royal boy Harthacnut. Eight days the body lay in state in the Cathedral Church at Canterbury, and then was finally laid to rest on the north side of the high altar.[5]

The other event of the year was the death of Archbishop Wulfstan II. of York. He passed away on May 28. Like his predecessors Ealdulf

181. The church was given to the king's priest, Stigand (Chron. B), but this man need not be identified with the well-known Stigand as there were two of the name; *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,318.

[1] 11th November, 1021, Chron. C, D, E; Flor. As mentioned above, it is conjectured that Eadgyth may have been a daughter of Æthelred, the widow of Eadric.

[2] Conf. W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 181, who alleges that Thurkill on returning home was murdered by his own countrymen. [3] So the Abingdon Chronicle, C.

[4] Mr. Freeman suggests that East Anglia may have been given to Hakon, son of Eric, and husband of Gunhild; and after his death to Harold, the second husband of Gunhild. Hakon does not seem to sign as *Dux* till 1023, but as he signs along with his father he must have had an earldom before his father's death. Perhaps he may have had a Mercian earldom. See below, p. 400 and note.

[5] Chron. D, etc., June 6–11 (VI.Id. Jun.–XVIII. Kal. Jul.). As the proceedings are said to have covered eleven days, the latter date ought perhaps to be read "XIV. Kal. Jul."=June 15.

and Oswald, he had been appointed to the combined Sees of York and Worcester. But at the close of Æthelred's reign, apparently in 1016, Worcester had been taken from him and placed under a Bishop of its own, Leofsige, who was still living.[1] Ælfric, surnamed Puttoc (*Hawk*), Prior (*præpositus*) of Winchester, was therefore appointed to the Northern Province, and to that alone.[2] To the year 1024 or thereabouts we would ascribe the banishment of Eric,[3] the King's brother-in-law (husband of Gytha), an old and trusted lieutenant of both himself and his father. But Cnut recognised no ties where considerations of State were involved. At Eric's departure the earldom of Deira may perhaps have been given to his son Hakon, Bernicia remaining under the rule of Ealdred, son of Uhtred by Ecgfrithe, the daughter of Bishop Ealdhun. Bernicia had been under Ealdred since the death of his uncle Eadulf Cudel, which happened not long after the battle of Carham (1018). Ealdred signalized his tenure of office by advancing the great Northumbrian feud another step by killing the 'worthy' Thurbrand, the murderer of his father.[4]

Earl Eric Banished.

The Northumbrian Feud.

In 1025 we have another visit to Denmark, but not one that added anything to Cnut's laurels or reputation. Having engaged in hostilities with the Swedes, he was utterly defeated on the river Helga, in Scania, within the limits of his own dominion. The leaders on the native side are given as Ulf and Eglaf, elsewhere described as sons of one Röngwald by Ingeborg, daughter of Olaf Tryggvason. Cnut's losses were considerable, many Englishmen as well as Danes being killed or drowned.[5] Later in the year, namely, on Michaelmas Eve (September 28), Cnut made away with his brother-in-law Ulf, the husband of his sister Estrith, the ancestor of a future line of Danish kings. A hero of romance, Ulf son of Thurgils, was popularly credited with having had for his grandfather one Biorn, offspring of a village maiden by an amorous bear.[6] The circumstances of Ulf's death are quite uncertain, but in justice to Cnut we may indulge in the belief that he was moved by considerations of political expediency, and that he did not sacrifice his brother-in-law in a fit of temper at a hasty

Battle of Helga.

Ulf put to Death.

[1] *Reg. Sacrum.* Leofsige signs in 1016, *Cod. Dip.* No. 724. [2] Flor.; Chron. E.

[3] W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 181 (without date). Eric signs pretty regularly down to the year 1023 (*Cod. Dip.* No. 739; conf. "Huc" = Yric? No. 740), but not afterwards, his son Hakon continuing to sign. I disregard No. 1,327, which professes to have been executed in the presence of Eric and Ulf, but could not have been executed till after 1032.

[4] Symeon, *H. D. E.*, *Auct.* p. 219; *H. R.*, 197, 383.

[5] Chron. E. For Ulf and Eglaf see Snorri, Laing, II., 119. According to this writer (p. 246, etc.), and Saxo, 195, the Kings of Norway and Sweden, Saint Olaf and Anund, otherwise James, son of Olaf the son of Eric the Victorious, fought in person against Cnut.

[6] Saxo, 193. Florence only attributes to Ulf a grandfather of the name of "Ursus,"

word and the loss of a piece at a game of chess.[1]

In 1026 a charter granted in the presence of a numerous court attests the King's return to England.[2] But his stay must have been short, as in 1027 we find him making out a pilgrimage to Rome, a pilgrimage, as he himself tells us, undertaken in pursuance of a vow uttered years before.[3] The journey for a man in Cnut's position strikes us as a very bold one, implying on his part great confidence in his own *prestige* and resources. Of course he must have travelled under the safe-conduct of the new King of the Romans, Conrad II., surnamed the Salic,[4] with whom he was on good terms[5]; and he clearly paid his way liberally. But we also find him taking hostages from a local magnate before entering his territory—as at Namur.[6] The Encomiast of Queen Emma saw him at St. Omer, apparently on his way out, and gives an account of Cnut's behaviour in the Abbey Church of St. Bertin, a most precious report, as being the only touch of personal portraiture come down to us directly from an eye-witness. The King is described as entering the church in attitude of most profound humility, his downcast eyes dimmed with tears of pious emotion. As he bows before the high altar to present his sumptuous offering[7] he smites his Royal breast—'God be merciful to me a sinner!' Every altar in the monastery was visited in succession and devoutly kissed. Lastly, a band of paupers were brought up to have their wants relieved.[8] It would be unkind to suggest that Cnut was a man of considerable histrionic parts, but we must submit that, like many other successful men, he quite appreciated the value of outward appearances.

Cnut in Church.

The visit to Rome was happily planned so as to coincide with the coronation of the Emperor, which took place on Easter Day (26th March, 1027).[9] Besides Conrad Cnut tells us that he met 'King Roduphus,' *i.e.*

[1] See Saxo, 197; Snorri, Laing, II. 252. The story as given by the latter is that Cnut having made a false move with a knight, the piece was taken by Ulf. Cnut wanted to withdraw the move and replace the knight. Ulf threw the tables over and withdrew, high words ensuing.

[2] *Cod. Dip.* No. 743. The Indiction agrees with the year; four English *Duces* sign and six Bishops, all in due order of their seniority. We also have a Dux with a foreign name, presumably a Sclave, "Wrytslof" (qy. Wratislaw, the great Bohemian family?).

[3] "Hanc quidem profectionem Deo jam olim devoveram." See the letter below referred to, where Cnut says that he went to Rome from Denmark.

[4] The Emperor Henry II. died in 1024; with him ended the House of Saxony. Conrad was then elected.

[5] The negotiations for the safe-conduct, etc., were apparently carried on through Unwan, Archbishop of Bremen, who is said to have effected the alliance between the two monarchs; Adam of Bremen, Pertz, IX. 325. [6] Lapp., II. 211.

[7] "Oblatio non mediocris . . . sed ingens allata est, etc."

[8] *Encomium Emmæ*, p. 24. The writer gives no date.

[9] See the detailed contemporary Life of Conrad written by his secretary Wippo (J. Pistorius, *Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores*; Frankfort, 1653). He tells us that both

Rudolph III., the last King of Burgundy; also four archbishops, twenty bishops, and in fact all the magnates 'from Mount Gargarus to the near sea,'[1] *i.e.* the Mediterranean. This we learn from a letter of great interest addressed by Cnut to his English subjects, and forwarded through the hands of Bishop Lyfing of Crediton.[2] The letter deserves to be considered from various points of view. In the first place in itself it testifies to a friendly feeling on the King's part towards his people, and a wish to stand well in their estimation. With respect to the purpose of his pilgrimage he tells them that 'he had learned from wise men that Saint Peter had received power to bind and to loose, and that he held the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; wherefore he, Cnut, had thought it very useful to secure his good offices with the Lord.'[3] The reader may remember that the same consideration had determined Oswiu in the celebrated council of Whitby (A.D. 664) to accept the Roman as against the Celtic rite. Cnut next tells of the honourable reception he had met with from all, and after that, of the 'better law'[4] that he had obtained for his subjects when on their journeys to Rome. The Emperor and King Rudolph, 'who has most control of the matter,' had agreed to put down the 'bars and tolls'[5] on the roads across the Alps, wherewith merchants and others were oppressed. The Pope (John XIX.) had promised to forego the cruel sums levied on archbishops applying for their Palls. Cnut then proclaims his thanks to the Almighty for His manifold mercies, and his own intention of 'justifying' his future life, and ruling his people with equity. In accordance with this he charges all men deputed to rule under him to administer strict justice to all, rich and poor, great and small, without regard for fear or favour, or the interests of the Royal Fisc. 'For I have no need to amass money by unjust exactions.'

Cnut and his English Subjects.

Commercial Advantages.

So far nothing could be better. But the King also proceeds to tell of his future movements. He is on his way back to Denmark by the same route that he left it by. He expects, with the help of the Danes, to establish 'peace and a lasting accord'[6] with certain people and nations, who, 'if they could, would have deprived him of crown and life. But they

Cnut and Rudolf were present, p. 433. This tallies exactly with Cnut's letter, though he does not mention the coronation. But that he was at Rome at the time of some extraordinary occurence is patent. The Worcester Chronicle (D), followed by Florence and all subsequent English writers, places the event under the year 1031.

[1] "Ad istud proximum mare."

[2] So Florence, who states that Lyfing at the time was only Abbot of Tavistock, A.D. 1031. But in a charter of 1026 (*Cod. Dip.* No. 743) Lyfing appears as bishop. According to Bishop Stubbs' *Registrum Sacrum* he was not consecrated till 1027.

[3] "Ideo specialius ejus patrocinium apud Dominum expetere valde utile duxi."

[4] "Lex æquior et pax securior."

[5] 'Clausuræ, . . . thelon.' The Kingdom of Burgundy included all modern Switzerland, Lyons, Geneva, etc., and so commanded the passes both of the Jura and the Alps. See Freeman's *Historical Geography*.

[6] "Pacem et firmum pactum."

could not.' Having settled affairs in the East,[1] he hopes in the course of the summer to return to England. But Cnut cannot lay down the pen without one special word on behalf of the clergy and their rights. Pending his return all the old church-dues—plough-alms, tithes, Peter's Pence, kirk-shot—all must be strictly paid. From these there can be no exemption, nor any remission of penalty in case of default.[2]

Cnut appears to have utilised his opportunities at Rome to obtain other concessions besides those mentioned in his letter to the English. According to Florence he obtained from the Pope an exemption from toll and tribute for the Saxon School at Rome, that is to say presumably for English pilgrims resting there. To this occasion also we may probably refer the agreement between Cnut and Conrad, whereby Cnut's daughter Gunhild was betrothed to the Emperor's son Henry, afterwards the Emperor Henry III.; and the territory between the Eyder and the Dannewerk, wrested from Denmark by Otto II., was restored, the Eyder again becoming the frontier between Denmark and Germany, as it had been in the days of Karl the Great,[3] and was again to be down to the year of Grace 1866.

The Saxon School at Rome.

With respect to the Scandinavian affairs to which Cnut above refers, we are told that between him and Saint Olaf of Norway there had been war all their days,[4] notwithstanding the fact that Olaf could not have become King without Cnut's sanction, being at the time of his election a prisoner in his hands. So far as Olaf is concerned there is no reason to suppose that he aspired to anything more than to hold his own. On the other hand, the intentions above attributed to him by Cnut undoubtedly describe Cnut's own intentions towards Olaf. Cnut probably considered himself *de jure* King of Norway, as heir to the conqueror of Olaf Tryggvason. Saint Olaf appears to have been a simple-minded man, a devout Christian, anxious for the propagation of the Faith, anxious to civilize his people. He brought over bishops from England,[5] who preached in Sweden and the adjacent islands as well as in Norway. He gave to 'judgment and justice' such time as Cnut's intrigues left at his disposal. But his zeal was not always tempered with discretion. One form of heathenism which he felt

Cnut and Saint Olaf.

[1] "Hic in oriente."

[2] Florence and W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 182, given by both as under the year 1031. In the heading of the letter, as of the Laws above, Cnut is made to style himself King of Norway, which he certainly was not in 1027, a proof that whether the headings were or were not the additions of later scribes, they give no sure indication of the dates.

[3] Adam of Bremen, *sup.*; Freeman, 504.

[4] Adam of Bremen, *sup.*, 326. "Continuum bellum; Danis pro imperio certantibus, Nortmannis vero pro libertate."

[5] Namely, Grimcytel, Sigafrid, Rudolf, and Bernard; Lappenberg, II. 204. Rudolf became Abbot of Abingdon in 1050. The very first bishop established in Norway was one John, an Englishman. He was brought over by Olaf Tryggvason. Adam of Bremen, *sup.*, 326, 383, and notes.

specially called upon to eradicate was the observance of old national superstitions and customs, and modes of divination.[1] These were probably of a harmless character, as we are told that the fair sex were the chief offenders, and that the King's hand fell most heavily upon them. In other respects also it may be that Olaf attempted to rule his people with too tight a rein. Anyhow he became unpopular, and Cnut was careful in fostering all elements of discontent.[2] Matters seeming ripe for his intervention, in 1028 he invaded Norway with fifty ships, and expelled Olaf, who, deserted by his people,[3] had to find a refuge in Russia. Cnut was then formally elected King of Norway at Trondhjem (*Trondemnis*). Two years later Olaf made an attempt to recover his kingdom, but without success. The Norwegians defeated him in battle at Stiklestad, and he perished, either killed in the action or massacred in cold blood afterwards (Wednesday, 29th July, 1030).[4] The Church regarded him as a martyr, and he was canonized as a Saint.[5]

End of Saint Olaf.

In 1031 the unquestionable evidence of a charter again assures us that Cnut had returned to England.[6] His last had been dated in 1026. He was now undisputed King of Norway and Denmark as well as of England, Denmark including Scania, the southern part of modern Sweden. His supremacy over Wales may be taken for granted,[7] but he had received no such recognition from Scotland, nor, indeed, had any English king since the day of Eadgar's triumphant procession on the Dee in 973. On the contrary, Cnut's reign had witnessed the final abandonment of Lothian, and the acceptance of the boundary of the Tweed, as already stated. It was perhaps to wipe off this blot on his escutcheon that an expedition to Scotland was now undertaken. The Scottish king, Malcolm mac Kenneth, attempted no resistance, but promptly 'came on hand,' and became Cnut's 'man.' The chronicler adds, 'and little while he held it.'[8] We invite attention to these words on the part

Homage by Scotland.

[1] He expelled all "divinos, augures, et magos."

[2] Adam of Brem., *sup.*; Flor., A.D. 1027; Saxo, 194; Snorri, Laing, II. 193, 286–288.

[3] "Seditione principum quorum mulieres ipse sustulit"; Adam; conf. Snorri, p. 267.

[4] Adam of Bremen, *sup.*, 326; Chron. C, D, E, and Flor., A.D. 1028, 1030; Snorri, *sup.*, 279–339, a long, rambling tale, but he gives the day of Olaf's death as Wednesday, 29th July, which agrees with the year 1030, the year being fixed by a reference to an eclipse which occurred on 31st August, 1030; p. 339 and note.

[5] July 29th is his day. [6] *Cod. Dip.* No. 744.

[7] The only notices of interference with Wales during the reign are the devastation of South Wales in 1023 by "Eylaf," evidently Eglaf, Earl of the Hwiccas; and the killing of Caradoc son of Rhydderch in 1035 by the English; *Ann. Cambriæ*. For Eglaf see *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 728, 729, etc.

[8] 1031, Chron. D. The Peterborough Chronicle (E), compiled after 1121, adds 'two other kings,' by name Mælbæthe and Jehmarc, as joining in the homage. "Mælbæthe" is evidently intended for Macbeth, son of Finlay, who became King of Scots in 1040. Jehmarc has not been identified.

of those who hold that the homages of Scottish to English Kings had the force, in legal phrase, of covenants "running with the land," by which future holders of the servient tenement would be bound to all time. The writer of the period evidently regarded the recognition as an ordinary political contract, liable to be modified or rejected at any time.

To this year or the next we may refer the dismissal of one more Danish satrap, namely 'the doughty Earl,' Hakon, son of Eric the brother-in-law of Cnut,[1] Hakon himself being married to the king's niece Gunhild.[2] Eric, it will be remembered, being Earl of Deira, had been banished some seven years before; Hakon, as we suppose, had succeeded him in Deira. As to the nature of his offending, we are only told that the King suspected him of treasonable intentions,[3] and so sent him on a complimentary mission[4] to some Northern region, in the execution of which he perished, either at sea or in the Orkneys. In short, he disappeared, as men who had become obnoxious to Cnut always did disappear.[5]

In his earldom Hakon was apparently succeeded by Siward, a Dane, who first signs as *Dux* in 1033.[6] Another new "Dux" was Leofric, who must have succeeded his father Leofwine in his Mercian office about this time.[7]

New Earls.

Under the year 1032 we hear of two more pious acts performed by the King, one the dedication of a new church at Bury St. Edmunds,[8] the other a state visit to Glastonbury, and the presentation of a gorgeous pall to the tomb of Eadmund Ironside. The church at Bury must have been intended as an atonement for the wrong done by Swein. The meaning of the Glastonbury pall must be considered more doubtful, if, as we are told, Cnut always spoke of the late King as his dear 'brother,'[9] an odious pretence that could deceive nobody.

With these events the record of King Cnut's doings comes to an end. Three years later he died at Shaftesbury, in the height of his glory and the flower of his prime, being at the utmost just past forty years of age. (12th Nov., 1035). He was buried at Winchester in the Old Minster.[10]

[1] Hakon signs in 1031, *Cod. Dip.* No. 744, but the Indiction is given as IV. instead of XIV., as it should be. [2] See below at end of reign.

[3] "Timebat ab illo vel vita privari vel regno expelli." [4] "Quasi legationis causa."

[5] Flor.; Chron. C (A.D. 1029, 1030, Cnut having been abroad in those years).

[6] *Cod. Dip.* No. 749, a grant of lands to the church of York. Siward signs as *Minister* in the same year, No. 1,318. [7] *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 736, 740, 743, 746.

[8] Florence. [9] W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 184.

[10] Chron. C, D, E. Cnut's tomb was opened in 1766, and the head found crowned with a circlet. See *Archæologia*, III. 890.

CHAPTER XXV

DANISH DYNASTY (*continued*)

Estimate of Cnut's Character—His System of Government—Legislation—The Housecarles

CNUT must have been one of the ablest and most consummate politicians that ever lived. His unique empire was built up and held together, not by the sword, but simply by dexterous management of men. Insatiate in his ambition, he always aimed at the reality not the outward show of power. He played the game of politics as he played the game of chess. A man of no vices[1] and no weaknesses, except perhaps an occasional outburst of temper, the failing of a masterful spirit; perfectly detached; as much above the ordinary ties of flesh and blood as he was above the seductions of silly flattery. If an old friend or servant stood in his way he sacrificed him, as he would have sacrificed a piece at chess.[2] But he was always humble, affable, and contrite[3]; equally ready to make atonement for a crime or to repeat it when expedient. A foreigner living among a conquered people, he threw himself on their loyalty as if he had been born one of them, a signal instance of "the northman's gift of adaptation."[4] Probably no conqueror ever ruled a vanquished nation as he ruled the English. At his death every conspicuous post in England was filled by an Englishman. We are told that many of his followers who had received estates became so dissatisfied with their position that they sold their lands and went home.[5] But he never dispensed with his trusty bodyguard, and in the circle of his personal attendants the Danish names preponderate to the last.[6] "The result of the Danish conquest was, in fact, the very reverse of what it seemed destined to be." England was not ruled by Scandinavia, but Scandinavia was ruled by England. Denmark and Norway for the time became under-kingdoms.[7]

English tradition is distinctly favourable to Cnut. It is from English sources that we have the anecdotes that give pleasing impressions; as of the chair set on the sands to arrest the flowing tide—"Here shall thy proud waves be stayed"—a supposed rebuke to the adulation of courtiers.[8]

[1] "Usus venerei parcus"; *Hist. Ramsey.*

[2] For his fondness for "tesserarum vel scacchorum ludo" (chess or draughts?), see *Hist. Ramsey*, 137. [3] "Humilitate cernuus . . . alloquio dulcis." [4] Green.

[5] *Hist. Ramsey*, 135, 140, 143. Many of these estates, we are told, had passed with the hands of heiresses. [6] See his charters, *passim*. [7] Green.

[8] H. Huntingdon, A.D. 1036. Local tradition places the incident at Southampton.

Again, it is an English chronicle that tells of King Cnut stopping his galley to catch the echoes of the churchmen's song :—

"Merie sungen the Muneches binnen Ely,
Tha Cnut ching reu ther by.
Roweth cnites noer the land,
And here we thes muneches seng." [1]

'Cheerful sang the monks in Ely
As Cnut [the] king rowed by.
Row to the shore, lads, said the king,
And let us hear the churchmen sing.'

It is from Danish sources that we hear of dark deeds, such as the murders of Ulf and the House-carle.[2] Strong contrasts have been drawn between the earlier and the later Cnut, "the sanguinary sea-king . . . insensibly moulded into a just and beneficent monarch"; [3] the "barbarian conqueror," whose throne when once established became "emphatically" one of "righteousness and peace." [4] The change in Cnut's attitude to the English is undeniable, and worthy of all praise. Any fundamental change in the personal character of this astute young man may well be doubted. He tells us frankly that he treated the English badly at first because they were then "unfrith" (*at war*); when they were "on frith" (*at peace*) he treated them well. But had they ventured to turn against him, his hand would not have spared them one misery that it could inflict. Again we must bear in mind that the men who sing his praises are the clergy, the class to whom he paid most assiduous court.[5] Among the churches benefited by him were Canterbury, Exeter, Crediton, Abingdon, York, Winchester, Evesham, St. Paul's London, and Sherborne.[6] Durham and Chartres also received benefits.[7]

Cnut's Benefactions.

But strict as Cnut was in helping the clergy to enforce existing rights, it must be said that his own gifts were on a very moderate scale when compared with those of his predecessors. His largest donations were those of

[1] *Hist. Ely*, Gale, III. p. 505. The English, however, is not that of Cnut's own days, but of a later period.

[2] Saxo, 199. The king having killed one of his bodyguard in a fit of passion, condemned himself to pay a ninefold wer. See below.

[3] Lingard. [4] Freeman.

[5] See esp. *Hist. Ramsey*, 125, 126: "Nulli prædecessorum comparatione virtutum inferior . . . justas leges condere . . . sanctam ecclesiam enixissime venerari." For Cnut's praises see also W. Malm, *G. R.*, s. 181; *Hist. Abingdon*, I. 432–446. Cnut gave the abbey a costly shrine of gold and silver for relics, and two large bells, "signa grossioris soni." At Pavia, on his return from Rome, he bought an arm of St. Augustine (of Hippo) for 100 'talents' of silver and 1 'talent' of gold (qy. marks?), and presented it to the church of Coventry; W. Malm., s. 184. He made a point of spending the Feast of the Purification (February 2) at Ely, and sometimes had trouble in crossing the ice to reach the place. See *Hist. Ely*, 502 and 505 for costly palls and altar-cloths presented by Queen Emma in his time.

[6] See the charters in the *Codex Dip.*, vols. iv. and vi., *passim*.

[7] Symeon, *H. D. E.*, p. 90; W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 186.

forty-five hides to York and sixteen hides to Sherborn.[1] We have also a gift to Christ Church Canterbury, of all the dues of the harbour of Sandwich. The authenticity of the grant has been disputed, but we believe it genuine, and would associate it with the ghastly incident of the hostages landed at Sandwich in 1014.[2] His own actual foundations were the monastery of St. Bennet Holme,[3] and the memorial church at Canewdon, besides the rebuilding of Bury St. Edmunds. Cnut, however, also did something for the extension of the Church in Denmark. In 1022 he had three foreigners consecrated by Archbishop Æthelnoth as Bishops for Scandinavian Sees; namely, Bernhard for Scania, Gerbrand for Seeland or Roskild, and Regenbert for Funen. In connexion with these appointments we have an incident characteristic of the times, and illustrative of Cnut's relations to the higher clergy. Unwan, Archbishop of Bremen, who regarded all Scandinavia as within his jurisdiction, took exception to the consecration of Danish bishops by an English Primate, who might possibly aspire to make the Church of England supreme over that of the North. Gerbrand, one of the schismatics, having fallen into Unwan's hands, he put him to the ransom, treating him as "unfrith."

Cnut and Archbishop Unwan.

Gerbrand at once came to terms, and then Unwan wrote to Cnut telling him what had happened, and taking him to task for his interference. We are told that the King humbly submitted to the rebuke, apologising for the error of his ways.[4] As another instance of Cnut's elaborate humility toward all things connected with the Church and clergy, we may take Symeon's statement that the King, when approaching the shrine of St. Cuthberht at Durham, walked with bare feet all the way from Garmondsway, a distance of six miles.[5]

As between Seculars and Regulars, it is pretty clear that Cnut favoured the latter, as already intimated. Thus we hear of his turning out canons from Bury to make way for monks[6]; and we hear of his requiring secular priests when nominated to bishoprics to take monastic vows.[7] Cnut's treatment of the clergy must be placed to his credit, but we must confess to a suspicion that what he valued in the Church was an Establishment, a widespread organization of great political influence, whose co-operation in the work of government could be cheaply secured by the recognition of its *status*. We hear of no patronage of scholars, no zeal for education or the diffusion of knowledge. Cnut's one boon to the English was the good

[1] *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 749, 1,322.

[2] See *Cod. Dip.* No. 737, both in English and Latin, abbreviated No. 1,328, the latter being entered on the Winchester Chronicle, A.D. 1031, an entry which at the latest must have been made before 1070; Earle.

[3] Palgrave, *Anglo-Saxons*, 271.

[4] Adam of Bremen, *supra*, p. 325.

[5] "A loco qui via Garmundi dicitur"; *H. D. E.*, III. c. 8.

[6] Symeon, *H. R.*, A.D. 1032.

[7] So in the case of Eadmund Bishop of Durham; Symeon, *H. D. E.*, III. c. 6; and again in the case of Eadsige, appointed Coadjutor Bishop to Æthelnoth; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 745 and 1,327; also below.

peace he established, a blessing under the circumstances so great that no one for the moment would think of asking for more. We are told that he was active in going round the country,[1] a course that would commend itself from various points of view. But it is clear that as a man with many things to attend to he would have to leave a great deal to his subordinates. We have already intimated that he gave the landlords even more power over their tenants than they had enjoyed before. From Cnut we have the first distinct recognition of the private jurisdictions of *Soc* and *Sac*. As usual in the history of Anglo-Saxon Law, the first mention of the system introduces it as something too well-known to need explanation. These jurisdictions may have sprung up in the chaotic days of Æthelred, but from the time of official recognition[2] the system could not fail to spread rapidly. Once a King had given in to such encroachments, applications for similar concessions would be endless. With the establishment of these courts indigenous feudalism would have reached its full development.

Private Jurisdictions.

Cnut's ecclesiastical legislation has already been noticed: his secular Dooms are a carefully executed compilation from previous codes, going back to the days of Wihtræd (696), if not to those of Æthelbirht. Here and there a change of phrase or a fuller definition throws light on pre-existing customs, but there is next to nothing that can really be called new. The frequent use of the first person 'I will that, etc.,' suggests the King's personal intervention in the work. In the Laws of Æthelred it was always 'we the Witan.' The general tone of the Laws is thoroughly ecclesiastical. We have the usual pious exhortations, and the usual admonitions to gentle treatment of the weak and friendless, in juxtaposition with specific provisions of appalling ferocity. The frail wife is to lose her nose and ears.[3] The friendless stranger who cannot find *borh*, *i.e.* security for his general good conduct, goes straight to prison.[4] The man who commits perjury on the *haligdom* loses his head.[5] A confirmed criminal already once condemned by

Legislation.

Mutilation.

[1] *Hist. Ramsay*, 135.

[2] See the writ issued on the appointment of Archbishop Æthelnoth in 1020, whereby the King notifies the earls and reeves of all shires wherein the church of Canterbury had lands 'that he has granted to the archbishop that he be worthy of his sac and soc over his own men in town and out of town, and also over as many thegns as the king had allowed him'; Earle, *Land Charters*, 232. Again, Cnut grants St. Paul's to have sac, soc, toll and team 'as fully as they had them on any king's days'; *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,319. Clear references to the system will also be found in *Cnut's Laws*, II. c. 12; c. 17 s. 3; and c. 73 s. 1. For the rights conveyed by these grants see Appendix to this chapter.

[3] *Laws of Cnut*, II. c. 55. For these Laws we have, besides the texts in Schmid and Thorpe, a newly published 12th century Latin rendering (*circa* 1150) evidently made from the Anglo-Saxon, and entitled *Consiliatio Cnuti* (F. Liebermann, Halle, 1893).

[4] c. 35. Conf. the provision taken from pre-existing laws that the king is kinsman and protector (*mæg*, *mundbora*) to clergymen and strangers; c. 40.

[5] c. 36. *Haligdom* appears to denote any sacred object—Eucharist, relic, shrine, etc.

the ordeal may lose his hands and feet; if found offending a third time power is given to deprive him of eyes, ears, nose, upper lip, and scalp, 'to steer him aright and save his soul.'[1] All these are new and doubtless Cnut's own. A renewal of the old prohibitions against 'heathenism' gives us a clear view of the chief objects of primitive Northern veneration. The people are forbidden to worship 'idols,' that is to say heathen gods, sun or moon, fire or water, wells, stones, or trees of the forest. Witchcraft and murderous incantations are also condemned.[2] An enumeration of the penal mulcts properly falling to the King shows that Wessex, Mercia, and Denalage are still regarded as several kingdoms, with distinct customs; but we note a distinct assimilation of the Danish to the English law-terms, "*lahslit*"[3] being the only outstanding Danish expression. The King's primary dues, 'unless granted away,' include the penalties in cases of *mundbryce*, *hamsocne*, *forstal*, *flymenafyrmðe* and *fyrdwite*.

Regalian Dues.

The ultimate decision in all cases involving outlawry also lies with him.[4] But again we hear that suits are not to be brought before the King except in case of failure of justice in the Hundred court.[5] In case of an offence involving forfeiture committed by an owner of *boc-land* the king now claims the land, 'be he (*i.e.* the owner) whosesoever man he be':[6] a fresh proof of the extension of feudalism, and that *boc-land* might be held by under-tenants as well as tenants-in-chief. A new and important provision forbids *name* (Latin, *namum*, *namium*, *namium vetitum*), *i.e.* distress, or the forcible seizure of goods, to satisfy a demand without authority of law, a subject which figures largely in primitive Celtic law (*Athgabail*). Cnut forbids forcible distress till after three applications to the Hundred, and even then he requires a fourth, final, appeal to the Shire-gemot.[7]

The requirement that every man should be under standing bail for his good conduct was at least as old as the time of Eadgar.[8] Cnut orders

Borh.

every freeman over twelve winters old who would be law-worthy to be enrolled in a Hundred and Tithing (*teoðung*); and then, repeating himself, orders every one to be in a Hundred and under *borh*, *i.e.* bail, 'to lead and hold him to every right,'—the words of the older law. The *borh* of the latter part of the clause evidently corresponds to the Tithing of the earlier part; the identity of the two and the further fact that the Tithing meant the territorial township is brought out by a gloss on a Latin version of the enactment which explains that as the

[1] c. 30 s. 5.

[2] c. 5. For the incantations see the rendering in *Consiliatio Cnuti*. Conf. *Canons Eadgar*, c. 16.

[3] *i.e. Law-breach*, a certain fine constantly referred to as a penal unit.

[4] cc. 12, 13. See Appendix to chapter. [5] c. 17.

[6] c. 13. Hitherto the king only claimed the pecuniary penalties due from owners of *boc-land*; *Æthelst.*, VI. 1; *Æthelred*, I. c. 1 s. 14.

[7] c. 19. [8] *Laws of Eadgar*, III. c. 6, and IV. c. 3.

kingdom was divided into Shires, and the Shires into Hundreds, so again the Hundreds were divided into Tithings (*decimationes*), which might contain from ten to twenty or thirty men, who were all responsible for each other.[1] The glossist adds that the Tithing was also sometimes called a 'Ward' and sometimes the '*borh*,'[2] that is to say a frith-borh or frank-pledge. The elasticity in the number of those who might be included in a Tithing seems to prove that, like the Hundred, it was originally a personal organization, which in course of time became territorial. If the arrangement was still personal the numbers need not have varied so widely. The requirement is made applicable to 'followers' as well as 'hearthfast' men, *i.e.* vassals as well as allodial proprietors. The lord is still only responsible for those belonging to his actual household (*hired-men*); for their conduct he must answer in the Hundred.[3] Penalties are fixed for persons neglecting to follow the Hue and Cry (*hrêam*); for committing breaches of the peace while out with the *fyrd*, and for desertion, the life of the offender being forfeit in the latter case.[4] In addition to the old burdens of repairing fortifications and bridges (*burh-bot*, *brycg-bot*) we hear that all persons must join in repairing the fabric of churches, the principle of a church-rate.[5] A further concession to the clergy appears in the provision that in cases of murder the final decision shall rest with the bishop.[6]

Territorial Tithings.

The King's Reeves are required to keep him supplied from the produce of his own lands, without levying *feorm fultum*, *i.e.* involuntary contributions, the later Purveyance,[7] of which the reader will hear enough, and more than enough, in course of time. Another prerogative exercised without mercy by later Kings, but disclaimed by Cnut, was that of selling the hand of a woman in marriage.[8] Again we shall find Anglo-Norman monarchs appropriating without compunction the entire personal estate of a deceased vassal. Cnut ordains that if a man die intestate his lord shall not take more than his proper 'heriot,' and that the rest of the deceased's effects shall be distributed, under the lord's direction, between the widow, children, or other relatives according to their degrees.[9] Here we may note two things: one the free right of testamentary disposition over chattels; with respect to landed property the reader will remember that that right could only be exercised under a special grant in connexion with *boc-land*. The other point is that the later claim of the clergy to jurisdiction in the probate of Wills, and the administration of intestates' effects would seem to have been an encroachment on earlier practice. Heriots (*heregeatu*, *pl. heregeata*, *war-equipment*) have hardly

Wills of Chattels.

Administration.

Heriots.

1 "Fideijussores singulorum." 2 *Consiliatio Cnuti, ad loc.*
3 c. 31. For the broad distinction between free followers and slaves see cc. 30–32.
4 cc. 29, 61, 77. 5 c. 65. 6 c. 56. See also cc. 39, 42.
7 c. 69. Conf. *Æthelstan*, I. s. 5. 8 c. 74. 9 c. 70.

yet passed out of mind. But their history goes back to very early days, being usually held to be connected with the primitive *comitatus*. The lord provided his follower with his horse and panoply of war; at the death of the follower the articles reverted to the lord.[1] The custom in England was doubtless of ancient date.[2] Cnut, however, reduced the local usages to rule, fixing the render from each class of royal vassals in the different parts of the kingdom. The Earl or Ealdorman will give eight horses, four with saddles and four without; four helmets, four coats of mail (*byrnan*), eight spears and shields, and 200 *mancus* of gold, equal to 40 lbs. in weight.[3] The King's Thegn, 'who comes next to him' (*i.e.* the Earl), will give four horses, etc., and 50 *mancus* of gold. The middling Thegn (*medeme thegn*) renders one horse with trappings, his weapons, and the amount of his *healsfang*, or one-tenth of his *wer* (60 shillings?).[4] So at least in Wessex; in Mercia and East Anglia he pays £2, just 60 Mercian shillings of fourpence each. In Denalage the royal vassals are let off more easily. There the King's Thegn with a private franchise (*socne*) pays only £4; if of small estate only £2; but again more than £4 if he holds any special office under the King.[5] The Earl's heriot above prescribed would in our view only be exigible from the *Duces* of the charters, men actually holding one of those high posts. The class of King's Thegns would include men of vast possessions, men like Wulfgeat and Uvegeat, Syferth and Morcar, or Wulfric Spot.[6] Of the heriots of under-thegns and petty tenants nothing is fixed by Cnut, these being doubtless left to local custom. Probably the servile tenants gave their best beast, the *melius catallum* of later days.[7]

'A wife cannot forbid her husband to bring anything that he chooses into his house.' 'Therefore,' says Cnut, 'she shall not be held an accomplice in her husband's theft in respect of articles brought into the house unless they be placed in one of her key-lockers (*cæg-locan*).' These in a respectable household were supposed to be three, namely, the store-room (*hordern*), the kist or wardrobe, and the tie-bag (*tege*), the sheepskin depository of the family treasures.[8] Another clause gives protection (*grith*)

[1] See Kemble, *Saxons*, I. 178.

[2] For render of heriots before the time of Cnut see *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 957, 1,173; Kemble, *Saxons*, II. 99; Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, I. 220.

[3] The mancus was=2 ora or ounces.

[4] See the Glossary in Schmid. I conjecture that the *wer* of the middling Thegn would be 600*s.*, halfway between the *twelf-hynde* man and the *twy-hynde* man. 120*s.* was the *healsfang* of the *twelf-hynde* man; Schmid, Appendix, VII. s. 4, Wergilds.

[5] c. 71.

[6] Maurer, cited Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, I. 174, holds the classes to be determined merely by the extent of the owner's possessions. But the cases adduced from Domesday seem to imply a complete revision or alteration of Cnut's tables. I cannot believe that in Cnut's days (or in any other) a man could be ranked and rated as an earl who did not hold an earl's dignity and office. Among the Thegns there might be gradations according to the extent of their property.

[7] See Kemble, *sup.*, 102.

[8] c. 76, s. 1. The writer has in his possession a primitive charter-box of this sort.

to all honest persons on their ways to or from gemots,[1] the previous "privilege of Parliament" only covering the actual meetings. Lastly, Cnut declares every man worthy of his hunting on his own land, 'in wood and field,' except where the King has established a 'frith' (*Forest-sanctuary, preserve*); 'there will I have it under full penalty.'[2] Of course the rights of sporting would only appertain to owners, not to mere cultivators of the soil.

Rights of Hunting.

As a whole, apart from a few passages which betray the hand of the barbarian, the Laws of Cnut must be pronounced sensible and constitutional in tone.

Cnut is also credited with a code of Laws entitled *Witherlaghs Rætt*, rendered in Latin as *Leges Castrenses*, and sometimes misdescribed as a code of "Martial Law," or "Articles of War." There is nothing of a specially military character in the regulations in question, which describe themselves as Ordinances of the *Hirdh* (A.S. *hired*) or Household, defining the relations of house-carles or *thingamanna* (A.S. *hired-men*) to each other and their lord. The rules are given as applicable not merely to the household of the King, but also to the households of lesser men. The text has come down to us only in a re-issue made late in the 12th century by Cnut son of Waldemar (Cnut VI.), and Archbishop Absalom, and given to the world by their directions by Swein Aggesson.[3] The text itself does not purport to be the work of Cnut, though ascribed to him in a preamble, while on one point express reference is made to regulations enacted by Cnut, as if the rest of the text was not really his. But the Laws in question may be safely taken as being quite as old and probably much older than the time of Cnut, and they give a most interesting insight into the constitution of the primitive *comitatus* as a voluntary bond of honourable vassalage. The lord must be kind to his man; the man true to his lord. The lord, in proceeding to impeach a man of disloyalty, must summon him by two of the fellowship, the summons to be delivered at the man's house. If the man fails to appear the summons must be twice repeated; failing appearance after the third summons, the man to be liable to utter forfeiture and outlawry. If the man does appear, and the lord fails to convict him by the oaths of two of the fellowship, then the man may be sent to the ordeal by hot iron, 'in manner

The Comitatus.

[1] *Laws Cnut*, II. c. 82.

[2] c. 80. The Forest Laws of Cnut, printed by Thorpe and Schmid from Spelman's *Glossarium Archæologicum* (MS. unknown), is a clear fabrication of later date. The compilation shows a good knowledge of Anglo-Norman legal terms, and a total ignorance of Anglo-Saxon terms. It is not found either in the *Consiliatio Cnuti* or in the Latin version of the A.S. Laws incorporated by Brompton in his Chronicle (*Decem Scriptt.*). It is rejected by Bishop Stubbs and Mr. Freeman.

[3] Langebek, *Scriptores Rer. Danic.*, III. 139, 156. Swein gives us first an expanded version of his own, with notes and illustrations, and then the proper text in Danish and Latin. Conf. Saxo, 197, another writer of the same time.

prescribed by the Laws of Cnut Gamle.'[1] A man desiring to renounce the service of his lord must give notice by two of the fellowship within eight days after Yule (Christmas); then will he be free to follow another lord. A man breaking the law of the fellowship by blow or wound to be expelled as *nithing*,[2] and banished the land. Any fellow meeting him anywhere to be bound to wage war upon him, 'if one weapon better than him' (stronger in force by one man?). Disputes between fellows to be referred in all cases to a court of the entire fellowship (*Huscarle-stefne*), all other jurisdictions being excluded by implication. Minor matters may be decided by the oaths of two of the fellowship; questions of eviction from land or theft must be decided by the oaths of six. In cases of minor offence the offender, if found guilty, to be put down one place in hall. In these Laws we see nothing to excite suspicion, nothing that might not well apply to Cnut's House-carles. In fact some of the provisions could only apply to the retinue of a King. In connection with with these Laws we get the well-known incident of Cnut and the murdered House-carle. Cnut having killed one of his men in a fit of passion, and finding that a dangerous feeling had been excited in the fellowship, boldly faced the difficulty by convening the whole body in *Huscarle-stefne*, and laying his case before them. When thus confronted with the King no man would take upon himself the responsibility of impeaching his lord. The whole court with one voice begged the King to decide the matter himself, whereupon he condemned himself to pay a ninefold *wer*, apparently amounting to 360 marks, where, in the ordinary course of things, 40 marks only would have been payable. With regard to the *wer* of a house-carle, we are told that one-third would go to the lord, one-third to the fellowship, and one-third to the family of the deceased. Of course in the case in question Cnut claimed no part of the money.[3]

A Household Court.

That Cnut kept up a bodyguard or standing army is certain, and the institution is carried back to the time when Thurkill's fleet was taken permanently into Æthelred's pay in 1014.[4] We are told that the men were recruited from all quarters, and liberally paid.[5] And so they were, as it is clearly recorded that the wages were eight marks Anglo-Saxon (=£4) 'per rowlock,'[6] *i.e.* per oarsman, for the

Numbers of the House-carles.

[1] *i.e.* Cnut the Elder or the First, p. 161; conf. 'Eadweard the Elder.' No rules for the ordeal are to be found in the existing Laws of Cnut.

[2] A well-known term of utter contempt.

[3] See Swein, *sup.*, 150. The *wer* is given as paid in 'talents' (nummi talentis), but marks appear to be meant, p. 155. See also Saxo, 199.

[4] Thurkill's force was first taken into pay in 1012, but the writers date the levy of the standing tax for the payment of the House-carles from the year 1014. See below, A.D. 1051.

[5] Saxo, 193.

[6] "Æt ælcere hamelan VIII marc," Chron. C and D, A.D. 1040. Florence renders "hamelan" by "remigi," making it equivalent to "oarsman"; so too Thorpe. This is given as the rate paid by Harthacnut; but E (the Peterborough Chron.), A.D. 1039, adds that it was also the rate paid by his father—Cnut.

year; while the steersmen received twelve marks, or £6 a year each.[1] At those rates the oarsman would have something over 2½ pence a day, and the steersmen nearly 4½ a day. If we compare these rates with those ruling just a century later we shall find, on the evidence of the one extant Pipe Roll of Henry I., that the wage of a common soldier on garrison duty at that time was a penny a day. Cnut's oarsmen, therefore, as a Royal Guard, would be paid at the rates of petty officers, or the later esquire men-at-arms.

The analysis of the crews, as consisting of oarsmen and steersmen, is interesting and important. It shows that the oarsmen were in fact the fighting crew of a primitive Northern galley, the steersman, perhaps, being the only supernumerary. This agrees with the evidence afforded by the Christiania Wicking ship, where the number of the shields appears to have been exactly the same as that of the rowlock-portholes, namely, thirty-two Again, a description that we shall get of a vessel alleged to have been presented by Earl Godwine to King Harthacnut shows that the oarsmen of the time were armed and accoutred as fighting soldiery.[2]

As to the numbers of the House-carles we are not so clearly informed. Swein Aggeson gives them as 3,000 strong;[3] Saxo Grammaticus raises the total to 6,000 men. But these are merely the figures of chroniclers who wrote long after the time, and on what authority we know not. The reader will remember that in 1018 Cnut, when dismissing the bulk of his army, was said to have retained the crews of forty ships. That force must be identified with the House-carles. It is material to bear in mind that from the day of their first appearance on the shores of Britain the Wicking bands were always estimated by ships, never by men. The ship was the unit, a complement of men, of an average strength, generally understood. If Cnut's ships were of the same size as the Christiania vessel, allowing as we did 35 men a ship, we should have a bodyguard of 1,400 men, to our mind a very sufficient force of picked, trained, 'noble' soldiers. Whether the ship-builders of the eleventh century had made any great advance on the art of the tenth century may be doubted; they had not yet got the length of a rudder fixed to a sternpost. On the other hand, we must admit that Florence of Worcester, in his description of the grand show-galley already referred to, represents it as manned by eighty oarsmen. Again, with respect to a fleet brought by Harthacnut to England in 1040, as we shall see, where the original Chronicles (C and D) and Florence of Worcester content themselves with recording the number of the ships—60—and the rate of pay—eight marks the rowlock, the late Peterborough Chronicle (E) gives an addition of its own of the total sum required for their pay, making it £21,098. So again of another armament of 32 ships at the same rates of pay, the writer has it that the amount came to £11,048.[4] These figures would raise the crews to a strength of 84 or 85

[1] So Florence, A.D. 1040. [2] See below, A.D. 1040. [3] p. 144. [4] A.D. 1040.

men. At that rate Cnut's forty ships would represent 3,400 House-carles. But in the passage above quoted the Peterborough Chronicle seems to imply that at the last Cnut had reduced the force to sixteen ships, the strength at which Harold kept it up; but his words are ambiguous, and perhaps only refer to the rates of pay being the same under Harold as under his father.

Of Cnut's fiscal system, as distinguished from that of previous Kings, we can say nothing, except that the maintenance of the House-carles involved the imposition of an annual Danegeld, a direct land-tax, levied no doubt in priority to all other imposts.[1] Generally Cnut is represented as a man with plenty of money at command. Cnut's Thames canal can hardly be said to be traceable; but an abiding memorial of his time is pointed out in "The *King's Delf*, a causeway connecting Peterborough with Ramsey," constructed through the marshes by his command.[2]

Of Cnut's personal appearance, the only tradition handed down appears to have been that he was a slight, active man of moderate stature.[3] A delicate constitution may fairly be inferred from the fact of an early death in spite of regular habits.

By Ælfgifu of Northampton, daughter of Ælfhelm, Ealdorman of Deira, Cnut had issue:

Issue of Cnut.

—Swein, who succeeded him as King of Norway.

—HAROLD.[4]

By Queen Emma-Ælfgifu, widow of Æthelred the Unredy, Cnut had

—HARTHACNUT.

—Gunhild, married in 1035, at Bamberg, to Henry of Germany, afterwards the Emperor Henry III. She died 17th July, 1038, having given birth to a daughter.[5]

Cnut's collateral relations may also be mentioned. His brother Harold had succeeded in the first instance to the kingdom of Denmark, but died childless between 1015 and 1019, as we have seen. Three sisters there

[1] See below, A.D. 1051.

[2] Palgrave, *Anglo-Saxons*, 271.

[3] "Agilis et mediocris staturæ," *Hist. Ely*, 505.

[4] "Ex concubina geniti," Adam Bremen, *sup.* 332; *Encomium Emmæ*, 21; *Vita Ædwardi*, 401. The English writers affect to question the paternity of Swein and Harold. Chronicles C and D (A.D. 1035) and Chronicle E (A.D. 1036) tell us that Harold claimed to be the son of Cnut and Ælfgifu of Northampton, but was not such in fact, Swein not being named. Florence (A.D. 1035) tells that both Swein and Harold claimed to be sons of Cnut and Ælfgifu, but were not such. He then retails a further report, for which he admits that he cannot vouch, that they were not even the sons of Ælfgifu, but wholly supposititious, the one being the son of a priest, the other of a shoemaker. This precious legend must have grown out of an earlier version, which contented itself with asserting the boys to be the sons of Ælfgifu by the priest and the shoemaker. The Encomiast also questions the paternity both of Swein and Harold, "dicebatur filios habuisse," p. 21; and asserts that Harold was supposititious, p. 25. Malmesbury follows the Chronicles, s. 188.

[5] See Bp. Stubbs, W. Malm., *G. R.*, II. lxxviii.

also were—Estrith, Gytha, and Gunhild (?). Estrith was married first to Earl Ulf (he died 1025), by whom she had three sons—Swein, distinguished as Swein or Swend Estrithson, afterwards King of Denmark; Beorn, who held an English earldom and was murdered in 1049; and Asbeorn, banished from England 1043–1046. After Ulf's death Estrith married Robert II. 'the Devil,' Duke of Normandy. But the marriage proved unfortunate. Robert took a dislike to his wife, ill-treated her, and sent her back to England.[1] The coolness between Cnut and Robert that would naturally result from this matter may be taken as the basis of the stories of invasion, or threatened invasion, on one side and the other of which we hear in later writers. Robert is represented as taking up the cudgels on behalf of his cousins, the Æthelings Ælfred and Eadward. The English writers of the time, however, have not a word in reference to these matters.[2]

Estrith.

Cnut's sister Gytha was married to Earl Eric, by whom she is alleged to have had Earl Hakon[3]; (died 1032–1033); while the third, Gunhild (?), was married to a Slavonic prince, given as 'Wyrtgeorn, King of the Wends.'[4] By him she had a daughter, Gunhild, married first to Earl Hakon, son of Eric, and secondly to another Danish Earl established in England, one Harold, who was murdered on pilgrimage (1043–1044).[5] By one or other of these husbands Gunhild had two sons—Heming and Thurkill, and with them, being a widow for the second time in 1044, was banished from England.[6]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXV

Franchises of Sac and Soc

IMPORT OF TECHNICAL TERMS USED IN GRANTS OF THESE PRIVATE RIGHTS OF JURISDICTION[7]

N.B.—Grants conferring all the subjoined rights are rare, the commonest and most moderate grants only extending to 'Sac, soc, toll, team, and infangthief.'

SACU, SAC, litigation, jurisdiction, right to hold a court.

SOCN, SOCNA, SOCNE, SOC, SOKE, the area within which the jurisdiction was exercised, a Liberty or Franchise (conf. "Portsoken ward").

TOLL, the right of levying toll on sales of goods, holding markets, etc.

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[1] See A. Bremen, *sup.* 325, a distorted account; R. Glaber, IV. c. 6, s. 20; Saxo, 193; and generally Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 521–528.

[2] William of Malmesbury, however, does ascribe to Robert an intention of intervening on behalf of the Æthelings, *G. R.*, s. 180, p. 218.

[3] So at least Snorri, Laing, II. 16. Hakon no doubt was son of Eric, but as he signs from 1023, if not from 1019 (*Cod. Dipl.* Nos. 729, 739), I do not see how he could be son of Gytha if she was full sister to Cnut, whose father and mother were not married till in or after 993. See above heading to chapter xxiv. Snorri himself says that Hakon was seventeen *circa* 1015, p. 20, *sup.*

[4] Flor., A.D. 1029.

[5] Florence, A.D. 1044; A. Bremen, *sup.*, 333; Freeman. Harold attests a charter in 1042 as *Dux*, *Cod. Dipl.* No. 764.

[6] Flor., and below.

[7] See the Glossaries to the A.S. Laws in Schmidt and Thorpe, and Bishop Stubbs' *Select Charters*. For typical grants see *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 813, 817, 862–868, etc.

(We find the king receiving 4*d.* toll on 10*s.* paid for the manumission of a slave; *Cod. Dip.* IV. p. 313; conf. Earle, *Land Charters*, pp. 253, 264).

TEAM, the right of holding an inquest as to the title to goods (*voucher to warranty, advocatio tutationis. Cons. Cnuti*).

INFANGENE THEOF, INFANGTHIEF, jurisdiction over a thief caught within the limits of the Franchise.

FORSTEAL, FORSTAL, jurisdiction in cases of assault on the highway.

HAMSOCN, HAMESOKEN, otherwise HAMFARE, jurisdiction in cases of,—

(*a*) Assault on a man in his own premises; if accompanied by breaking of doors or walls, etc., the offence became HUSBRYCE.

(*b*) Riot among the members of a household, otherwise INFIHT or INSOCNA.

FLYMENA-FYRMTH, FLIEMAN-FEORM, jurisdiction in cases of harbouring a fugitive from justice.

CHAPTER XXVI

DANISH DYNASTY (*continued*)

Harold Harefoot (*Haranfot*),[1] born 1016–1017; succeeded November 27 (?), 1035[2]; died, March 17, 1040

CNUT'S empire broke up at his death. That was no marvel. The marvel was that any man should ever have held such unruly elements together at all. It would seem that Cnut was prepared for a disruption, and that he had arranged for a partition of his dominions among his sons. We cannot positively say what his intentions were; all that we know is that as matters of fact Swein was in Norway ruling as under-King; that Harthacnut was in Denmark ruling likewise; and that Harold was in England. Adam of Bremen, perhaps writing according to the result, asserts that these dispositions were intended to be permanent, and that Cnut had left England to Harold, Norway to Swein, and Denmark to Harthacnut.[3] The Encomiast also, who ought to know, tells us that Harthacnut had been appointed King of Denmark by his father.[4] It is unlikely, therefore, that he should have been appointed King of England also. Yet according to this same writer Cnut had promised Emma that her son should succeed to the English crown in priority to his elder brothers.[5]

But whatever Cnut may or may not have willed, Swein certainly was accepted by Norway. Harthacnut likewise was freely recognised in Denmark; but Harold's pretensions to the throne of England met with considerable opposition. On the one hand, England was divided in itself; and on the other hand, a large choice of candidates lay before the electing Witan. England politically was still but four earldoms, to all intents and purposes petty principalities, ruled by four more or less independent Earls.[6]

English Earldoms.

Bernicia, when last mentioned, was under Ealdred, son of Uhtred, who

[1] *Cod. Dip.* No. 758.

[2] The Peterborough Chronicle tells us that Harold died on March 17, 1039, after a reign of four years and sixteen weeks. The year of course is wrong, but if we reckon back from March 17, 1040, we get to November 27, 1035, 1040 being a leap year. So too the *History of Ramsey* gives his reign as four years and as many months, A.D. 1040.

[3] Pertz, IX. 332. [4] p. 25. [5] p. 21.

[6] Of course these were not the only Earls. Besides them we have Ranig, still Earl of the Magesætas or Herefordshire, and Thurig or Thored, Earl of Eastern Mercia; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 755, 763, 1,330.

avenged his father's death by killing Thurbrand Hold, the murderer of Uhtred.[1] But Thurbrand left a son, Carl, on whom devolved the duty of prosecuting the feud. Every effort, we are told, was made to heal the breach between the families, and bring Ealdred and Carl to terms. The two were induced to swear friendship, and even to vow a joint pilgrimage to Rome. But the pilgrimage never came off, and Carl ended the hollow truce by inviting the too trustful Ealdred to his house, and then killing him during a hunt in a forest given as Risewood. The Bernician earldom then devolved upon Ealdred's brother, Eadulf, but whether this occurred before or after Cnut's death does not appear.[2] Probably before his death, as we shall find Harthacnut entertaining hostile feelings towards Eadulf, from which fact we may perhaps infer that the latter had been one of Harold's supporters. On the question of the date of Eadulf's accession the charters give us no help, as the Bernician Earls seldom troubled court with their presence.

Bernicia.

Deira, since the year 1033, had been held by Siward,[3] surnamed Digera[4] (*The Strong*), a Dane, and one whose "gigantic stature, vast strength, and personal prowess[5] made him a favourite hero of romance." Like Cnut's brother-in-law, Earl Ulf, he was credited with an ancestry not wholly human, his descent being traced from a bear who had carried off a Danish girl.[6] Siward was connected with the Bernician House by marriage, having received the hand of Æthelflæd, a daughter of Earl Ealdred.[7]

Deira.

Mercia since 1032 had been under Leofric, son of Leofwine[8]; while Wessex, apparently ever since 1018, had been administered by Godwine, Cnut's chief counseller and right-hand man. Like his master, Godwine is described as an active, able soldier, but he was clearly before all things a politician, prudent and wary; assiduous in all matters of business, supple and accessible.[9] Strange to say of a man who played so conspicuous a part in history, his parentage is involved in doubt. Florence of Worcester tells us that he was the son of Wulfnoth, son of Æthelmær, brother to Eadric Streona.[10] The Canterbury Chronicle (Domit. A. VIII.) says that he was the son of Child Wulfnoth of Sussex, impeached by Eadric's

Mercia.

Wessex.

Parentage of Godwine.

[1] Above, A.D. 1024.

[2] See Symeon, *H. D. E.*, *Auct.* 219; *H. R.*, 198. No date is given in either place.

[3] Above, A.D. 1032. [4] W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 253; "Digara," *Vitæ Ædw.*, 401.

[5] "Consul fortissimus . . . pæne gigas statura, manu vero et mente prædura." H. Hunt., A.D. 1052. [6] Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 586, *q.v.* for the authorities.

[7] Symeon, *H. D. E.*, *Auct.* 219. [8] *Cod. Dip.* No. 746.

[9] "Consilio cautissimus . . . assiduo laboris accinctu incomparabilis, jocunda et prompta affabilitate omnibus affabilis"; *Vitæ Ædwardi*, 392. This of course is the description of a family retainer. According to Henry of Huntingdon Godwine distinguished himself in operations against the Wends in 1019; conf. *Vitæ Æd.*, *sup.* Malmesbury gives him credit for having saved the relics of the army in the defeat on the river Helga in 1025; *G. R.*, s. 181. [10] See A.D. 1007.

brother Brihtric in 1009.[1] The assertion of some later writers[2] that Godwine was of ignoble origin is not worth consideration. Cnut would have been the last man to shock English feeling by raising an ignoble favourite to one of the highest posts in the State. That Godwine was the son of one Wulfnoth may be accepted as certain. The question remains, who was Wulfnoth? The assertion of Florence stands alone, and is beset with chronological difficulties.[3] Moreover it would not be at all in keeping with Cnut's policy to appoint a Mercian to a West-Saxon post. The *Liber de Hyda*, while disparaging Godwine's origin, distinctly connects him with Sussex,[4] and a Sussex man and not a Mercian he clearly was. His estates were mainly in Sussex, of which he owned a great part. Arundel and Bramber were his strongholds; his favourite residence is said to have been at Walton, two miles west of Chichester, the site, surrounded by a moat, being still traceable; and both he and his son Harold evidently kept their yachts or ships at Bosham, close by.[5] Doubt may be dismissed when we hear that Wulnoth of Sussex actually had a son Godwine, remembered in the Will of a son of Æthelred (*Cod. Dip.* No. 722).

With respect to the possible candidates for the vacant throne, the electors might take a son of Cnut by Ælfgifu of Northampton, or the one by Emma-Ælfgifu. They might revert to a son of Æthelred by Emma; or they might recall the proper heirs of the native dynasty, the sons of Ironside. But the last were far away, out of sight and out of mind. The sons of Æthelred were not out of reach: they were still in Normandy, but no longer under the care of a chivalrous cousin, who might have intervened, and perhaps had talked of intervening, on their behalf. Robert the Devil was no more. He had passed away at Nice, in Bithynia, on pilgrimage (July 2, 1035),[6] four months before Cnut. His duchy was involved in all the anxieties and confusion of a minority, his only son and heir being the little WILLIAM THE BASTARD not yet eight years old. His Government, therefore, had enough to do to hold its own at home without interfering in other people's affairs.

To settle the question of the succession a grand national Witenagemot was convened at Oxford as soon as conveniently might be after Cnut's

[1] See under that year.

[2] *Radulfus Niger*, 160; *Liber de Hyda*, 288 (Rolls Series No. 45).

[3] See Mr. Freeman's Appendix on the *Origin of Earl Godwine*. We shall find Eadward the Confessor marrying the daughter of Godwine: but Godwine's great uncle (according to Florence), Eadric Streona, had married the Confessor's sister. "Can we conceive a man marrying the great-great-niece of his own mother-in-law?"

[4] "Principalis comitatus ejus australis erat, regio quæ lingua eorum dicitur *Sudsexia*," p. 288. See Mr. Freeman's Appendix, I. 636, etc. He halts, however, between two opinions.

[5] See M. A. Sower, *Sussex*; I. 13; and Horsfield, *Sussex*, II. 232. In Domesday Bramber is mentioned as having belonged to Gyrth, one of Godwine's younger sons.

[6] *Rodulfus Glaber*, b. IV. c. 6 and note (*Historiarum Libri*, XV., ed. Prou, Paris, 1886).

death; in fact, within a fortnight of that event. It would seem that discussion in the electoral council turned simply on the rival claims of the sons of Cnut. We are told that Leofric, and most of the Northern Thegns, including probably Earl Eadulf, with the Danes, and the House-carles[1] quartered in London, declared for Harold, Godwine and the West Saxons offering a strenuous opposition on behalf of the absent Harthacnut. If the Æthelings in Normandy were present to the minds of many it does not appear that their friends ventured on an actual nomination. Finally the election of Harold was carried; but Godwine, refusing to bow to the voice of the majority, retired to Wessex, to defy Harold, and hold the district as best he could for Harthacnut. In this he would have all the support that Emma could lend, her maternal solicitude being wholly given to her son by Cnut. She was at Winchester with some House-carles attached to her son's interest, but Harold promptly deprived her of the power of doing mischief by securing the treasures left under her charge; at the same time he was not strong enough to expel the widowed Lady herself, and she was allowed to remain at Winchester till Wessex came round to Harold's rule. The proceedings at Oxford have been generally represented as amounting to a peaceable partition of England. To us it hardly seems to deserve that name, as there is nothing to show that Harold acquiesced in any cession of Wessex to his brother, beyond the fact that he did not declare war against Godwine. On the other hand, it is clear that Harold at first was not recognised South of the Thames.[2]

Harold and Harthacnut.

Alleged Partition.

If we make search for the considerations that may have told in favour of one or other of the rival candidates, neither of whom had any personal merits to show, the predilection of Mercia for the son of Ælfgifu of Northampton seems too natural to call for comment. We have already suggested that Cnut's connexion with the daughter of Earl Ælfhelm may have been of material use to him in his first days in England. The motives that may have influenced the men of

Parties in England.

[1] "Tha liðsmen on Lundene," Chron. E. Thorpe and Freeman render liðsmen as "sailors," or "sea-faring folk." But what were the numbers and position of the mariners of the Port of London at that time that they should take a lead in the highest politics? A note to the Witherlagh's Rætt (*sup.*) tells us that the "huscarla" were also known as the "thingamanna, and the collective body as the "thinga-manna-lith." This in English would produce "thingamanna-lithsmen," or shortly "lithsmen." Lingard takes the view that I do.

[2] See Chron. C, D, and E (especially the latter); Florence; *Encomium Emmæ*, 26; W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 188. I interpret the words in Chron. E, which seem to imply a double election (gecuron Harold, him and his broðer Hardacnute) as only implying a double nomination. Florence no doubt distinctly asserts a partition between Harold and Harthacnut; but Chron. E, which records Godwine's opposition to Harold, also states that it came to nothing; while the Worcester Chronicle, D, simply records Harold's accession, without any word even of opposition. So too the Encomiast, who wonders that the English could have stooped to elect Harold and not one of Emma's sons.

Wessex in favour of Harthacnut are not so obvious. Probably the personal influence of Emma and Godwine, and a jealousy of Mercian ascendancy had a good deal to do with it. It is just possible that far-seeing men might wish for union with Denmark as a safeguard against calamities the memory of which could not yet have passed wholly out of mind.

Harold's election does not seem to have been followed by any coronation. On the contrary, we are told that Archbishop Æthelnoth, when applied to by the King in the usual course, absolutely refused either to hallow him himself, or to allow any of his suffragans to do so, reserving the sanction of the Church for some more favoured candidate, apparently Harthacnut, the nominee of Wessex.[1]

With England in a state of practical disruption, Wessex rejecting the authority of the elected King, and waiting for a King of her own, who did not appear, the Ætheling Ælfred, eldest son of Æthelred by Emma, was stirred to assert his pretensions and make a bid for the crown of England.[2] As no help could be obtained from the infant Duke of Normandy, he turned to the friendly court of Count Baldwin V. of Flanders, an old ally of England. From him he obtained some help, or at any rate leave to enlist men in the county of Boulogne.[3] With these Ælfred sailed, making for a harbour, presumably Dover.[4] But the people, instead of welcoming him with open arms, turned out in hostile array to resist his landing.

Ælfred, Son of Æthelred.

It does not appear that the adventurous Ætheling had received any assurances of support, or had even put himself into communication with any parties in England. He came in the spirit of a Prince Charlie, trusting simply to his own enthusiasm and the supposed justice of his cause. With respect to the latter it is needless to point out that he had never been nominated, much less elected King by any party in England, and that he was not even the eldest surviving representative of the House of Ælfred.

Undeterred by his first ominous repulse, Ælfred turned aside to another port given as Sandwich.[5] There he succeeded in disembarking his men. The story of this unhappy enterprise is given by the different writers with a most perplexing variety of detail, due partly to sympathy and partisan feeling, partly, no doubt, to the real difficulty of getting at facts that so many influential parties were interested in hushing up. Thus we are told by several writers that the Ætheling had

Lands at Sandwich.

[1] *Encomium*, 27, 28. The writer, however, seems uncertain as to which of Emma's sons the Archbishop favoured. So long as a son of Emma was living he would crown no one but a son of Emma.

[2] *Vitæ Ædw.*, 401; conf. *Encom.*, 28. I reject the allegation of the latter that Ælfred was lured over by Harold by a forged letter written in Emma's name.

[3] "Bononiensium paucos"; *Encom.*, 29; "cum armatis pancioribus Francis," *Vitæ Ædw.*

[4] "Doroberniam venit transvectus ex portu Icio"; Guillelmus Pictavensis, *Gesta Guillelmi Ducis*, p. 38, ed. Maseres. Portus Icius=Wissant. [5] So *Vitæ Ædw.*, 37-

come over simply to visit his mother.[1] But he must have known that she was not his friend, but the friend of Harthacnut, and no writer has indicated a single step in Ælfred's journey that would lead him towards Winchester. The allegation of an intention to visit his mother must therefore have been started in order to intensify pity for his fate by disguising the real purpose of his coming. To us it appears clear that from the coast Ælfred made straight for London, and that he was on his way to London when he was met by Godwine, the Earl of Wessex.[2] According to William of Malmesbury[3] they met at Gillingham, presumably Gillingham near Rochester, a name not likely to have been invented, while the locality would be exactly on the line of a march from Sandwich to London. Most of the writers, however, place the meeting at Guildford, a town with a name known to all. If Guildford was the place, then we must suppose the Ætheling's landing to have been effected somewhere on the Sussex coast. But whether Godwine encountered the Ætheling at Gillingham or Guildford, and whether he considered himself the officer of Harthacnut or Harold, he was in duty bound to challenge an armed party invading the district committed to his charge. Nay, more, he was bound to arrest a man obviously aiming at the subversion of the existing Government. It was a delicate and invidious task, morally certain to involve Godwine in odium, as popular feeling would inevitably run in favour of a gallant prince coming as England's heir to release her from alien domination.

An Advance towards London.

With the utmost moderation and gentleness the Earl could hardly have discharged his duty without incurring obloquy. But as it happened he did his best to put himself altogether in the wrong. According to the most detailed account he met the Ætheling as a friend, declared himself his man, supped with him, found quarters for him and his men, and then in the night, reinforcements having come in from Harold, arrested the whole party in their beds.[4] The men were either put to death, mutilated, or sold as slaves; the Ætheling was sent up a prisoner to London. Harold put out his eyes and sent him to Ely, there to linger in agony for a few days.

Arrested by Godwine.

'Was no sadder deed
Done on this earth,
Since the Danes came
To settle in peace.'[5]

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[1] So Chron. C and D; Florence, and the Encomiast.

[2] So expressly Florence "*versus* Lundoniam"; adding rather absurdly, "ad regis Haroldi colloquium." So too in effect *Encom.*, 29, "devians eum a Londonia."

[3] *G. R.*, s. 188.

[4] *Encomium* and Will. Poitiers, *sup.* It is important to notice that the Godwinist *Vita Ædwardi* admits that it was reported that the Ætheling's men had been arrested "dolo exarmatos" (*when deprived of their weapons by fraud*).

[5] See the ballad in Chron. C, where Godwine is named as the chief agent, copied in D,

In this affair Godwine may not have been guilty of treachery as well as cruelty; but it is perfectly clear that he was universally and necessarily held responsible for the barbarous treatment of the men, and for the wanton extradition of the Ætheling to Harold,[1] acts for which he was impeached at the first opportunity.

Harold.

But however much Godwine's general popularity might suffer, he was now brought into friendly relations with Harold. Harthacnut was thrown overboard 'because he was so long in Denmark,' and Harold re-elected and acknowledged as King over all England. Emma was expelled from Winchester, and driven over sea to find a refuge, not among her relations in Normandy, but with Count Baldwin in Flanders.[2]

Harold, full King of England.

Three years and a little more Harold lived to reign as King of all England, the chief recorded events being deaths among the bishops, and appointments of new bishops to fill their places. On the 29th October, 1038, Æthelnoth 'the Good' passed away.[3] Eighteen years he had filled the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury. Seven days later Æthelric, Bishop of Selsey, followed him to the grave. It was said that he had prayed that he might not be required to live long after 'his dear father Æthelnoth.'[4] A little later came the death of Ælfric, Bishop of Elmham; and again on the 20th December that of Bishop Byrhtheah or Bryhtheah of Worcester; while in the following year, Byrhtmær, Bishop of Lichfield, likewise paid the debt of nature.[5]

Eadsige Archbishop.

The vacancy in the Primacy was filled up without difficulty, Harold accepting a man already designated for the position by his father, namely, Eadsige, formerly chaplain to Cnut, and perhaps since chaplain to Harold himself. As if to ensure his succession, Eadsige had been consecrated by Æthelnoth as his coadjutor, with the style of Bishop of St. Martin's Canterbury (1035). It is worthy of notice that in contemplation of his becoming a bishop, Cnut had required Eadsige to take monastic vows, he then being only a Secular priest.[6]

but with the omission of Godwine's name, to the detriment both of the rhythm and sense. For the name "Godwine" the pronoun "he" is substituted, a relative without an antecedent. Ælfred was buried in the minster 'at the west end, near the steeple in the south *portice*' (aisle?).

[1] In view of Mr. Freeman's elaborate apology for Godwine, it is well to point out that the Godwinist Biographer of the Confessor does not deny Godwine's part in this affair: what he denies strenuously is that Godwine ever entertained any treasonable intentions towards the Confessor; *Vitæ Ædw.*, 401–406. The date of Ælfred's attempt is quite certain; yet Malmesbury places it after the death of Harold, and Huntingdon after that of Harthacnut.

[2] A.D. 1037. Chron. C, D, E; *Encom.*, 32; W. Malm, *sup.* Emma was established at Bruges, and liberally treated by Baldwin.

[3] Flor.; *Reg. Sacr.* [4] Chron. C; Flor.; *Reg. Sacr.*

[5] Chron. C, D, E; Flor.; *Reg. Sacr.* For Bishop Ælfric's Will see *Cod. Dip.* No. 759. One Walfsige became Bishop of Lichfield; *Reg. Sacr.*

[6] Flor.; *Reg. Sacr.*; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 745, 1,323, 1,325, 1,327; Hook, *Archbishops*, I.

The See of Worcester likewise was disposed of very quickly, being handed over at once to Lyfing, already Bishop of Devon and Cornwall, the three Bishoprics to be held together. Lyfing was an old courtier, originally promoted by Cnut, and afterwards patronized by his son. His name had been associated with that of Godwine in the matter of the suppression of the Ætheling's attempt.[1] The See of Worcester, therefore, was clearly his reward.[2] Stigand, a royal chaplain, obtained a nomination to Elmham, but one Grimcytel bid high for it, and arrested his appointment, without, however, securing it for himself. Between them East Anglia apparently remained without a pastor till 1043.[3]

The weakness of Harold's government as compared with that of his father is shown by the altered state of relations with their neighbours. Cnut could exact homage from a King of Scotland. Under Cnut English Earls could overrun Welsh principalities. Now the tables are turned. In 1039 Gruffudd, son of Llywelyn, King of North Wales, gave battle to the Mercians at the ford of Rhyd-y-Groes on the Severn, near Berriew (Montgomeryshire), and defeated them. Eadwine, the brother of Earl Leofric, was killed, 'and Thurkill and Ælfget and many other good men with them.' Gruffudd followed up this success by expelling Howel, son of Edwine, from South Wales.[4] On the Northern frontier again the Scots assumed the offensive. Malcolm mac Kenneth, the victor of Carham, had died in 1034,[5] after a reign of thirty years. All collaterals having been removed by him,[6] he was succeeded by his grandson Duncan, the Duncan of romance, being the son of his daughter Bethoc or Betoch by Crinan, lay Abbot of Dunkeld, no election of any Tanist being attempted.[7] After six years of rule Duncan was tempted to imitate his grandfather by invading Bernicia and attacking Durham.[8] The attack in the former case had been repulsed by the energy of young Uhtred. But under Bishop

Weakness of Harold.

Duncan, King of Scotland.

487. The church of St. Martin's is still extant, the lower courses of the building being Roman work.

[1] So W. Malm., *sup.*; Florence, A.D. 1040.

[2] Chron. E; Flor.; *Reg. Sacr.* Lyfing signs as Bishop of Worcester in 1038, within eleven days at the latest of the death of his predecessor; *Cod. Dip.* No. 760. He was in attendance on Harold on his death bed; *Id.* No. 758.

[3] Florence; William of Malmesbury, *G. P.*, p. 150, fills up the gap by inserting a second Ælfric as Bishop of Elmham. In all other respects he here copies Florence, who is silent about the second Ælfric. Bishop Stubbs, in his *Registrum Sacrum*, accepts this second Ælfric, but is there any real evidence of his existence? Grimcytel succeeded in obtaining the bishopric of Selsey; *Reg. Sacr.*, etc.

[4] *Ann. Camb.*; Chron C; *Brut-y-T.*; Guest's *Mabiniogion*, II. 427, note, *ex relatione* Prof. J. Rhys. The *Ann. Cambriæ* render the name "vadum Crucis."

[5] 25th Nov., Marianus Scotus; Tigh; *Ann. Ulster.*

[6] See Skene, *C. S.*, I. 398, 399, and authorities there.

[7] *Chron. Picts and S.*, 175, 289; Fordun, IV. c. 1.; Skene, *Celtic Scot.*, I. 390, 398.

[8] See A.D. 1006.

Eadmund, the successor of Ealdhun, the minster had been completed, as well probably as the mound fort, so that the buildings represented a fortress of considerable strength.[1] The bishop's men, therefore, were able to defend themselves without further help. Duncan's horses were destroyed by missiles from the walls; and his men, retreating in confusion on foot, were attacked and slaughtered in great numbers.[2] But Northumbrian barbarism betrayed itself in the treatment of the fallen. "The bloody trophies of victory were collected in the market-place of Durham," and a garland of Scottish heads set up to adorn the battlements of the rescued minster.[3] It must be admitted, however, for Duncan that his invasion of Bernicia may have been undertaken to avenge a savage inroad into Strathclyde made by Earl Eadulf about two years before.[4] The succession in Strathclyde being no longer traceable, we may suppose that the district had been finally incorporated with the rest of modern Scotland.[5] Duncan, however, paid the penalty of his military failure. On the 14th August he was murdered by "Macbethad mac Finlaech," a personage known to all time as Macbeth. This man is described as Duncan's chief captain,[6] but his real position apparently was that of Mormaer, or High Steward of Moray.[7] His wife, the Lady Macbeth of romance, who appears in history as Gruoch, was the daughter of one Boete or Bodhe,[8] whose male issue had been murdered by Malcolm, presumably to clear the way for Duncan. In her right doubtless Macbeth became King of Scotland (1040).

Macbeth, King of Scotland.

But Harold had already passed away. He died at Oxford on the 17th March, 1040, and was buried at Westminster, the first of English Kings to be laid in Eadgar's foundation.[9] Hunting was his great pursuit, and to his bodily activity he owed his surname of Harefoot. His quarrel with Archbishop Æthelnoth probably had

Death of Harold.

[1] Symeon, *H. D. E.*, 90. Eadmund held the see 1020–1041; *Reg. Sacrum.* For his election and confirmation by Cnut see Symeon, *sup.*, 85, 86. He took monastic vows on being appointed bishop. [2] A.D 1040, Sym., *sup.*, 90.

[3] Freeman, *N. C.*, I. 156.

[4] Symeon, *H. R.*, s. 159: "Brittones satis atrociter devastavit." Brittones with this writer usually means the Strathclyde Britons.

[5] The last King of Strathclyde, expressly so called, Eogan the Bald, died apparently soon after the battle of Carham, 1018. But in 1034 we hear of the death of Suibne mac Kenneth, King of "Gallgaedel," or Galloway (Tigher; *Ann. Ulst.*). Suibne may have been an under-king of Strathclyde, but the new title given to him suggests a curtailment of his district, and supplies a link through which we may trace a historical connexion between the Kingdom of Strathclyde and the later Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, the most distinguished post in Scotland.

[6] "A duce suo," Marianus S; Tigh; *Ann. Ulst.*; *Chron. P. and S.*, 175, 289.

[7] The district of Moray would probably include all to the West of the Spey and South of the Dornoch Firth, or the modern counties of Elgin, Nairn, Inverness, and Ross.

[8] See the St. Andrew's Charter, cited Skene, *C. S.*, I. 406.

[9] Chron. F; conf. *Cod. Dip.* No. 758.

a bad effect on his relations with the Church and clergy in general. We are told that he neglected all Christian rites and worship, and, apparently, that he could not abstain from his field sports even on Sundays.[1] This, of course, to say the least of it, implied a want of judgment and sense of duty on his part. But it seems the only charge that is brought home to him. His treatment of his rival, Ælfred, was not unwarranted by the ways of the age, and the expulsion of Emma was a political necessity. Apart from these acts he shewed no disposition to persecute those who had been his enemies. A certain amount, therefore, "either of generosity or of policy"[2] must be recognised in his character. He shines in comparison with his brother and successor Harthacnut.

Archbishop Æthelnoth, we are told, refused to crown him. History is silent as to any coronation by Eadsige, who owed his appointment to Harold.[3] The explanation of this may be found in the fact that Eadsige did not go to Rome for his Pall till 1040[4]; that he probably did not return till after Harold's death; and that till he had received the precious *pallium* he could not be considered full Archbishop.

The House-carles were kept up by Harold at the reduced strength of sixteen ships, equivalent, as we take it, to 560 men. It is not quite clear whether the reduction in numbers was the doing of Harold, or of his father in his latter days. But the rate of pay was still the same, namely, £4 a year 'the rowlock.'[5]

Harold's Wife.

Harold is generally supposed to have died unmarried. Nevertheless it appears that he had a consort whom an English Bishop felt bound to recognise as his sovereign Lady.[6] History, however, does not record her name, and it is quite clear that Harold left no issue.

[1] "Ut non solum ipsam odiret benedictionem (*i.e.* episcopalem) verum etiam universam fugeret Christianitatis religionem. Namque dum alii ecclesiam Christiano more missam audire subintrarent, ipse aut saltus canibus ad venandum cinxit," etc.; *Encomium*, 28. [2] Freeman.

[3] I disregard the allegation of the pseudo-Ingulf that Harold presented his coronation robe to Croyland Abbey; *Hist. Croyland*, Gale, *Scriptt. XV.*, vol. I. 91.

[4] Chron. A. [5] Chron. E.

[6] See the Will of Bishop Ælfric of Elmham, who died in 1038. He bequeaths 'to my Royal Lord Harold two marks of gold, and to my Lady one mark of gold' ("mine cynelaforde . . . minre hlefdigen"); Earle, *Land Charters*, 240; *Cod. Dip.* No. 759. I do not see who the 'Lady' could be unless Harold's wife; his mother is always spoken of as having gone to Norway.

HARTHACNUT

Born 1018–1020 (?) [1]; King of Denmark, 1035; King of England, 18th June, 1040 [2]; died June, 1042

Harold being dead and gone, all eyes were turned towards his brother Harthacnut, now Cnut's only surviving son, for whom Wessex had declared in 1035. The failure of Ælfred's attempt would condemn any movement in favour of his brother Eadward; while the sons of Eadmund Ironside were still outside the political horizon. The Witan, therefore, with general approval, elected Harthacnut, and an embassy was despatched to invite him to accept the Crown of England.[3] The envoys had not far to go. Harthacnut had lingered in Denmark, but not without cause. He had seen his brother Swein promptly succeeded in Norway by Magnus the Good, natural son of Saint Olaf, dethroned by Cnut in 1028. As usual with Scandinavian affairs at that time, the details are involved in doubt through lack of historical records. According to the oldest writers Swein had died about the year 1036, whereupon the Norwegians had elected Magnus.[4] According to other accounts Swein was expelled at the death of Cnut, and driven to find a refuge in Denmark, where he died shortly afterwards.[5] However this may have been, Magnus at once assumed a threatening attitude towards Denmark, but peace was secured for the time through the efforts of leading men on either side. A treaty was arranged between Magnus and Harthacnut, on the basis of an agreement for mutual survivorship.[6] Still, however, a watch had to be kept on Magnus.

Election of Harthacnut.

But Emma was not disposed to acquiesce tamely in banishment from England. Thirsting for revenge on Harold, she had appealed first, we are told, to her son Eadward in Normandy. But Eadward was not prepared to court the fate of his brother Ælfred; so Emma turned to Harthacnut, and he in the course of the year 1039 joined his mother at Bruges with a modest force of ten ships.[7] The two were watching the course of events when the news of Harold's death reached them. Neither needed a second bidding to return to England, and a fleet of sixty ships was quickly raised. About the 17th June they landed at Sandwich, and met with a hearty reception at all hands.[8]

Harthacnut and Emma.

[1] His mother was married in July, 1017, she took him on a visit to Canterbury in 1023; Chron. D.

[2] Chron. E., A.D. 1042.

[3] For this embassy see *Hist. Ramsey*, A.D. 1040. An old Ramsey monk, Ælfweard, then Bishop of London and Abbot of Evesham, was one of the envoys.

[4] Adam of Bremen, Pertz, IX. 332, and note. *Ann. Roskild*, Langebek, I. 377.

[5] Snorri, *Saga of Magnus the Good*, Laing, II. 359–365; *Ann. Island*, Langebek, vol. III., A.D. 1036. [6] Snorri; *Ann. Roskild and Island, sup.*

[7] *Encomium*, 33; Chron. C; Adam of Bremen, 332.

[8] *Encom.*, 35; Chron. C, D, E.

If Eadsige had returned from Rome it may be that Harthacnut was hallowed by him; a late writer asserts the fact, but it must be considered doubtful.[1]

Whatever hopeful expectations might have been formed of Harthacnut's rule were doomed to speedy disappointment. Mean, vindictive, and tyrannical, he lost no time in letting his new subjects see what kind of man he was. His first act was to order the body of his brother Harold to be exhumed and thrown into a fen in the Thames. But the London Danes, a considerable community, would not allow the remains of their late King to become food for fishes. The corpse was recovered and laid in their private burying ground, a mile outside the City walls—St. Clement's Danes.[2]

Harold's Remains.

Harthacnut followed up this offensive exhibition of petty spite by ordering a "gyld" for a year's pay for sixty ships at the established rate of eight marks the rowlock, a demand that at once destroyed all the King's popularity.[3] 'And then went against him all who before had yearned for him.'[4] The money clearly was wanted for the men who had come over with Harthacnut, and who might have been in his service two or three months at most. In 1018 Cnut, no doubt as an armed conqueror in the hour of victory, had exacted tribute on behalf of the men whose swords had raised him to the throne. But Harthacnut coming in peace as one elected King by acclamation, had not a shadow of a pretext for laying any unnecessary burden on the shoulders of his subjects.

Danegeld.

Harthacnut's next act was to fall foul of Godwine and Lyfing for their action in the matter of the Ætheling Ælfred. We are not surprised to hear that Harthacnut and Emma demanded explanations on the point. But we are surprised to hear that Godwine, the man who after all had done his best for Harthacnut in 1035, should be impeached by Ælfric Puttoc, the Archbishop of York, one who from the first must have been a supporter of Harold. The See of Worcester, however, Lyfing's reward for his activity in 1036, was now made over to Ælfric in recognition of his honest zeal in denouncing Lyfing. But the latter, we are told, at the end of a year or so found means—pecuniary means—of pacifying Harthacnut, and so recovered Worcester.[5]

[1] See Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1040. The "solio mox sublimatur" of Florence does not imply of necessity an actual hallowing. The Peterborough chronicle, in calculating the length of the reign, makes it begin on the 18th June, the day after the landing.

[2] Chron. C and D; Florence. The latter connects Ælfric Puttoc, the Archbishop of York, and Earl Godwine with the act of exhumation. That seems to imply that they were the two leading magnates, and, consequently, that Eadsige had not yet returned from Rome.

[3] Chron. C, D, and Flor. Here, as already pointed out, the Peterborough Chronicle gives additions of its own, making the pay for 62 (not 60) ships come to £21,098, and that for 32 ships to £11,048. [4] Chron. C and D.

[5] "Pecunia serenatus restituit"; W. Malm. But see below, A.D. 1041.

Godwine, however, had to face a trial, doubtless before the Witan, conducted in accordance with the judicial forms of the times. That is to say he swore, bringing the most influential men in England to swear with him, that the Ætheling had not been deprived of his sight by his advice or with his will; and that whatever he had done in the matter he had done by the order of King Harold. It is superfluous to point out that this averment did not touch either of the material points in the case, namely, the wanton barbarity to the prisoners, or the gratuitous surrender of the Ætheling to Harold, at a time when Godwine was holding Wessex independently of Harold, and as Harthacnut's man. The Witan, however, held the answer a sufficient plea, and Godwine sealed his peace with the King by presenting him with a gorgeous offering. The *eirenikon* is described as a ship 'cunningly wrought,'[1] with a gilt stem, fully equipped, and manned by eighty picked warriors, all armed and accoutred like men of high rank. Each wore a triple coat of mail, a helmet parcel gilt, and two gold bracelets or torcs of sixteen ounces each (!) Every man moreover carried a sword with gilt hilt, a Danish axe wrought with gold and silver at his back, a shield with gilt boss and studs on his left arm, and in his right hand an English "ategar" or javelin.[2] Now all this has not come down to us directly from one who saw the ship. If each bracelet weighed 16 ounces, the bracelets alone would have taken 160 pounds of gold, when the gold required of an Earl for his "relief" was only 200 *mancus*, or 25 pounds; while again we have just seen two marks of gold, or one pound, thought a suitable offering to a King, and one mark thought a fit offering to a Queen. The cost of Godwine's ship, if real, must have been so enormous that we cannot help entertaining a suspicion that it may in fact have been a toy ship or model, a costly piece of metal-work, like the toy galleons of which the 16th century silversmiths have left such charming examples. In the course of a little time the toy ship, in popular report, would grow into a real ship. If the ship was real, the ornamentation must have been tinsel. On the other hand, we must admit that the alleged number of the crew militates against our theory that the average complement of a Danish vessel might still be taken as thirty-five men, more especially as the number (eighty men) is supported by the sum named by the Peterborough chronicler as the *gyld* required for sixty-two ships at eight marks the rowlock—£21,098—which sum would imply eighty-five men per ship. We should be only too glad of further evidence on the point.

Godwine's Defence.

Meanwhile, the "gyld" was being collected, the pressure of the tax being

[1] "Fabrefactam"; Flor. I give the classical translation, but *faber* and its compounds in mediæval Latinity are so generally limited to smith's work, that I am tempted to render it 'wrought in metal.'

[2] "Gar" is the more common form. See Florence, A.D. 1040; W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 188.

aggravated by the fact that the winter 1040–1041 was a time of great dearth, wheat rising to 55 pence the sester, 'and eke further.'[1] This must have been due to the hard weather spoken of in the previous autumn and winter,[2] followed in all likelihood by a late spring and wet summer. But popular discontent reached a climax when the raising of the first "gyld" was followed by a precept for a further levy of money for a year's pay for thirty-two ships. This might be taken as foreshadowing the maintenance of a body of House-carles double that maintained by Harold. But on the whole it seems more likely that the men were wanted for service abroad in defence of the King's interests in Denmark, which were seriously threatened.

A Famine.

Harthacnut, as King of Denmark, had recalled from exile his cousin Swein, eldest son of Cnut's sister Estrith by Earl Ulf—Swein Estrithson—who for twelve years after his father's death had resided in Sweden, at the court of King Anund, son of Olaf. When Harthacnut left Denmark he committed the government to Swein, who was shortly attacked and expelled by the Norwegians. Swein came over to England to ask for help, and received a fleet, doubtless raised with the obnoxious gelds. With this he returned to Denmark, but only to suffer a fresh defeat at the hands of Magnus.[3] The fact that the taxes were raised for operations abroad in which the English had no particular interest would not mend the matter in their eyes. Popular resistance to the imposts increased. The ordinary civil authorities—earls, sheriffs, town-reeves, constables—found themselves powerless to act, and House-carles had to be sent through the country to support the taxgatherers. In the performance of this duty it is only natural to suppose that many brutal acts may have been committed. In Worcestershire the people rose, while in the city of Worcester two House-carles were massacred in an upper chamber of a tower connected with the minster buildings,[4] in which they had taken refuge (Monday, 4th May, 1041). Harthacnut's fury knew no bounds. All the forces of Deira, Mercia, and Wessex were called out, besides the House-carles. Siward, Leofric, and Godwine came at the King's summons; also Ranig Earl of the Magesætas (Herefordshire), and Thored, given as Earl of the Middle Angles ("*Mediterraneorum*"), a district probably corresponding to the old Five Burghs.[5] But six months

Resistance to Taxes.

[1] Chron. E. Bosworth (*A.S. Dictionary*) gives the sæster, or sester (*sextarius*, Fr. *şester*), as = 15 pints; the pint being = 1 lb. of water. That would make the sester less than two gallons. Henry of Huntingdon, under the year 1044, describes the sester as equal to a horse-load. Fleta, the 13th century writer, gives the sester of wine as = 4 gallons; so too Bp. Stubbs, *Select Charters*.

[2] "Se mycla wind," Chron. C. "Hiems durissima," Symeon, *H. R.*, A.D. 1039.

[3] See Adam of Bremen, *sup.*, 332; Lappenberg, II. 232.

[4] "In cujusdam turris monasterii solario"; Flor.

[5] The Middle Angles were "dependent ecclesiastically on Leicester." Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, I. 123 (ed. 4). Freeman describes them as "the Eastern part of Mercia."

elapsed before the men were got together. At last, in November, the offending district was invaded and harried in all its length and breadth. But not many of the population were found there, they having had ample warning of the coming storm. The townspeople retired to an island in the Severn, Bevere Island[1] (*Beverege*), where they defended themselves till peace was proclaimed. Four days the devastation lasted; on the fifth day the city was burned. The invading forces then retired, laden with booty, and the king's wrath was appeased. The See of Worcester was still in Ælfric's hands at this time. The restoration of Lyfing therefore may have been partly due to odium attaching to Ælfric in connexion with these events.[2]

Worcestershire Ravaged.

Yet another crime, one too involving a foul breach of faith, must be placed to the account of King Harthacnut under this year. Eadulf had succeeded to the earldom of Bernicia a few years before, at the death of his brother Ealdred. The elder brother had fallen by the hand of Carl, in prosecution of the original blood-feud between the Houses of Uhtred and Thurbrand Hold, as already mentioned. Eadulf had incurred the ill-will of Harthacnut under circumstances not explained. Perhaps he had been a supporter of Harold, perhaps he had refused to join in the raid on Worcestershire. Anyhow he was invited to court to make his peace with the King; and he came under "grith," *i.e.* a formal safe-conduct. But Harthacnut, in violation of his pledge,[3] ordered Eadulf to be assassinated, and the hand selected for the deed was that of Siward. The Earl does not appear to have been connected with the House of Thurbrand. On the contrary, he was married to Eadulf's niece, a daughter of Ealdred. But he did not shrink from shedding the blood of his wife's uncle, and for the service received the earldom of Bernicia, thus becoming ruler of Northumbria in the widest sense, namely, from the Humber to the Tweed.[4] It is satisfactory, however, before closing the short chapter of the reign of Harthacnut, to be able to find one act worthy of commendation,—one act suggestive of brotherly feelings and good sense, namely, the invitation to his half-brother Eadward to leave Normandy and take up his residence in England. As Harthacnut was childless, unmarried, and certainly of unsound constitution,[5] the invitation would imply a tacit recognition of Eadward as Heir Presumptive to the Throne. The prospect of a close of Danish rule and of a return to the House of Ælfred could not fail to be welcome to the English. But in the call for Eadward in prefer-

Murder of Earl Eadulf.

Eadward (the Confessor) brought to England.

[1] Two and a half miles N. of Worcester.

[2] Florence, and Chron. C and D, A.D. 1041; W. Malm., *G. R.*, *sup.*

[3] "Wed loga"; Chron.

[4] A.D. 1041, Chron. C and D; Symeon, *H. D. E.*, p. 91; *H. R.*, p. 198, and Append., 383. In the last place (*Tract on Northumbrian Earls*), the deed is wrongly attributed to the time of Eadward.

[5] "Ob morbos quos frequenter patiebatur"; Will. Poitiers, 39.

ence to the sons of Ironside, still doomed to be overlooked, we may trace the agency of Emma. Eadward came over without hesitation, and was at once established in a suitable position at court, if not formally recognised as future King.[1]

Next year (1042) Harthacnut passed away, in the words of the chroniclers, 'as he at his drink stood.' In fact, the King was attending a banquet at Lambeth, at the house of Osgod Clapa, a wealthy King's Thegn,[2] the entertainment being given in honour of the marriage of Osgod's daughter Gytha to another leading Thegn of Danish blood—Tofig Pruda[3] (*the Proud*). This man is said to have been the King's Standard-Bearer.[4] From the use of the word 'stood' (*stod*) it has been suggested that Harthacnut may have been rising to propose a toast, perhaps the health of the bride and bridegroom, when he was seized with a fit, apparently an epileptic fit, and so fell down on the floor in terrible convulsions.[5] His attendants carried him off, but he never spoke again, and on the 8th June he died.[6] For burial he was taken to the Old Minster at Winchester, and laid beside his father, Cnut.[7] Henry of Huntingdon thought that he could form a favourable opinion of Harthacnut on the strength of the liberality of his table, which provided four meals, or four dinners, a day for his courtiers.[8] A better apology for his bad government might be found in his youth, and the presumption that he was much led by his advisers, of whom his mother was probably the first.[9] The oppressive Danegeld of his first year is expressly attributed to his councillors by one writer[10]; but the ravaging of Worcestershire and the murder of Eadulf must be regarded as Harthacnut's own acts.

Death of Harthacnut.

Harthacnut was not married, and left no issue.

[1] *Encom.*, 36; Chron. C, D, E; Flor.; W. Malm. The first of the above has it that Eadward was associated with Harthacnut on the throne, while the Chronicles C and D say of Eadward, "Theh wæs to cinge gesworen," a passage that does not seem to have received the attention that it deserves.

[2] "Magnæ vir potentiæ," Flor. Osgod signs as "*Minister*" from the year 1026; *Cod Dip.* Nos. 743, 1,033, etc.

[3] Tofig signs in 1033, with Osgod, at the head of the Thegns; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 749, 751.

[4] *De Inventione Crucis*, p. 9; (Stubbs, 1861).

[5] "Mid egeslicum anginne."

[6] Chron. C, D, E; Flor. The *History of Ramsey* notes that the reign lasted two years less ten days.

[7] *Id.* The Canterbury Chronicle (F) adds that the Lady Emma gave the head of the Martyr St. Valentine to the New Minster for the good of her son's soul.

[8] "Tantæ namque largitatis fertur fuisse ut prandia regalia quatuor in die vicibus omni curiæ suæ faceret apponi, malens a vocatis apposita fercula dimitti, quam a non vocatis apponenda fercula reposci"; *Hist. Angl.*, p. 190. If Harthacnut himself 'dined' four times in the day no wonder that he died in a fit.

[9] Emma is associated with Harthacnut in one of his three undoubted charters, and she signs next after him in another; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 763 and 1,330.

[10] Chron. E, "his rædesmen hit syððon strange forguldon."

CHAPTER XXVII

ENGLISH DYNASTY RESTORED

EDWARD 'THE CONFESSOR' [1]

Born at Islip [2] 1004–1010 [3]; succeeded 9th June, 1042 [4]; died 5th January, 1066.

Styles: "Anglorum basileus, monarchus; Rex Britanniæ totius; Rex Anglorum; Angul-saxonum rex," etc.; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 767, 770, 1,332

Delay in the Coronation—Apparent Opposition to Eadward—His Final Coronation and Marriage—Ascendancy of Earl Godwine—Outlawry and Recall of his son Swein—Disbandment of House-carles—Remission of Standing Danegeld

ON the 8th of June, 1042, Harthacnut had passed away. A day or two might be allowed to intervene between his death and his burial. Till the last rites had been performed it would hardly be seemly to proceed to the election of a successor. Yet the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles tell us that or ever the late King had been laid in his grave Eadward was proclaimed in London. 'All men took him, as was his right (*gecynde*).'[5] If Eadward in fact had already been sworn in as King-elect the proceeding would be natural. Florence of Worcester, however, adds that this prompt and general recognition was chiefly due to Earl Godwine and Bishop Lyfing. The next fact recorded by our domestic writers is that Eadward was 'hallowed king, with mickle worship, by Archbishop Eadsige, on Easter Day, 3rd April, 1043.'[6] The King is proclaimed with almost indecent haste, yet ten months elapse before he receives the sanction so essential in the eyes of all. A Harold or a Harthacnut might, and perhaps did, get on without consecration. But Eadward was before all things a churchman, a man led by priests, almost a monk. Neither in his own eyes nor in those of his subjects would he

Delay in the Coronation.

[1] A 'Confessor' is a Saint of a minor order. Eadward was canonized by Pope Alexander III. *circa* 1160; but popular belief in his personal holiness had canonized him long before.

[2] "Gīðslep," *Cod. Dip.* No. 862; Freeman.

[3] Eadward's parents were married in 1002. His brother Ælfred was older than he; he also had certainly one, and perhaps two, sisters; according as he was older or younger than they he might be born 1004 to 1010. He was sent abroad in 1013.

[4] Florence, recording Eadward's death 5th January, 1066, gives the reign as having lasted 23 years 6 months and 27 days.

[5] See Chron. C, D, E, and F. The original annal here incorporated by E must have been written up during the life of the Confessor, as it wishes him a long reign—"healde tha hwile the God unne."

[6] *Id.*, and Flor.

seem full King till the holy oil had passed on his head. Thus we feel that the hasty proclamation and the tardy coronation alike point to the fact that Godwine and Lyfing, as the leaders of the national party, anxious for Eadward's promotion, anticipated and experienced some considerable opposition. William of Malmesbury would have us to believe that the opposition came from Eadward's own timidity and reluctance; that he wished to return to Normandy; and that Godwine, who looked forward to ruling in his name, had much ado to induce him to accept the proferred crown.[1] Be this as it may have been—and Eadward's feebleness of character[2] would certainly encourage opposition—the question remains, what other candidate was there in the field? We answer that a dynasty of three reigns standing does not succumb without a struggle, and that the House of Swein Tiugeskægg was not extinct. The heir of the Danish line was Swein, the son of Estrith, Cnut's eldest sister, a young man of undoubted ability, as his later history shewed. When last we heard of him he was in England, pressing for succour against the Norwegians. He went home, again to suffer defeat at the hands of Magnus. Again he turned to England, arriving in the nick of time to find Harthacnut dead, and the English Danes in want of a candidate. His brothers Biorn and Asbiorn also came with him. The quarter therefore from whence emanated the opposition to Eadward becomes apparent. All this we get from a foreign writer, already cited, himself a personal friend of Swein.[3] Reverting to domestic authority, we hear of a grand Gemot at Gillingham, presumably the Dorsetshire Gillingham, in which all the arts of diplomacy, including bribery and corruption, had to be exercised by Godwine to secure the election of Eadward.[4] Godwine, however, did carry the day, Swein being induced to leave England under a promise of the reversion at Eadward's death, an old solution of such difficulties.[5]

Swein Estrithson in England.

Thus Eadward was finally crowned on Easter Day, 3rd April, 1043. Ælfric of York and most of the other bishops assisted. The proceedings

[1] *G. R.*, s. 196, p. 238. I can see nothing to bear out Mr. Freeman's suggestion that Eadward actually went back to Normandy after the death of Harthacnut. Huntingdon thought that Eadward only came to England after the death of Harthacnut. William of Poitiers is a little hazy on this point; but not a writer pretends that Eadward came over and went back to Normandy before his coronation. William of Poitiers treats Eadward as having been forced on the English by young Duke William under threat of war, William receiving in return a formal grant of the reversion of England from King and Witan.

[2] "Quamvis vel deses vel simplex putaretur," W. Malm., *sup.* See too *Hist. Ramsey*, A.D. 1042: "Vir simplex et rectus . . . propter indulgentiam et simplicitatem parum idoneum ad tractanda regni negotia," etc.

[3] Adam of Bremen, *sup.*, 332.

[4] W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 197. See also the *Vita Ædw.* "Instat potissimum dux Godwinus ut regem suum (*sc.* Ædwardum) recipiant in nativi juris sui throno"; this is the only hint given of any opposition, but still it is a sufficient hint.

[5] So Adam of Bremen, Swein's friend, p. 333.

ended with an address by Eadsige, in which he 'learned' the King well of his duties for the people's good. This, however, was no novel addition to the consecration rites. Dunstan had delivered a similar homily when crowning Eadweard the Martyr in 975.[1] Eadsige followed his precedent, perhaps his very words.

Eadward Finally Crowned.

The European Powers were prompt in recognising the Government of Eadward. It would seem that his coronation was attended by ambassadors bringing friendly messages and gifts from Henry III. of Germany, already bereft of his English bride, Gunhild;[2] also from Henry I. of France, and from 'the King of Denmark.' The last was Magnus of Norway, who for the time had got the better of Swein Estrithson. Doubtless he would be anxious to stave off English intervention on behalf of his rival. Minor princes and lords too, we are told, were there, with proffers of humble service—proffers duly requited with subsidies of English gold.[3]

Foreign Relations.

The appearance of so many ambassadors was a novel circumstance. It must be taken in the first instance as evidence of a growing intercourse between nations, as Europe became more peaceable and orderly. But the embassies may also be taken as indicative of satisfaction at the break-up of Cnut's empire, and a feeling for the balance of power. So, again, the determined stand made by Godwine and the English for the restoration of the native dynasty in the person of a very weak representative shews clearly how little they cared for any union with Denmark. Such a policy would have been quite foreign to the tendencies of the times, which were still altogether local. Godwine's action is the more remarkable as he owed everything to Cnut. His wife was a Dane, and Swein Estrithson was his wife's nephew.[4]

As for the new King himself, he was in all but the name a Norman. Born between 1004 and 1010, he might at the time of his coronation be from thirty-three to thirty-nine years old. Of those years five and twenty had been spent continuously in Normandy. All his early associations, all the friendships of his youth, must have been connected with Normandy. The statesmen at the English court were strangers to him. The men whom he had been taught to look up to were his uncle Richard, and his cousins Richard, Robert, and William, successively Dukes of Normandy. A reverence for the clergy and a clinging to all things Norman will be found leading features of his character;

Character of Eadward.

[1] Chron. C and E; Florence. For Dunstan's homily see above, 330, note.

[2] Henry succeeded his father, Conrad II., as King of Germany in 1039; but he was not crowned Emperor till 1047. Gunhild died in July, 1038.

[3] "Munera . . . quæ rex Ædwardus facit eisdem Francorum principibus vel annua vel continua," etc. See *Vita Ædw.*, 395–397, where we also have an account of a gorgeous ship with 120 rowers presented by Godwine, apparently an improvement on the peace-offering made by him to Harthacnut. Luard.

[4] Green. Godwine's wife Gytha was sister to Earl Ulf, the father of Swein.

Naturally enough he brought with him a little band of friends and advisers, for promotion in England. Chief of these were his nephew, Ralph, son of his sister Godgifu, or Goda, by her first husband Drogo, Count of Mantes, and Robert Champart, Abbot of Jumièges.[1] The latter was soon found to possess the King's confidence "as no other man possessed it."[2] Inattentive to business, with no sense of royal duty, dependent upon others, but unable to act cordially with those whom his subjects would trust, Eadward had in store for the country a dismal period of shiftless policy and paltry intrigue.[3]

The first victim was the King's own mother, who succumbed to a cabal entirely recalling the days of Æthelred the Unredy. Emma was evidently a woman with a turn for making money. Harold had despoiled her under circumstances that quite excused his action. Under Harthacnut she had managed to recoup herself, and was again a rich woman, rich enough to be worth plundering. Towards her sons by her first marriage Emma no doubt had not shown herself a deserving mother. She had totally neglected them for her children by Cnut. Nevertheless we must remember that under Harthacnut she had been all powerful; that Eadward could not well have been recalled without her concurrence; and that for that, if for nothing else, some measure of gratitude must have been due to her. Of the scandalous bad taste of inaugurating a reign by an attack on one's own mother we need say nothing. The King, however, we are told, found fault with the Lady for having 'held it too tightly with him';[4] and again, 'because she had been too hard with him, and had done less for him than he would, both ere he was king and eke since.'[5] These words clearly imply pecuniary shabbiness on Emma's part, but nothing more.[6] Shabby and neglectful to Eadward before his elevation she doubtless had been. Of her shabbiness since that event we may conjecture either that she had not presented what he considered a sufficient offering at his coronation; or perhaps that he had called upon her for a 'Benevolence' for the expenses of the ceremony, and that she had been ill-advised enough to refuse. But, on whatever grounds, the King considered himself aggrieved, and a Witenagemot was convened at Gloucester, at which the three great Earls gave their attendance. The Lady's case was laid before the assembly, and she doubtless was voted guilty of treason, and condemned to forfeiture. Taking the execution of the sentence into his own hands, the King, followed by Godwine, Leofric, and Siward, without giving his mother one word of notice, or one chance of compromise or accord, rode straight to Winchester with force of arms, as against an enemy, laid hands on her

Attack on Emma.

The Lady's Treasures Seized.

[1] *Vita Æduu.*, 399; Lapp; Freeman. [2] Green, *Conq. of E.*

[3] Conf. Adam of Bremen, *sup.*, 340, who describes Eadward as a mere puppet, "vita et inani nomine regis contenti." [4] "To fæste," Chron. C and E.

[5] Chron. D; Flor. [6] See too W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 196.

treasures, declared her estates confiscate, and then went off, leaving her to end her days at Winchester on a modest competence.[1]

Emma's fall involved for the moment that of her right-hand man and chief adviser, Stigand. This man, if not perhaps the priest appointed to "Assandun" in 1020, was at any rate a Royal chaplain, who had been connected with the court since 1033.[2] Originally appointed to the See of Elmham in 1033, he had only obtained consecration in the course of the current year (1043). But now, by a sudden revulsion of the wheel of fortune, he found himself ousted, without a semblance of a recorded charge against him beyond that of being of Emma's council. The bishopric was taken into hand. But Stigand understood the world that he lived in and how to deal with it, and so in the course of the next year recovered his bishopric.[3]

Stigand Bishop of Elmham.

Archbishop Eadsige was not a man of the world, but he too quite understood the part in ecclesiastical affairs that money and intrigue could play at court. He was in weak health, unequal to the duties of his post, and anxious for a coadjutor. He had a man in his eye with whom he could act, Siward, Abbot of Abingdon, one of the strictest monastic Houses in the kingdom. But Eadsige was careful to impart his wishes to two men, and two men only, the King and Godwine: 'For that he weened that some other man would beg it or buy it if more men wist of it.' The leave and license of the indispensable two having been obtained, Eadsige at once consecrated Siward as Bishop of Upsal.[4] One ecclesiastical appointment there was in which assuredly Godwine had no voice. On the 25th July, 1044, Bishop Ælfweard of London died.[5] Eadward at once gave that most important See to his confidant, Robert of Jumièges.[6] The appointment must have been a very unpopular one. The writers of the time refuse to notice it. They record the death of Ælfweard; they record the appointment to the Abbey of Evesham held by him along with the bishopric; but not a word about London. For all they tell us it might have been left vacant.

Robert of Jumièges.

But if Godwine could not control the King in all his ways, he was nevertheless, by virtue of his wealth, experience, and political capacity, quite the leading man in the kingdom, and the virtual ruler of England. His eldest son Swein, or, according to

Position of Earl Godwine.

[1] 16th Nov., 1043; Chron.; Flor.; W. Malm., *sup.* Emma, however, is still found attesting some of her son's charters; *Cod. Dip.* No. 774. She lived on till 1052. For her Will, disposing of ten hides of land, see *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,337.

[2] He attests a charter of Cnut in 1033, *Cod. Dip.* No. 751. For the other Stigand, *see* above 398, note 7.

[3] Chron. C, Florence, and Chron. E, 1044. Stigand signs as Bishop from 1044, *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 773, 784. It would seem that Grimcytel, now Bishop of Selsey, the man who had competed with Stigand for Elmham in 1038, was again bidding against him.

[4] Chron. C; *Reg. Sacrum.* Siward signs in 1045, Eadsige also still attesting; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 776, 778.

[5] Flor.; *Reg. Sacrum.*; Chron. D (A.D. 1045).

[6] W. Malm., *G. P.*, p. 145; *Reg. Sacrum.*

the English spelling of the name, Swegen, was already an Earl.[1] Godwine's glory must have seemed at its height when the King 'took him to wife' the Earl's eldest daughter, Eadgyth.[2] Of this Lady from her own chaplain we get sundry notices, but no full portrait. William of Malmesbury describes her as a very learned person, a perfect "*gymnasium*" of liberal arts, but not a woman of the world, and wanting in looks and tact.[3] That she was not a cypher, however, seems clear. We take her rather to have been a strong-minded woman. From her follower we hear of her not only as taking charge of court ceremonial, and endeavouring to keep the King up to the mark in such things,[4] but also as giving valuable assistance at councils of State.[5] She was jealous of her lord's honour, and anxious to please him in all things; but her life could not be a very happy one with a husband who never treated her, probably could not treat her, as a wife.[6]

The Lady Eadgyth.

Again, in the course of the year (1045) Godwine's second son, Harold, was raised to an earldom, and no less an earldom than that of East Anglia, including Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire, and Essex, besides East Anglia proper; that is to say, Norfolk and Suffolk, which were still reckoned as one county;[7] while yet another earldom was found for Beorn, the nephew of Godwine's wife.[8]

Harold Earl of East Anglia.

[1] The district under his charge is described by Florence (A.D. 1051) as including Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Somerset, and Berks. Swein's earldom, however, would seem to have included that of the Hwiccas, formerly held by Eglaf. The list, therefore, in Florence is not quite accurate. Swein signs as *Dux* as early as 1043; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 767, 769.

[2] 23rd January, 1045; Chron. C (given at end of 1044). Eadgyth signs in 1045; *Cod. Dip.* No. 776.

[3] "Edgitham . . . fæminam in cujus pectore omnium liberalium artium esset gymnasium sed parvum in mundanis rebus ingenium; quam cum videres, si litteras stuperes, modestiam certe animi et speciem corporis desiderares"; W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 197. The writer was clearly hostile, as he insinuates other charges (probri suspicione non caruit) which do not seem to be made out.

[4] "Regalium ornamentorum pompa qua ex officio regiæ uxoris ambiebatur (*sc.* Ædwardus), tacite et temperaliter . . . nulla animi delectatione utebatur, et non curaret si non . . . amministrarentur. Officiositatem tamen ipsius reginæ in talibus gratam ducebat." Again, "Sedulitate ejus"; *Vitæ Ædw.*, 415.

[5] "Erat enim in omnibus regalibus consiliis, ut ita dicamus moderatrix, etc."; *Vitæ*, 403. [6] W. Malm., *sup.*

[7] Flor., A.D. 1051. Harold signs first as "Minister" and then as "Dux" within the year 1045; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 780, 781; see also No. 782, where he is mentioned in the Will of an East Anglian lady, shewing his connexion with that district from the first. With respect to the previous history of East Anglia, of which nothing has been heard since the retirement of Thurkill in 1021, Mr. Freeman suggests that it may have been held by the successive husbands of Gunhild—Hakon and Harold. As Harold died (murdered) about 1043, that would fit in. See below.

[8] Beorn signs as "Dux" in 1045, and before the 22nd April, because the charter is attested by Bishop Byrhtwold of Ramsbury, who died on that day; *Cod. Dip.* No. 778. With respect to Beorn's earldom, he is associated with Bishop Eadnoth of Dorchester in

On the face of our domestic annals Eadward's throne would seem too well established to fear assault from any quarter, and so no doubt it was in fact. Nevertheless, under the year 1044, we hear of the King going to Sandwich with a fleet of thirty-five ships,[1] a step clearly indicating some alarm of foreign invasion. Along with this we hear of the banishment of Gunhild, Cnut's niece, widow of two successive Earls, Hakon and Harold, her sons Heming and Thurkill being also expelled.[2] This we may take as proof of some jealousy of the Danish party.[3] It seems pretty clear that the alarm was caused by the attitude of Magnus, now King of Norway and Denmark. He claimed to have succeeded to the latter kingdom by virtue of the compact of survivorship made between him and Harthacnut. We have seen that at first he hastened to recognise the accession of Eadward; but now he contended that the crown of England was included in the agreement with Harthacnut, and he called for fulfilment of the treaty.[4] Eadward answered his challenge by calling out his fleet. How far the thirty-five ships represented House-carles, and how far they represented a ship-fyrd, we cannot say; but we must point out for the credit of Eadward's government the improvement since the days of his father, when the most imminent danger had failed to stir the King to action.

A Fleet Raised.

Next summer again (1045) we hear of another and a larger muster at Sandwich. 'Never saw nane man greater ship-force on this land.' This time we are expressly told that an invasion by Magnus was expected. But Magnus came not. He was detained at home by a fresh attack on him made by Swein Estrithson,[5] supported by his old friend Anund, otherwise James, of Sweden. Swein's efforts were attended with success: he regained possession of Denmark, at any rate for a time, while England certainly was relieved of all cause of immediate alarm.[6] As she was now playing off Swein Estrithson against

Magnus of Norway.

two grants of land in Herts. Perhaps the southern parts of the See of Dorchester may have been his district; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 826, 827.

[1] Chron. C (Chron. D, A.D. 1045).

[2] Florence (Chron. D, A.D. 1045). Gunhild retired to Bruges, the general refuge for all political exiles, and from thence again to Denmark. Her second husband, Harold, a Danish prince, to be carefully distinguished from Godwine's son, had been recently murdered on his way back from Rome to Denmark by Ordulf of Saxony, brother-in-law to King Magnus; Adam of Bremen, p. 333. Harold was alive in 1042, *Cod. Dip.* No. 764.

[3] It may be that Asbeorn, the son of Ulf, was also banished at this time. The date is uncertain.

[4] Snorri, *Saga of Magnus the Good*, Laing, II. 377, 397; Freeman. This Saga seems more historical than many of the others.

[5] Chron. C, D, and Florence.

[6] Adam of Bremen, 339. The Saga of Harold Hardrada of Norway attributes to him the reinstatement of Swein; Laing, III. 17–19. I prefer to follow Adam and Florence, who represent Hardrada as only coming home when he heard of the death of Magnus in 1047.

Magnus, the promotion of Beorn might be partly due to his relationship with the former prince.

Godwine, his two elder sons, and his wife's nephew between them now ruled the territories comprised in the ancient kingdoms of Kent, Sussex, Wessex, Essex, East Anglia, and considerable parts of Mercia, a vast accumulation of power. The family received its first check from the misconduct of Swein, the eldest son. He had been on an expedition into Wales, in friendly concert with Gruffudd ap Llywelyn of North Wales, to ravage the territories of Gruffudd ap Rhydderch of South Wales. The allies triumphed, and hostages were given up to them. On his return to Herefordshire Swein fell in love with and carried off Eadgifu, Abbess of Leominster. The short record of the Abingdon Chronicle is that Swein 'kept her the while that him listed, syne let her fare hame.[1] If such was the case his conduct was utterly base and discreditable. Florence of Worcester, however, does Swein the justice to say that he wanted to marry the Abbess.[2] Now if Eadgifu was only a canoness (A.S. *nunne*), and not a fully dedicated Regular (*mynicene*), as was very likely the case, under the old law a marriage might have been arranged with consent of the King and Bishop. In any case the abduction would only have involved the offender in a pecuniary fine.[3] But the law no doubt had become stricter. Moreover, with the saintly Eadward on the throne, with Eadsige Archbishop of Canterbury, with Siward, late of Abingdon, coadjutor Archbishop, and the Episcopate generally in the hands of the monastic party, indulgence for any such irregularity was not to be looked for. The matter led to an open rupture between the King and Swein. Apparently a sentence of outlawry was passed on the latter[4]—a monstrous penalty if nothing further had happened, and a proof that the King really bore little love to the House of Wulfnoth. Swein fled the country, retiring, of course, to Bruges, there to rest over the winter, in hopes doubtless of restoration.[5] The family, however, were able to retain possession of his earldoms, dividing them between his brother Harold and his cousin Beorn.[6]

Abduction of an Abbess.

Swein Outlawed.

The year closed with the banishment of another man of note, one of older standing if not of higher position than Swein, namely, Osgod Clapa, the wealthy Thegn, the friend of Harthacnut. He held the high office of Staller, *i.e.* Constable or Master of the Horse; and he had been up to the last one of the most constant witnesses of the King's charters.[7]

[1] A.D. 1046, *Ann. Camb.*; *Brut-y-T.*, 1045–1046. [2] A.D. 1049.

[3] *Laws of Ælfred*, c. 8; conf. *Æthelred*, VI. 12; Schmid; Thorpe.

[4] So H. Hunt., "Rex exulavit Suain."

[5] Chron. F; Chron. E (A.D. 1045). The nunnery of Leominster had been enriched by Earl Leofric; Flor., A.D. 1057; copied by W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 196.

[6] So Chron. E under 1049 (given as 1046).

[7] See the charters of the year 1046; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 783, 1,335, etc.

His sudden fall evidently created a great sensation. Every chronicler notices it. Not one hints at any misconduct on Osgod's part, or suggests the causes of his disgrace. If he had been a supporter of Swein Estrithson as against Eadward in 1042, that offence had been condoned by his subsequent employment at court; besides, we have seen that since that time Swein had been on friendly terms with England. It must therefore remain an open question whether Osgod had been detected in some serious offence, or whether he merely succumbed to the greed of a cabal thirsting for his spoils.

Some further ecclesiastical appointments may here be noticed. On the 23rd March, 1046,[1] Lyfing, 'the word-wise Bishop,'[2] passed away. He was clearly a churchman of the secular type, the Minister and statesman. The friend and companion of Cnut, who had made him Bishop, first of Devon (Crediton), and afterwards of Cornwall in addition, he had successfully held his place at court through all the storms and vicissitudes of four successive reigns—a man of resolute ambition and unshrinking purpose.[3] The further Diocese of Worcester, conferred upon him by Harold in 1038, had already been taken from him, and given to Ealdred, formerly a Winchester monk, and then Abbot of Tavistock.[4] From this we may gather that Lyfing, in spite of his great services, did not stand quite as well with Eadward as with his predecessors.

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Leofric of Exeter.

The combined Sees of Devon and Cornwall, not again to be parted till quite recent days, were bestowed upon Leofric, described as a 'Briton'; that is to say, a man of Cornish extraction, though he bore an English name. Leofric was a strict churchman, and a man probably of superior culture, as he had been educated in Lorraine.[5] He was, therefore, doubtless also something of a foreigner in his tastes. To his superior attainments he owed his position as the King's Chancellor, the first on record. Earlier Kings, of course, had had their officers of State; their "Horderes" (hoarders), or Treasurers; their "Stallers," or Masters of the Horse; their "Bur-thegenes" (Bower-thegns), or Chamberlains; their "Disc-thegenes" (Dish-thegns), or Sewers, and so forth. But no King had established a Secretary of State to take charge of correspondence and office work. The institution of

[1] Florence; *Reg. Sacrum.*

[2] "Se wordsnotera bisceop," say, 'eloquent,' Chron. D (A.D. 1047).

[3] "Maximæ familiaritatis et potentiæ apud Cnutonem regem habitus est. . . . Ambitiosus et protervus ecclesiasticarum legum tirannus, ut fertur invictus, qui nichil pensi haberet quominus omni voluntati suæ assisteret"; see W. Malm., *G. P.*, s. 94.

[4] A.D. 1044. *Reg. Sacr.*; *Cod. Dip.* No. 772; Florence.

[5] W. Malm., *G. P.*, s. 94. Leofric lived to introduce into his See the strict Rule of Chrodegang of Metz for Secular Canons, a Rule monastic in its discipline, but not requiring the taking of formal vows. See Freeman, *N. C.*, II. 84. The celebrated Leofric Missal (MS. Bodl., 579) belonged to this man. For the catalogue of books and ornaments given by him to Exeter see *Cod. Dip.* No. 940; Earle, *Land Charters*, 249.

this important department was the first of the many administrative reforms for which England was indebted to Normandy.

In the month of August, 1047, the death of Ælfwine, Bishop of Winchester, opened up to Stigand another step on "the ladder of promotion."[1]

Stigand Bishop of Winton.

Not only was he able to secure for himself the most coveted of Sees, but also to hand over to his brother Æthelmær the vacancy at Elmham.[2] But the interest of the year (1047) centred in foreign affairs. Swein Estrithson had recovered a certain hold on Denmark through Swedish help, as already mentioned. But Magnus still kept up the struggle.[3] Swein turned to England, sending a request for fifty ships. The succour was refused, the people being of opinion that the expedition was uncalled for, and that Magnus was too strong for them.[4] Florence adds that Godwine urged compliance, but that Leofric of Mercia and the bulk of the nation declared for non-intervention.[5] But within a few months the whole situation was changed. Magnus died suddenly,[6] accidentally drowned, according to some accounts, by a fall overboard. Swein then entered into undisputed possession of Denmark, while Norway took Harold Hardrada,[7] half-brother to Saint Olaf, for its king.[8] Both princes hastened to open diplomatic relations with England. Again we are told that Swein begged for fifty ships, but that again they were refused.[9]

Foreign Relations.

To the pacification of Scandinavia England was doubtless indebted for the unwelcome appearance of a Wicking fleet, a sight not witnessed for many years. In the summer of 1048 five and twenty ships came down on the South Coast, under two men named Lothen and Yrling, doubtless partisan leaders of the recent wars, who now found their occupation gone. They landed at Sandwich, and carried off a quantity of booty. From Sandwich they steered to Thanet, but the people there beat them off, resisting their advance 'either by land or

A Wicking Attack.

[1] Chron. C; Flor.; Freeman.

[2] W. Malm., *G. P.*, p. 150; *Reg. Sacr.*

[3] Adam of Bremen, *sup.*, 339.

[4] Chron. D (A.D. 1048).

[5] A.D. 1047.

[6] October 25, 1047, G. Waitz.

[7] In Old English the name might be rendered Hardrede, *i.e.* Stern-counsel, say, The Determined. This Hammer of the North (*fulmen septemtrionis*) was the son of one Sigurd by the mother of St. Olaf, and so uncle to Magnus the Good. He left Norway in the time of Olaf to take service with the Byzantine court, where he probably commanded the celebrated Warangian Guard, the Imperial House-carles, at this time entirely recruited from Scandinavia. As such he rendered great services in war against the Saracens and Russians. He was recalled to Norway at the death of Magnus. According to Adam of Bremen, he accepted the crown as under-king to Swein Estrithson, and then promptly renounced his allegiance. See Adam, 340, an account not free from error, but still dealing with sober facts. For romantic legend, see the Saga of Harold Hardrada, Laing, III. 1, etc.

[8] Adam of Bremen, 339.

[9] Chron. D (1048, 1049); Florence, 1047, 1048; *Saga Harold*, Laing, III. 27–30.

water.'[1] The advance by water would be the passage up the Stour. Debarred of this, they took the outer course to the coasts of Essex.' But by this time King Eadward and 'the earls' were afloat, so the pirates made off. They sailed to 'Baldwin's Land,' *i.e.* Flanders, where they disposed of their plunder; and so, after a very successful trip, 'fared home eastwhence they had come.'[2] If this episode shewed the adventurous elements still to be found in the North, it also clearly indicated the low estimate entertained of England's resources as a naval power. With the amount of intercourse going on between England and Denmark good information on the subject could not be wanting.

In 1049, again, foreign affairs seemed to engross attention. War had broken out between the Emperor, Henry III., and his great feudatories of the old Middle Kingdom of Lotharingia or Lorraine. Godfrey, Duke of Upper Lorraine; Dietrich, Count of Holland; and Baldwin V., Count of Flanders, profiting by Henry's absence in Italy,[3] had attempted to throw off their allegiance. Invading his territory, they burned the city and church of Verdun, and destroyed the Imperial palace at Nimwegen. But Henry came down heavily on the offenders. Pope Leo IX., a German appointed by Henry, excommunicated Godfrey. The Duke submitted humbly (July, 1049), and did penance. Baldwin showing a more determined front, Henry prepared to attack him in force, and called on his vassals and allies for co-operation. Swein Estrithson, we are told, came as a vassal and did homage. The King of England was invited to watch the seas in case Baldwin should attempt to escape. Eadward, who had good reason to be offended with Baldwin for the reception recently given to the Northern pirates, Yrling and Lothen, took a great fleet to Sandwich. But Baldwin, confronted by overwhelming force, condescended to come to terms with his suzerain, giving him 'all that he would.'[4]

England and Germany.

But from events of European importance we must quickly return to domestic incidents of greater interest to our native writers, and chronicled with much great detail. While Eadward was at Sandwich with his fleet, on the look-out for Baldwin, Swein, the exile, reappeared, with a little squadron of eight ships. With these he put into Bosham, the family harbour on the Sussex coast. Since his

Swein, son of Godwine.

[1] "Ge upganges ge wæteres," a condensed expression clearly meaning access to the interior of the country either by land or water.

[2] 1048, Chron. C; Chron. E (1046). The chronology of these years seems more uncertain than it really is. The numbers of the years have been miscopied by careless scribes, but the sequence of events is the same in all, and practically the same events are grouped under the individual years.

[3] Henry III. went to Rome to be crowned Emperor. The ceremony was performed on Christmas Day, 1046.

[4] 1049, Chron. C, Florence; Chron. D (1050); Freeman, *N. C.*, II. 97; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, III. 11, etc. Flanders comprised two fiefs, one held of the Empire, the other of France.

banishment he had divided his time between Flanders and Denmark, apparently living mostly with his cousin and namesake, the son of Estrith, and in his train probably he had come back to Flanders. But now, all the wars ended, Swein found himself at the end of his resources, and so, as a repentant Prodigal, he came home asking for forgiveness and rehabilitation. He begged to be allowed once more to become the King's "man," and have some land given him wherewith to support himself. The desired "land," we may suppose, would include his forfeited earldom or earldoms. He was favourably received, and given protection (*grith*) [1] to come to the King at Sandwich. Eadward granted him offhand all that he desired. But Swein's possessions had been made over to his younger brother Harold and his cousin Beorn, and they flatly refused to part with one acre for his benefit. The King might give Swein what he pleased, but not at their expense.[2] Under these circumstances Eadward had to draw back from his Royal word, and the luckless Swein was given just four days' *grith* to get back to his ships at Bosham. Meanwhile the pacification in Flanders had been fully reported, and the King began to disband his fleet. The Mercians were sent home, but Godwine and Beorn were ordered to take some forty-two ships to chastise a marauding squadron reported in the West. Foul winds however arrested their course and detained them at Pevensey. Two days later Swein rode in asking to see his father and Beorn. He implored the latter to make one effort on his behalf with Eadward. Surely the King might have something to give, some measure of grace to extend. Beorn good-naturedly consented, and rode off with his cousin, taking only three attendants with him. But he was surprised to find that, instead of leading him eastwards to Sandwich, Swein was leading him westwards to Bosham. Swein explained that he wished to show Beorn to his men, who might desert him if they found out that his suit had been rejected, and that he had neither friends nor influence. When they reached Bosham, Swein invited his cousin to go on board. Then at last, when it was too late, the unfortunate man endeavoured to draw back, refusing to go one step further. Finally, after a hot altercation, Swein's men seized Beorn, bound him, and carried him off to their ships; then, hoisting sail, they made for the West. A few days later Beorn's body was put ashore at Dartmouth [3] for decent burial in a church. That done, Swein fled for his life. Six of his ships deserted him. But that did not save them altogether. The men of Hastings captured two of them, killed all the crews, and then presented the vessels to the King. Swein however again got away to Baldwin's Land, and remained at Bruges under 'full

A Facile King.

Selfish Relatives.

Murder of Beorn.

[1] "Griðode wiþ thone cyng"; Chron. E. [2] Chron. C and E.
[3] So Chron. C and D, and Flor.; at Exmouth, Chron. E.

grith' all the winter.[1] In England public indignation at Swein's crime seemed to know no bounds. King and army publicly proclaimed him "*nithing*"—'worthless,' the greatest term of opprobrium known to the language. But the strangest thing in this disgraceful family episode—for such it was, neither King nor nation having any real part in it—is yet to be told. In the course of the ensuing spring Swein was 'inlawed,' and recalled to England. The message of peace was entrusted to Bishop Ealdred of Worcester, who happened to be going to Italy to attend a Council, and to Ealdred therefore has been given the credit of Swein's uncalled-for pardon.[2] But we can only regard his recall as a fresh proof of the dominant influence of the Sussex family in secular politics. It was but natural that Godwine should wish to have his eldest son home again; and as Beorn's earldom was vacant Harold need not be called upon to make any sacrifice for his brother. But "such a restoration of such a criminal was an outrage to the general sense of justice, which could hardly fail to weaken the cause of Godwine."[3] The family, however, had to make some sacrifice to obtain Swein's recall, as we find the earldom of Hereford, which certainly had been his, now in the possession of the king's nephew, Ralph.[4] We also have another new *Dux* in the person of one Sihrod, who likewise may have been endowed at the family expense.[5]

Swein Recalled.

But the murder of Beorn was not the only disturbance of the year 1049. The rovers in the West, whom Godwine had been ordered to pursue, turned out to be Danes from Ireland. Sailing up the Bristol Channel, they landed at the mouth of the Usk,[6] and began ravaging Gwent, now Monmouthshire, in concert with Gruffudd of South Wales, the son of Rhydderch. Gwent, therefore, must have been subjugated by his rival, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn. Crossing the Wye, they invaded the diocese of Worcester. In the absence of the higher civil authorities the lead against them had to be taken by Bishop Ealdred. He got together a small force from the counties of Hereford and Gloucester, including some Welshmen; but the latter turned traitors, and sent private intelligence to the invaders, on the strength of which they fell on the English early in the morning, and routed them with considerable loss (29th July). As nothing more is heard of the adventurers, we must suppose that they retired with their booty to their ships.[7]

A Danish Landing.

[1] See Chron. C, Florence, and H. Hunt, A.D. 1049; Chron. D (1050); Chron. E (1046); one original narrative, apparently that of C, modified and supplemented by the others. Beorn's corpse was exhumed by Harold and other friends, including House-carles ("litsmen") from London, and taken to Winchester to be laid in the Old Minster beside his uncle, by marriage, King Cnut; *Id.*

[2] So Mr. Freeman, who suggests that perhaps Ealdred "had already marked in him some signs of remorse" (when and where?), *contra* Lingard, Lappenberg, and J. R. Green. Ealdred was probably selected as being bishop of Swein's earldom.

[3] Green, *Conq. of E.*, 524. [4] He first signs in 1050; *Cod. Dip.* No. 792. [5] *Ib.*

[6] "On Wylisce Axa." [7] Chron. D; Florence.

Again about the same time, namely, just as the King had broken up his fleet, another exiled rover, Osgod Clapa, was reported as being at Wulpe, near Sluys, on the Flemish coast, with a considerable fleet. Eadward recalled the Mercian contingent; but Osgod had no intention of attacking England in person. He had merely come to take his wife back from Bruges to Denmark. Some of his ships, however, landed on the coast of Essex at 'Eadulfsness,' Walton-on-the-Naze, where they did some mischief; but their career was short. A storm wrecked the most of them, and the rest were pursued and captured at sea.[1]

Osgod Clapa again.

If Godwine controlled the secular politics of the kingdom, Eadward could still make good his prerogative in ecclesiastical affairs. Unfortunately in the primary matter of appointments his zeal was not enlightened by sufficient discrimination to enable him to make choice of creditable men. He was surrounded by Norman priests, and the French clergy at that time did not stand high.[2] Eadnoth, Bishop of Dorchester, having died, he gave the See to his priest Ulf, a Norman, 'and ill bestowed it.' With respect to Ulf's unfitness all the authorities are agreed. 'He did naught bishoplike; . . . it shameth us to tell more.' His position was attacked from the first; eventually we shall find him degraded and expelled.[3]

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Leo IX., a zealous and saintly Pope, was holding a series of Church Councils. The first was held at Rheims in October, 1049, when the Pontiff had come North with the Emperor in his war against Godfrey of Lorraine.[4] The Gallican Council was followed in the same month by a German Council held at Mainz, or Mayence.[5] Next year came more important Councils at Rome in May, and at Vercelli in September. To three of these assemblies, at any rate, Edward sent representatives. Dudoc, Bishop of Wells, with two abbots,[6] went to Rheims; while Herman of Ramsbury and Ealdred of Worcester were accredited to the gathering at Rome. It was in the course of this journey, doubtless, that Ealdred either carried out to Swein the announcement of his pardon, or else brought Swein home with him.[7] Ulf appeared

Papal Councils.

[1] Chron. C; Flor.; Chron. D (1050). I am inclined to believe that Osgod was pardoned and recalled to England, as under the year 1054 we hear that he died 'suddenly on his bed'; Chron. C and D. This detail could hardly have been known if he had died abroad.

[2] See Milman, *Latin Christianity*, III. 13–17.

[3] 1049–1050, Chron. C, D, E, Flor., *Reg. Sacrum*. Ulf signs in 1050, *Cod. Dip.* No. 792. The Chronicles style the See that of Oxfordshire.

[4] October 3–7, 1049. See Milman, *Latin Christianity*, III. 14; Flor.; Chron. E (A.D. 1046). [5] Milman, *sup.*, 17.

[6] Namely, Wulfric, Abbot of St. Augustine's Canterbury, and Ælfwine, Abbot of Ramsey.

[7] Chron. C; Flor. (A.D. 1049). The Bishops reached Rome on Easter Eve (April 14, 1050), Chron. E. It seems, impossible, therefore, that they could have been present at the great Gemot held in London at Mid-Lent, March 25 (Archbishop Sigeric in 990 took

at Vercelli, but whether on his own account or the King's does not appear. His unfitness, however, for his office was so apparent that we are told 'they would have broken his staff had he not paid the more.'[1] But we may fairly assume that regard for the pious and well-disposed King of England also had something to do with Ulf's confirmation. As for the matters discussed at these Councils, the two first, those of Rheims and Mainz, were chiefly occupied with questions of public policy, Church discipline, and morality; such as simony, secularization of ecclesiastical offices, irregular marriages, renunciation of vows, and the like. The Italian Councils were called to discuss questions of high dogma, and the Reality of the Presence in the Eucharist. They were invited to consider the teaching of Berengar of Tours, who, challenging the crude theory of Transubstantiation, maintained that, according to the true doctrine of the Church, the Presence was simply spiritual and symbolical. As the champion of orthodoxy in these discussions the English prelates met a man with whom they were destined to be more closely associated in future days, LANFRANC OF PAVIA, then Abbot of Bec in Normandy.[2]

Lanfranc and Berengar.

According to authorities of questionable value, Bishops Herman and Ealdred were charged with a private as well as with a public mission to Rome, namely, to obtain a dispensation for the King from a vow of a pilgrimage to Rome. The dispensation was granted on condition of founding or refounding a minster to St. Peter. To this we would owe the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey.[3] The writers of the time, however, have nothing of all this, and we might ask why should Eadward send to Rome for this purpose when envoys of his had already been in communication with Leo at Rheims?

Further ecclesiastical vacancies occurred shortly in England, opening up fresh chapters of contention and trouble. On the 29th October (1050), Archbishop Eadsige died. His coadjutor, Siward, had passed away two years before (23rd October, 1048).[4]

Death of Archbishop Eadsige.

eighty days between Rome and England). If the Bishops took the message of peace out with them we must suppose Swein to have been pardoned at Christmas; if we hold him to have been 'inlawed' at the Mid-Lent Gemot then we must suppose the message to have been sent after the Bishops, and Swein brought home by them, and this seems to tally best with the words of the Abingdon Chronicle, the primary authority, and those of Florence.

[1] Chron. E. Mr. Freeman very properly remarks that we may be sure that none of Ulf's money "found its way into the private coffers of Leo"—a man of irreproachable character; *N. C.*, II. 116.

[2] See Milman, III. 19-23. Berengar was condemned and excommunicated. For Lanfranc and Bec, see Freeman, *N. C.*, II. 214, etc., and below, vol. II.

[3] See the doubtful charter *Cod. Dipl.* No. 824; Ælred of Rievaulx, *Decem S.*, c. 379, and the *Vita Ædw.* taken from him, p. 65. The contemporary *Vita* has nothing of this vow.

[4] Chron. A and C; Flor.; *Reg. Sacrum.* Eadsige had resumed the exercise of his functions, and attests charters to the very last.

Within three months of the death of Eadsige, Ælfric Puttoc, the Northern Primate, was likewise gathered to his fathers (22nd January, 1051).[1] The appointment to the Throne of Canterbury provoked a trial of strength between the King and Godwine. The King's choice could not be doubtful, his nominee would be his prime confidant, Robert of Jumièges, already Bishop of London. But Robert was unpopular, and the Canterbury monks, acting clearly in concert with Godwine, and in the hope of forcing the King's hand, 'elected' one of their own number, by name Ælfric, a relative of the great Earl, and described as a good man of business in secular matters. A 'canonical election' of this sort, as it was termed, would simply amount in the eye of the law to a recommendation to the King and Witan in favour of the person named. In this case Eadward turned a deaf ear to the request; but it was doubtless in consequence of the delay caused by the struggle that the appointment of Robert was not settled till Midlent (31st March), 1051.[2] As a sop to the national party, Spearhafoc, Abbot of Abingdon, an ally of Bishop Stigand, was allowed to be named Bishop of London,[3] the Abbacy of Abingdon again being given to one Rodulf, a superannuated Norwegian Bishop, described as a relative of the King.[4] At this same Midlent Gemot, as we suppose, the Northern Primacy was filled up by the appointment of one Kynsige, an obscure individual, merely described as a Royal Chaplain and nothing more.[5]

Ælfric 'Elected.'

Robert of Jumièges Appointed.

Another act of this same Gemot must also be noticed, a highly popular measure, and one affecting the whole country. The House-carles who, under Harold, had been kept up at sixteen ships, in this reign apparently had been reduced to fourteen ships. In the previous year a Midlent Gemot had struck off nine ships of "litsmen," retaining five for one year more. The implied pledge then given to the nation was now redeemed, the last "litsmen" kept up at the public expense being paid off. This enabled the King to remit the "heregyld" or "Danegeld" levied at different rates for their support ever since the year 1014, when Thurkill's fleet was taken into Æthelred's pay. The impost was a land-tax, levied, we are told, in priority to all other dues, and of course,

No more Danegeld.

[1] Chron. C; Flor.; *Reg. Sacr.* Ælfric died at Southwell, and was buried at Peterborough.

[2] *Vita Ædw.*, 399, 400; Chron. C and D; *Reg. Sacr.*; Freeman, II. 117.

[3] Chron. C, D, E (under different years); *Hist. Abingdon*, I. 463; Freeman. Spearhafoc is taxed with having agreed to convey abbey lands to Stigand. He was cunning in goldsmith's work, and had been commissioned to make for the King a jewelled crown described as an 'imperial crown' ("pro corona imperiali cudenda").

[4] *Id.* The *History of Abingdon* asserts that the King, to reconcile the monks to Rodulf, promised that they should elect their next abbot.

[5] Flor.; *Reg. Sacr.* He signs as simple "presbyter," *Cod. Dip.* No. 796 (misdated 1052). The Archbishop's name is always written with a "K," that letter now finding its way into the English alphabet.

as being a direct tax, it was highly unpopular.[1] From Domesday we learn that under Eadward the amount was 7*d.* per hide, paid half at Christmas, half at Whitsuntide.[2] The House-carles, small as the force appears to us, were doubtless as great a bugbear to the English of the eleventh century as were "standing armies" to their descendants of the seventeenth century.

The reader, however, must not expect the word "house-carle" to vanish from English history with the suppression of this particular force. Every great magnate[3] maintained a household (*hired*) of retainers who might be and were spoken of as house-carles, and the King, of course, not less than others. As for the influence to which the passing of the measure now under consideration should be attributed, it seems likely that it was carried by Godwine as an effort to retrieve his waning popularity. It is certainly more probable that it should have been his work than that of a Court faction who must have been looking forward to keen political struggles in the near future.

Robert of Jumièges lost no time in making his calling and election sure. Having been appointed about the beginning of April, he hastened off to Rome for his Pall, and used such expedition on his journey that he returned to England on the 27th June. Two days later he was enthroned at Canterbury. Spearhafoc, the Bishop-elect of London, then presented himself with the King's writ, sealed[4] according to the Norman fashion introduced by Eadward, demanding consecration. But Robert refused to consecrate him, alleging a Papal prohibition. He also averred that he had been directed to consecrate one Wilhelm, a foreigner and a Royal Chaplain. If the Pope had really intervened, we may take it that his action had been bespoken from home. Spearhafoc, in great indignation, went up to London, installed himself at St. Paul's, and for a short time 'sat' there as an unconsecrated bishop.[5]

[1] Chron. C, D, E; Flor. Mr. Freeman regards the men paid off as a naval force distinct from the House-carles, *contra* Lappenberg. In the *Leges Henrici Primi*, c. 15 (Schmid), we have "Denagildum quod aliquando thingemannis dabatur, etc." This exactly supplies the link between the "litsmen" of the chronicler and the thingamanna-lith of the Ordinances of the House-carles. [2] f. 56 b.

[3] *e.g.*, Wulfstan, the saintly Bishop of Worcester, "pompam militum secum ducens," W. Malm., *G. P.*, p. 281.

[4] "Mid thæs cynges gewrite and insegle." [5] Chron. E (A.D. 1048).

CHAPTER XXVIII

EADWARD THE CONFESSOR (*continued*)

A.D. 1051–1053

Struggle for Ascendancy between the Native and the Foreign Parties at Court—Visit of Count Eustace of Boulogne—Expulsion of Godwine and his Family—Visit of William, Duke of Normandy—Return of Godwine

ENGLAND in the year 1051 found itself in the uncomfortable position of a nation between two parties, neither of which possessed its confidence. If faith in Godwine had been shaken by his son's career, the King's blind partiality for foreigners and the behaviour of his favourites could not fail to inspire the gravest alarm. One Frenchman was Archbishop of Canterbury, another was about to become Bishop of London. A third Frenchman, the King's nephew Ralph, had the earldom of Hereford. Worst of all, Frenchmen sheltered under Ralph's wing had been giving the English their first experience of a Norman "castel" and its incidents. These strongholds differed from the existing mound-forts primarily in their greater strength, being walled structures of stone and lime; and secondarily, we take it, in the greater number of persons they could accommodate. The palisaded summit of a mote with a diameter of 30 feet to 100 feet, could only shelter a moderate household, while the outworks, unless there was a strong base-court attached, could only serve as refuges in time of trouble. The walled castle could probably house a larger garrison. But whether from their greater size or their greater strength, certain it is that in the hands of unscrupulous persons the new castles became bases for terrorising and oppressing a district. Even in Normandy they were new, having come in extensively during the disorders of William's minority.[1] Apparently the first fortress of the sort established in England was that known as Richard's Castle in the North of Herefordshire, built by one Richard, surnamed Scrob.[2] His work, however, merely consisted in strengthening an existing mound-fort by the addition of walls,

[1] *William of Jumièges*, p. 267. Throughout the North-Eastern districts of the Continent, mound-forts (*Mottes*) had been the staple fortifications of the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries; G. T. Clark, *Mediæval Military Architecture*, I. 35. For their prevalence see the list of "La Mottes" in a Gazetteer of France.

[2] *Monasticon*, I. 594. The name appears later in French as "de Escrob," and in Latin as "de Scrupa," Hist. MSS. Comm. and Pipe Roll, cited by Mr. Horace Round, *Academy*, 26th October, 1895. The "R. filius Scrob," therefore, of Florence seems an invention of his own.

with possibly also a circular keep on the top.[1] Somewhat later the fort was known as 'Pentecost's Castle,' Pentecost being a name given to Richard's son and successor, Osbern.[2]

Again, the antagonism between Godwine and Archbishop Robert kept daily getting sharper. Robert accused Godwine of misappropriating Church lands; and he reminded the King of the incidents of the year 1036, asking Eadward how he could expect a man to be true to him who had been so false to his brother.[3]

The crisis, which could not have been long averted, was precipitated by the misconduct of the King's foreign allies. Eadward's sister, Godgifu, or Goda, was first married to Drogo, Count of Mantes and the French Vexin,[4] by whom she had Earl Ralph, besides an elder son, Walter. After the death of Drogo (1035),[5] the Countess found a second husband in Eustace II., Count of Boulogne (1050). Shortly after the return of Archbishop Robert from Rome, that is to say in July, 1051, Eustace came over to see his brother-in-law. Having paid his visit and transacted his business, whatever it may have been, the Count started on his way home. When within a few miles of Dover 'foregoers'[6] were sent on as usual to arrange for quarters for the night. These men went about their errand in a high-handed fashion, usual on the Continent, but not understood in England. 'And there would they inn themselves where them liked.' One householder attempting to resist, was struck, and either wounded or killed, one of the foregoers being immediately felled in return. Eustace, coming up to the rescue, donned his armour and made an indiscriminate attack upon the Dover people. A hot fight ensued, the townsfolk turning out in strength. Much blood was spilt, the lowest estimate of those killed on the French side being seven men.[7] Finally, Eustace was defeated and expelled the town, whereupon he rode off to lay his complaint before the King, who was at Gloucester. Eadward received him with open arms, accepted his story without inquiry, and sent an immediate order to Godwine, as the earl of the district, to ravage and destroy the offending town of Dover, a mode of proceeding for which precedents were not wanting.

Eustace of Boulogne.

Affray at Dover.

Godwine at the time was celebrating a great domestic event, no less an event than the marriage of his third son Tostig, to Judith, sister of

[1] See Clark, *sup.*, II. 401, etc., and the plan there. The memory of the castle is preserved in the name of the Herefordshire parish, Richard's Castle.

[2] Chron. E, A.D. 1051, 1052. [3] *Vitæ Ædwardi*, 401.

[4] W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 199, where, however, he calls the Count 'Walter'; Freeman, *N. C.*, II. 129.

[5] He died on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, on which Robert of Normandy died; Orderic, 487, 655 (Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Scriptores*).

[6] "Unus antecursorum," Malm.

[7] So Chron. D. The Peterborough Chronicle, E, raises the number of the slain to nineteen and twenty on one side and the other.

Count Baldwin V. of Flanders,[1] a match that must have had a political bearing, and one that would doubtless be regarded with jealousy at the English court. Godwine, to his great credit, flatly refused to harry a town belonging to his own 'following,'[2] on the mere one-sided accusation of a foreigner. The King then summoned a grand Witenagemot of all England to meet at Gloucester on the 1st September, to consider the situation, intending, doubtless, himself to impeach Godwine for his contumacy.[3] The Earl at once resolved to turn the tables on the King, and to face him on the question whether England was to be governed by and for foreigners, or by and for Englishmen, an issue on which public opinion could hardly fail to support him. He called on the forces of his earldom to follow him to Gloucester, Swein and Harold bringing their men likewise. The three met at Beverstone, in Gloucestershire, near Tetbury, and there forwarded to the King a demand for the surrender of Eustace, and also of the 'Frenchmen in the castle,'[4] that is say in 'Richard's' Castle above mentioned.

Godwine Resists the King.

At the King's first summons the Northern Earls Leofric and Siward had prepared to attend the council with ordinary retinues; but when further messages were sent informing them of Godwine's attitude, and begging for help, they hastened to call out further levies. Earl Ralph did likewise. In a short time Eadward saw himself surrounded by a loyal army. Godwine had overshot the mark, and turned public opinion against him.[5] The flower of England's militia were now gathered round Gloucester, all ready for battle, and only waiting for the signal to engage. Civil war seemed imminent, but this calamity (*unræd*) was averted by the good sense of mediators, chief of whom was the worthy Earl Leofric, the noblest of England's sons.[6] By their advice the King ordered all the forces to be disbanded, adjourned the Witenagemot to the end of the month[7] to meet in London, and cited Godwine and his sons to appear then and there to answer all charges.

The Northern Earls Support Eadward.

Here we may point out that if localism was still strong in England, the feeling of national unity had distinctly gained ground. War between Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex, which at one time was matter of ordinary occurrence, now seemed terrible.

[1] *Vita Æduu.*, 404; also Chron. D and Florence under this year. Tostig was clearly married by the end of the year. Judith was first cousin once-removed to Eadward, her mother being daughter of Richard the Good of Normandy, and niece of Queen Emma. See Freeman, *N. C.*, III. 657. [2] "folgaŏ," Chron. E.

[3] The writer of the principal *Vita Æduardi*, who ignores the Dover incident and everything connected with it, has it that Godwine was to be, and was in fact, impeached merely for his conduct in 1036; p. 401. [4] Chron. D.

[5] The Worcester Chronicle, written near the time, openly charges Godwine with the intention of attacking the King. The Peterborough Chronicle, written after the Conquest, slurs over this. [6] Florence.

[7] "To hærfestes emnihte," *harvest* or *autumn equinox*, Chron. E.

The chroniclers talk of hostages to be exchanged, and protection (*grith*) to be given to Godwine, but it is clear that no honest pacification was established, and that not a man was disbanded on either side. The King carried all the Northern forces with him to London, while the men of Wessex followed their Earl to Southwark, where his Town residence was situate. When the time for holding the Council came Godwine and his sons notified the King that they could not appear without safe-conducts, freely to come and freely to go, with the further guarantee of hostages. Eadward retorted by demanding bail for good conduct (*borh*) from the Earl's followers.[1] Harold's Thegns gave the required security, but, apparently, Swein's men refused, whereupon he was immediately outlawed, if in fact he had not been already outlawed at Gloucester.[2] In face of the subtle and resolute action of the King's advisers, Godwine's following began to fall off day by day, 'and ever the more the longer he staid.' But he and Harold still kept protesting their readiness to answer all charges under proper guarantees for their personal safety. Finally, Bishop Stigand, who acted as go-between, came with the King's last word refusing any guarantee, but requiring Godwine and Harold to appear on the morrow with only twelve attendants. With tears in his eyes the Bishop delivered the uncompromising message. Godwine was so perturbed that he upset the table at which he was sitting.[3] Seeing that for the moment all was lost, he took horse that night with all his family and rode off to Bosham,[4] the harbour adjacent to their family seat at Walton. Next morning the Witan outlawed Godwine and all his sons. A feeble attempt was made to overtake and arrest them, but the Earl and his wife, Swein, Tostig and his bride, with Gyrth, got safely down to the Sussex coast. There they embarked with all the valuables they could collect, and so sailed to Flanders to remain all winter under the protection of their ally, Count Baldwin. Ælfgar and Wulfnoth are not mentioned, but probably they went with their father. Harold and Leofwine took another route. They made for Bristol, where Swein had ordered a ship to be held in readiness.[5] Getting on board, the brothers, after a tempestuous voyage, landed in Ireland, there to find protection at the court of Dermot or Diarmid, King of Leinster.[6]

Proceedings in London.

[1] Chron. E; *Vita Æduu.* "Servitium militum quos per Angliam habebant regi contradarent," W. Malm.

[2] The grounds of Swein's outlawry are not expressly stated. Chron. E represents him as having been outlawed at Gloucester.

[3] So *Vita Æd.*

[4] So Chron. E; Chron. D and Florence give Thorney (in Chichester harbour) as the point they made for, another name for the same place.

[5] This fact seems to support the allegation of the Peterborough Chronicle that Swein had been outlawed at Gloucester.

[6] Chron. C, D, E; *Vita Æd.*, 403, 404. Diarmid had re-established native rule in Dublin only the year or so before; Freeman, *N. C.*, II. 153; *Chronica Scotorum*, A.D. 1050, 1069 (Rolls Series No. 46, W. M. Henessy).

One member, at any rate, of Godwine's family still remained at court—Eadgyth, the Lady of the English,[1] the King's wife, 'wedded (i.e. *betrothed*) and married,'[2] and 'hallowed to Queen.'[3] But the foreigners could not allow one not of their party to have such access to the Royal ear as she would enjoy, a proof that Eadgyth was not a negligible quantity. Archbishop Robert actually suggested to the King the propriety of divorcing Eadgyth,[4] so as to get rid of her altogether. The King refused to take so violent a step, but allowed the Lady to be sent into retreat for a season in a nunnery. The convent selected was that where Eadgyth had been brought up, Wilton,[5] then ruled by a sister of the King, a Lady, by the way, whose name has not been preserved. The incident proves on the one hand how completely the King, for the time, was under the control of the foreigners; and on the other hand what little trust they had in his consistency or steadfastness of purpose.

The Lady Eadgyth

Sent to a Nunnery.

With respect to the spoils of the vanquished party, we hear that Devonshire, Cornwall ("Wealas"), Somerset, and Dorset—the old Western Province—were given to one Odda, a Western Thegn and a kinsman of the King, probably one of the old Wessex King's kin, perhaps a relative of Ælfthryth.[6] Nothing is said of the rest of Wessex, which must have been kept in hand, nor can we say anything about Swein's earldom.[7] Harold's earldom was assigned to Ælfgar, Leofric's son.[8] Lastly, Spearhafoc was ousted from London, and the King's priest, Wilhelm, consecrated and installed as bishop.[9]

But the year was not to end without another incident, and one more ominous for the future than anything that had yet happened; namely, a visit from that formidable neighbour, Duke William of Normandy.

William the Bastard.

The son of Robert the Devil by Arlette,[10] the tanner's daughter of Falaise, had come to the Ducal Throne under all the disadvantages attending the accession of a mere child,[11] surrounded by turbu-

[1] Godwine had two other daughters, Gunhild and Ælfgifu (Freeman, II., Append E), but neither is mentioned at this time.

[2] Chron. D. [3] Chron. E.

[4] So the *Vita Æduv.*, written by Eadgyth's own chaplain.

[5] *Id.* The writer ought to know best, but all the others give Wherwell as the place.

[6] Chron. E; W. Malm., *G.R.*, s. 199 (p. 243); Freeman. Odda signs in 1046, and again in 1049, simply as "Nobilis"; *Col. Dip.* Nos. 1,334 and 787.

[7] Florence, under this year, gives Swein the counties of Oxon, Gloucester, Hereford, Somerset and Berks, an odd assemblage. Hereford was certainly not his.

[8] Chron. E. [9] Chron. D.; Flor. [10] "Arlot," *Roman de Rou.*

[11] It is stated on the authority of extracts from the parish records of Trinity Church, Falaise, that William was born in 1027 (Langevin, *Recherches Historiques sur Falaise*, 1814, p. 134, cited Freeman). William of Jumièges (p. 290) tells us that at the time of his death (9th September, 1087) William was "fere sexagenarius," *i.e.* nearly sixty years old. That would place his birth after the 9th September, 1027. So again we

lent fendatories jealous of his authority. He was of illegitimate birth, and known to his age as 'William the Bastard.' Why the stigma of base birth should have specially attached itself to his name, when certainly three of his predecessors were open to the same imputation,[1] does not appear. Perhaps the fact should be taken as a sign of a growing sense of decorum and morality among the people of Normandy. At any rate it is clear that his mother's humble origin did expose him to contempt, besides depriving him of all political support from maternal kindred. But thanks to the care of his father, the young Duke's title had been made clear, and, in fact, indisputable. Before starting on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1034 Duke Robert had summoned a grand Council of all his magnates, a Norman Witenagemot. He told them of his intended journey, produced and acknowledged his son, and begged them to settle the succession by electing and accepting William as their future Duke.[2] If he was little, under God's blessing he would grow and improve[3]; their over-lord, King Henry I. of France, had been consulted, and had agreed to accept him. The Barons did their best to combat the Duke's purpose both as to the pilgrimage and the succession. They begged him to stay at home and rule his people. But Robert was determined, and so the magnates accepted little William, did homage to him, and swore allegiance.[4] The matter was clenched by a visit to Paris, where the boy in turn was made to do homage to the King. Thus it came to pass that when the news of the premature death of Duke Robert reached Normandy no attempt was made to dispute the title of the Bastard.[5] It has been pointed out that of the collaterals of the Ducal House the majority were of doubtful birth; several were in Holy Orders—not one had a good title to show,[6] even independently of William's election.

His Birth,

And Election.

But if William's authority was recognised in name the duchy in fact fell into a state of chaotic disorder. Illicit castles of new and more formidable construction[7] sprang up right and left, and every petty landowner

hear that at the time of his father's death (3rd July, 1035) he was seven (Chron. Mont St. Michel) or eight (Orderic, 459, 656) years old. See Mr. Freeman's Append. *N.C.*, II. 610. We may take it therefore that he was born late in the year 1027.

[1] Namely, William Longsword the son of Rolf, Richard I., and Richard II. The latter, however, had been legitimated by the after-marriage of his parents.

[2] "The never-ceasing mixture of elective and hereditary claims"; Freeman.

[3] "Il est peti, mais il creistra,
E se Dieu plaist amendera"; *Roman de Rou*, l. 8107.

[4] *Rodulf Glaber*, b. IV. c. 6 s. 20.

[5] See the story given by Mr. Freeman, *N. C.*, II., 185, from which it would appear that William, for a time at any rate, was brought up in the house of his maternal grandfather the tanner. Robert was not yet Duke when the boy was born.

[6] See Freeman, *sup.*, 178.

[7] The stone Keep and walled courts really date from this time. Clark, *Mediæval Military Antiquities*, I. 35.

began to exercise "sovereign rights of slaughter and devastation." But again the young Duke had to thank his father's care for the choice of zealous and faithful guardians, four of whom lost their lives in his service. Allan, Count of Brittany, had agreed to sink old jealousies and have an eye to the interests of the boy. He was removed by poison while besieging the rebellious castle of Montgommeri (1039–1040). The immediate care of the young Duke's person had been given to one Turold, or Thorold. He was assassinated. After him came the Seneschal Osbern—father of William fitz-Osbern, of whom we shall hear much—and in succession to him again, Gilbert, Count of Eu. Both of these men were connected with the Ducal family "in the usual way," *i.e.* by left-handed descent. Count Gilbert was murdered by men employed by a son of Robert, the Archbishop of Rouen, William's great-uncle. Osbern the Seneschal was stabbed in the Duke's own bedchamber by William of Montgommeri, scion of another House destined to figure in English history. Duke William owed his safety on this and other occasions to the promptitude and devotion of his maternal uncle Walter, who, we are told, at times had to hurry him from one refuge to another. That these crimes, however, were perpetrated not with any intention of getting rid of the Duke, but only for the sake of gaining control of his person in order to rule in his name, may be inferred from the fact that after the death of Osbern, William, by the advice of a council of his magnates, took for his guardian the murderer of Count Gilbert, his cousin Ralph, son of Archbishop Robert; and that the appointment was attended by happy results.[1] But oppression and bloodshed were not restricted to the Duchy of Normandy. The state of France at this period at last provoked a reaction, a protest on the part of human nature against the iniquity of ceaseless warfare. The celebrated TREUGA DEI, or Truce of God, was first preached in Aquitaine in 1034. The doctrine of universal and perpetual peace was taken up with enthusiasm, men binding themselves never to have recourse to arms. But this was impracticable, and ultimately the obligation was narrowed down to that of keeping the peace from sunset on Wednesdays till sunrise on Mondays. In this shape the principle of the *Treuga* was accepted for Normandy at a council held by the young Duke at Caen in 1042.[2] But if the state of Normandy during the minority was most unsettled, fortunately for William no organized revolt against him broke out until the year 1047, when he was in his twentieth year, and to all intents and purposes a full-grown man. Then of a sudden the whole Western half of the duchy was suddenly arrayed against him. The prime mover was a relative, Guy of Burgundy, lord of Vernon and Brionne,[3] who aspired to nothing less than the succession for himself, but

Faithful Guardians.

Treuga Dei.

Revolt of Guy of Burgundy.

[1] See Freeman, *N. C.*, II. 172–198.

[2] Freeman, *sup.* 332–339.

[3] Near Bernay, Dept. Eure.

who succeeded in enlisting Neel or Nigel of Saint-Sauveur, Randolf of Bayeux, Hamon of Thorigny and Creuilly,[1] and Grimbald of Plessis.[2] The plot was kept so secret that William was nearly surprised while hunting near Valognes in the Cotentin, the chief seat of the conspiracy. Riding for his life, he crossed the sands below Carentan, known as the Fords of St. Clement, and so escaped. He made straight for Paris. His suzerain King Henry had not been altogether a good lord to him, having at one time seized the border castle of Tillières,[3] and invaded Normandy. But he now took up William's cause with warmth, and brought an army to support him. The hostile forces met at Val-ès-Dunes, some miles to the South-East of Caen. The fight was hot and well contested, but the rebels were defeated, and William became master of his dominions, and strong enough to be able to demolish castles and establish peace and good order (1047).[4] Within a year, however, he was called upon to measure swords with the most formidable feudatory of the French Crown, Geoffrey Martel, Count of Anjou. "The undisputed dominions of the two princes nowhere touched each other. But between them lay a country closely connected both with Normandy and with Anjou, and over which both William and Geoffrey asserted rights. This was the county of Maine, a district which was always said to have formed part of the later acquisitions of Rolf, but of which the Norman Dukes had never taken practical possession."[5] Geoffrey at this period, as guardian or protector of Hugh the young Count of Maine, was practically lord of the district. It would seem that William was brought into collision with Geoffrey by King Henry, who found that he had been over-kind in giving Geoffrey the city of Tours at the expense of Theobald of Blois.[6] The Duke having been called in to support his suzerain against Geoffrey, and the Count having suffered some repulse at the hands of the allies, found an opportunity of retaliating on William by seizing his border fortress of Alençon, in the valley of the Sarthe, one of the highways between Normandy and Maine. William promptly struck a counter-blow by laying siege to Domfront, another border stronghold within the limits of Maine, but claimed by the Normans as of right theirs. As Alençon barred the valley of the Sarthe, so the rock of Domfront commanded the waters of the Varenne, an affluent of the Mayenne, and another road to and from Normandy. The siege of Domfront took time, as the citadel could only be approached by steep and narrow footpaths. At last Geoffrey appeared with an army to relieve the place. Messages in the true style of chivalry, then in its first early days,[7] were interchanged, and a formal

Battle of Val-ès-Dunes.

The County of Maine.

Alençon and Domfront.

[1] Dept. Calvados. [2] Le Plessis-Grimoult, Dept. Calvados.
[3] Eure. [4] Freeman, *sup.*, 239–266. [5] *Id.*, 277.
[6] Theobald, brother of Stephen of Champagne, both sons of Odo or Eudes II. of Chartres. [7] See Sismondi, *France*, IV. 198 (ed. 1823).

appointment made for a meeting between the princes, to be held on the morrow. But when morning came the Hammer of Anjou had decamped with all his host. William made a good use of this opportunity. Leaving a force to watch Domfront, and falling back within his own borders,[1] he made a forced march of some forty or fifty miles to Alençon, approaching it at the last, however, from the side of Maine, with the Sarthe between him and the town. A bridge led across the river, but access to the bridge was cut off by a palisade and ditch. The men of Alençon, already described as being ill-disposed towards William, now allowed themselves to indulge their animosity by offensive cries, hooting 'the tanner's son,' exhibiting skins, and calling out 'Hides for the Tanner.'[2] Personal insult is an offence that princes never forgive. William swore by the Splendour of God, his favourite oath, that the men of Alençon should pay dearly for their jest. He was as good as his word. The *tête de pont* was quickly fired and stormed, the bridge carried, and the town won. Thirty-two of the principal offenders were then brought before William, and at once deprived of their hands and feet. The castle then surrendered, the terrified garrison only bargaining for life and limb. Having settled affairs at Alençon, William returned to Domfront, to be met by an offer of submission, which was accepted, the garrison being granted life and limb, and also allowed to retain their arms. The campaign ended with an inroad into Maine, and the establishment of a fort at Ambrières[3] as a stepping-stone for further advance.[4] "If Val-ès-Dunes had left William master of Normandy, the defeat of Geoffrey left him first among the powers of France."

Alençon Recovered.

Domfront Won.

Such had been the career, and such was now the position, of the man who came to visit the English court towards the end of the year 1051. It is superfluous to point out that at that period reigning princes never crossed their own borders except under very special circumstances. If the appearance of a Count of Boulogne was something novel in English history, much more so would be the coming of the Duke of Normandy. We are told that he brought a great company of Frenchmen; that the King received them, loaded them with presents, and then let them go.[6] Viewed in the bare light of subsequent events, we

Duke William in England.

[1] Of the three places given as being on William's route, two—Méhoudin and Pointel—are well inside the border of Normandy (Orne); the third—Saint-Samson, near Prè-en-Pail (Mayenne)—is just inside the border of Maine.

[2] "Pelles enim . . . verberaverant ipsumque pelliciarium vocitaverunt"; W. Jumièges. "La pel la pel al parmentier"; *Roman Rou.* [3] Dept. Mayenne.

[4] For further details and authorities the reader is referred to the 8th chapter of Mr. Freeman's *Norman Conquest.* The fulness of his narrative relieves the writer of a merely English History of the duty of independent investigation. The authorities, however, are William of Jumièges, William of Poitiers, William of Malmesbury, and Wace's *Roman de Rou.* [5] Green, *Conq. of E.*, 509. See W. Poitiers, 43.

[6] Chron. D; Florence.

could hardly regard the visit as anything less than a preliminary *reconnaissance*. It is impossible to suppose that William came over without some end to further, nor are we left to mere conjecture as to what that end may have been. William subsequently asserted, and all the world believed, that he had received a promise of the succession from Eadward. He made that the basis of his claim on England. The Norman writers, without noticing his visit to England, agree in asserting that the offer was conveyed to him by Robert of Jumièges when Archbishop of Canterbury, treating him as the main agent in the transaction, as no doubt he was.[1] This narrows the time, at the outside, to the period between the end of March, 1051, when Robert was appointed, and the 15th of June, 1052, when he left England for good. William came over at the juncture when, for a short time, the Norman clique had gained entire control of the King; when Godwine and those who would have resisted any such intrigue were out of the way. Eadward was childless, and likely to remain childless, as must have been generally understood. The surviving son of Eadmund Ironside was still out of mind. Eadward's nearest relatives were his nephews Walter and Ralph, sons of Goda-Godgifu. But neither of these had any hold on the English nation, or any position to compare with that of Duke William. The succession to the Crown of England might, therefore, under the circumstances, be looked upon almost as a *hæreditas jacens*. If force should have to be employed a Duke of Normandy might well hope to accomplish what a King of Denmark had accomplished not long before. Of Eadward's readiness to enter into any scheme for the advancement of Norman interests we can entertain no doubt. Robert of Jumièges had been, and doubtless still considered himself, William's 'man.' Altogether we may safely hold that William left England invested with something that he could represent to himself, his followers, and the world in general, as a right of succession to the Crown of England.[2] That Eadward had no right to dispose of the Crown, that in any case his disposition would be subject to revision by the Witan, would, from William's point of view, be matters of little moment. He had got an ostensible title, a basis for further action.

Probable Offer of the Succession.

The revolution that banished Godwine and his family was too sudden, too unjust, too much due to a fortuitous concurrence of circumstances, to be lasting. In the simple words of the Worcester chronicler, 'That would any man that on England was have thought wonderlike if any man ere said that it so should happen. For that he (Godwine) was theretofore so

[1] So William of Poitiers, p. 44; *William of Jumièges* (Duchesne), p. 285; Orderic *Id.*, 492.

[2] See *Norman Conquest*, II. 292–302, where the matter is fully and clearly argued out. Lingard and Lappenberg were put off the track by deference to the supposed Ingulf, now an admitted forgery. He denies that any promise was given at this time.

upheaven, as if he wielded of the King and all England; and his sons were earls and the King's darlings (!), and his daughter to the King bewedded and bewifed.'[1] Thus we can well believe the family panegyrist when he tells us that Godwine was followed by large promises of support, and pressing invitations to return to England. The writer also assures us that Baldwin of Flanders and the King of France both intervened on Godwine's behalf.[2] The Count's action might be prompted by the family tie recently established between them, and by Godwine's own presence. But if King Henry took the matter up it must have been because he had heard something of the purport of William's visit to England, and was alarmed, not unnaturally, at the vista opened up of the possible future of Normandy. Nothing, however, came of these diplomatic efforts.

But neither Godwine nor Harold were men likely to be wanting either to England or themselves at such a crisis. Perhaps, however, before entering on the more stirring events of the year 1052, we may be allowed to notice the first recorded incident, namely, the death of the 'old Lady,' Emma, twice a wife, twice a widow, twice crowned, twice the mother of a reigning King. She passed away at Winchester in March,[3] and was laid beside her second husband, King Cnut, in the Old Minster.

Death of Emma.

The active campaign of the year was opened by the indomitable Welshman, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn. Taking advantage of the fact that Earl Ralph was engaged elsewhere, he invaded Herefordshire, advancing to a point near Leominster, where he was met by a mixed force of Englishmen and Frenchmen from 'the castle.' Again fortune favoured the invader, who gained another victory, exactly thirteen years to a day from the time when he had defeated and killed Eadwine, the brother of Leofric, at Rhyd-y-Groes.[4]

Harold and Leofwine were not long behindhand. Sailing from Ireland with nine ships, they landed in the Bristol Channel, at Porlock, on the confines of Somerset and Devon. There they in turn gained a decided victory over the men of the two counties, the newly-appointed Earl Odda being, like Ralph, employed at a distance. More than thirty 'good Thegns' fell, 'besides other folk.' The brothers then sailed round "Penwithsteort," the Land's End, and so on to Portland, seeking to effect a junction with their father. The family writer is not ashamed to tell us that as they went they ravaged the coast with fire and sword.[5] But the frankness with which he records a fact which to our ears sounds so damaging proves the comparative indifference of the age to such proceedings. Meanwhile the attention of the Government had been concentrated on the movements of Godwine, from whom the chief attack

Harold's Return.

[1] Chron. D, 1051. [2] *Vita Ædw.*, 404, 405.

[3] 6th March, Chron. D, and Flor.; 14th March, Chron. C.

[4] Chron. D; Flor.; conf. *Ann. Camb.*, 1055, and *Brut-y-T.*, 1054.

[5] Chron. C, D, E; Flor.; *Vita Ædw.*, 405.

was feared. To guard against a landing by him, a fleet of forty 'smacks'[1] had been posted at Sandwich under the Earls Ralph and Odda. Many weeks, we are told, they lay there. At last, on the 22nd June, Godwine and his fleet sailed from the mouth of the Yser,[2] on the Flemish coast, below Nieuport. Crossing the Channel, they put in at Dungeness; but hearing of the fleet at Sandwich, they moved on to Pevensey, while the Sandwich fleet, hearing of their arrival, began to prepare for pursuit. But a gale coming on disconcerted all plans. The two Earls remained at Sandwich, storm-staid, while Godwine ran back to the Flemish coast for shelter.[3] The rebel fleet having disappeared, Earls Ralph and Odda, thinking that they had done a sufficient turn of duty, took their ships back to London, thus leaving the whole coast open to Godwine, who promptly recrossed the Channel. Westwards he sailed to the Isle of Wight, levying contributions as he went, but also endeavouring to open friendly relations with the interior. From the Isle of Wight he pushed on to Portland, where he finally effected a junction with his sons. The combined forces then turned eastwards, still of necessity levying contributions, but, we are told, doing less harm than before. Probably as their prospects improved they began to feel more bound to conciliate public opinion. So they advanced along the coast, touching at the Isle of Wight, Pevensey, Hastings, Romney, Hythe, Folkestone, Dover, Sandwich. At each step all serviceable shipping was impressed, contributions were exacted, and hostages taken away. The sea-faring population, always ready for adventure, seem to have joined in readily enough. In one way or another the support of all Sussex, Kent, and Surrey is said to have been secured, the people vowing that they 'would live or die with Godwine.' When the fleet left Sandwich to round the North Foreland its numbers are described as 'overpowering.'[4] As they passed Sheppey a detachment was sent up the Swale to ravage Milton, a Royal domain.[5] Finally the whole armament came to an anchor at Southwark, below London Bridge, the state of the tide not admitting of further progress. Ralph and Odda had probably found that it was easier to disband a force than to raise another to replace it. Twelve weeks had elapsed since Godwine first appeared, yet the King had not yet got together a force fit to cope with that of his adversary. We are told that he refused to listen to the reports of Godwine's advance.[6] However, he now had fifty ships in the river above the Bridge, with an attendant land-fyrd.[7] Godwine, we are told, had already been in communication with the

Godwine's Return.

They Join Forces.

Sail up the Thames.

[1] "Snacca," Chron. C, D. [2] "To Yseran," Chron. E; "Hysara," *Vita Ædw.*
[3] Chron. E; W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 199, p. 243.
[4] "Mid geotendan here," lit. 'pouring,' Chron. C and D; *Vita Ædw.*, 405.
[5] Chron. E. [6] "Fidem referentibus non accommodaret"; *Vita Ædw.*
[7] Chron. E.

Londoners: negotiations were renewed when he reached Southwark, and he found to his satisfaction that the burghers entirely sympathised with his cause. Full of confidence, as soon as the tide served, he took his vessels above Bridge without opposition, and then set them in order along the southern bank of the river, with a land-fyrd of his own, come from up-country,[1] at his back. The two forces were now fairly arrayed against each other, the King's ships, with their land-fyrd, being disposed along the north shore. Godwine's fleet, being more numerous, overlapped the King's fleet, and was arranged so as to surround it in case of action.[2] But before drawing the sword Godwine and his sons addressed to Eadward a final demand for pardon, 'and that they might be held worthy of all those things that from them unrightly had been taken.'[3] The King held out for a while, the Normans doubtless urging him to be firm. When he yielded, he evidently did so with a bad grace.[4] But, according to all accounts, his own men had no heart in the cause, and, doubtless, they were outnumbered; while the oldest account tells us that most men on either side were 'loath to fight against men of their own kin'; and that they thought it pity 'that Englishmen should destroy one another to make more room for foreigners.'[5] 'Then came forward Bishop Stigand with God's help, and the Wise Men both from within the burh (*city*) and from without, and resolved that men should give hostages on either half.'[6] The 'hostages' meant a truce and guarantees for a peaceable meeting on the morrow, the very concession so obstinately refused the year before.

The Fleets in Array.

But there were men round the King who could not venture to face an open *gemot* of all England. 'When the Frenchmen heard of it, they took horse and rode, some West to Pentecost's Castle, some North to Robert's Castle.[7] Archbishop Robert and Bishop Ulf went out at the East gate with their men, and begat them to Ealdulfsness (Walton-on-the-Naze), and so over sea in a crazy ship.' Apparently the fugitives had to cut their way out of London through a hostile mob, as we are told that in going out they killed and 'marred'

Flight of the Foreigners.

[1] "Ufenon."

[2] Chron. C and D. Mr. Freeman speaks of the King's House-carles, but there is not a reference to House-carles in any of the authorities. Only fyrd is noticed. This is important with reference to the question of the disbandment of 1051. If Eadward had had a force of House-carles the result might have been very different. [3] Chron. E.

[4] Rex itaque coactus . . . devictus quoque precibus supplicantium, etc.;" *Vita Ædw.*

[5] Chron. C and D. The Peterborough Chronicle (E) and the *Vita Ædw.* represent Godwine as having to hold his men back.

[6] Chron. E, comparing C and D.

[7] Pentecost's Castle was the same as Richard's Castle in Herefordshire, as already stated. Robert's Castle was probably that of Robert, son of Wymarc the Staller, a man with large estates in the Eastern counties, but the site of the castle has not been identified; Freeman.

many young men. William, the Bishop of London, had also for a time to find safety in flight.[1]

Under these circumstances the business of the 'mickle gemot' of the Tuesday was greatly simplified. It met in the open air, outside the walls of London. 'All the earls and all the best of the land were there.' Godwine's eloquence readily vindicated his own conduct and that of the various members of his family as against all that had been 'laid against' them.[2] Doubtless the only charge considered was that of disloyalty to the King in demanding justice for the Dover men as against Eustace. Subsequent events would stand or fall by the merits of the original quarrel. The King took Godwine again as his friend, pardoning likewise all his followers, while the assembly voted back to Godwine his earldom and possessions, 'clean' as ever he had held them at the best, together with the earldoms and possessions of his sons, and those of his wife, not forgetting his daughter, who was restored to her Royal dignity and rights.[3] Lastly, 'good laws' were promised to all men, and a general decree of outlawry passed against the fugitive bishops and all Frenchmen who had 'reared up bad law, deemed unjust dooms, and brought evil counsels into the land.' The King, however, was allowed to except those whom 'he liked to have with him, and who had been true to him and all his folk,' a saving clause under which the worst offenders, such as the lords of the felon castles, Richard Scrob, and Robert son of Wymarc, were shortly restored to their possessions.[4] In fact there is no reason to believe that the number of foreigners, either in the country or at court, was reduced; in fact they seem rather to have increased; but the highest posts were kept from them. We have no more foreign earls.

Godwine Re-instated.

Godwine was thus again Earl of Wessex; Ælfgar made no difficulty about restoring East Anglia to Harold[5]; and Eadgyth was shortly brought back with all honour from her monastery. One member of the family, however, was not there to enjoy the triumph of the hour, namely, Swein, the firstborn of Godwine and Gytha. Stricken with remorse for the murder of his cousin Beorn, he had gone bare-footed on a pilgrimage to

[1] Chron. E, also C, D, and Florence. [2] Chon. E and W. Malm.

[3] Chron. C and D. It is worthy of notice that this, the earlier account, treats the restitution as the act of the Witan, the King only giving his personal forgiveness. The later writers, Florence and the Peterborough Chronicle, E, treat the whole as the King's act. So, too, William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon. The account of the Biographer does not appear entitled to all the credit that Mr. Freeman gives it. His representation of the course of events is that Godwine, on reaching London, was received in triumph and carried straightway to the Royal presence; that Godwine fell at the King's feet, giving up his arms and begging to be allowed to clear himself; that the King, unable to help himself, accepted his apologies and restored to him his weapons; that then and there they proceeded together to the palace, where a council was held, the restitutions, etc., granted, and the kiss of peace given; *Vita Æd.*, 405, 406. But was the kiss of peace at all an old English practice, or was it not introduced by the Normans?

[4] *Id.*, and Florence. [5] W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 199, p. 243.

the Holy Sepulchre, and died on his return journey, far from home, about Michaelmas (29th Sept., 1052).[1] Earl Ralph therefore had not to be disturbed in his earldom of Herefordshire; but apparently he had to make over the Hwiccas to Odda, who would have to restore his Western Province to Godwine.[2]

The absence of reactionary violence, the smoothness with which these changes and transfers were effected were circumstances creditable to all concerned. But this counter-revolution seems to call for more explanation than it has as yet received. That political adversaries not protected by clerical immunities should hesitate to trust themselves in the hands of a victorious faction is intelligible. In much later days a change of Ministry often involved a loss of heads. But how came it to pass that bishops—that a man in the exceptional, the sacrosanct position of an Archbishop of Canterbury should think that instant flight was the only course open to him? Surely their consciences must have taxed them with complicity in some acts which they felt the nation would never forgive. Again, where were the loyal Mercians and Northumbrians, where were Leofric and Siward, who a few months before were ready to support the King in any measures against Godwine? What had occurred to efface their jealousy of the West Saxon Earl? The Peterborough chronicler, writing after the Conquest, saw no need to look for any graver delinquency in the foreigners than that they had sown discord between the King and Godwine. The earlier Worcester and Abingdon writers, with more insight, ascribe the fall of the foreigners to their evil counsels—their bad laws—their unjust dooms. But even this will not account for the sudden and overwhelming revulsion of feeling found between the autumn of 1051 and the autumn of 1052. Something more definite must have occurred. That something, in our opinion, was the plot to hand over the English succession to William of Normandy, in which Robert of Jumièges had the chief hand. If that transaction had begun to get wind the Archbishop of Canterbury might well fly for his life. Viewing the matter in relation to ourselves we may be glad that Norman William lived to conquer England; but our sense of the ultimate results of the Conquest must not blind us to the feelings with which the English of the time would look forward to such an event. For the leaders of the nation it would mean the loss of everything they had to lose, and for all a period of cruel suffering and trial.

By the flight of the Bishops Robert, Ulf, and William, three Sees were left vacant, at any rate *de facto* vacant. No appointment, however, was made to the bishopric of London, and William, a man of high character,

[1] See Chron. C, where Swein is said to have died at Constantinople. Florence understood that he had died in Lycia of cold and hardships, p. 210. William of Malmesbury thought that he had been killed by Saracens; *G. R.*, s. 200.

[2] See Freeman, *N. C.*, II. 565. Somerset and Dorset were certainly under Harold after the death of Godwine; *Cod. Dip.* IV. 195, 200.

was shortly allowed to return.[1] Probably neither King nor Witan had any doubts as to their right to dispose of the derelict Sees. Canterbury was at once given to Bishop Stigand of Winchester, one of Godwine's supporters, who had come so much to the front in the last two years, Winchester being still left in his hands,[2] an accumulation of preferment, of which there were but too many instances in those times. For the See of Dorchester a Bishop was found in one Wulfwi,[3] perhaps the King's Chancellor.[4] Ulf, as we have seen, was a very incompetent man, who at the first had difficulty in getting his appointment recognised in Italy, so now no word of remonstrance appears to have been raised on his behalf, and Wulfwi was installed without question. Not so Stigand. Robert of Jumièges hastened to Rome to protest against the invasion of his rights, and found a sympathetic listener in Pope Leo IX., who, it is said, gave him a letter to deliver to King Eadward; if, in fact, he did not summon Stigand to appear at Rome.[5] Robert returned to Normandy with his letter, and then sickened and died at Jumièges.[6] But Stigand got no Pall from Leo, even after Robert's death. In fact, he was afterwards charged with having officiated with his predecessor's Pall,[7] a most unwarrantable act, as from the first days of the English Church the gift of the *Pallium* had been recognised as the official mark of Papal recognition. To use another man's *Pallium* was equivalent to sailing under false colours. Altogether it is clear that Stigand occupied a doubtful position even in the eyes of his own friends. Men avoided his ministration. The Abingdon chronicler, a man of the time, evidently considered him a mere *locum tenens*, certainly not a 'full archbishop.' 'On this year there was no archbishop on this land but Stigand, and he held the bishopric of Christ's Church at Canterbury.' The writer then goes on to tell us that Kynsige the Archbishop-elect of York, and Leofwine,[8] and Wulfwi 'went over sea and got them hallowed to their bishoprics.'[9] Plainly they went abroad because they considered that there was no man at home duly qualified to consecrate them.

Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury.

No Pallium Granted.

Godwine did not long survive his restitution to office and power. It would seem that soon after his return he fell ill; perhaps his strength had been overtaxed by the long maritime campaign; but he struggled on for a few months. He came to court for the Easter (11th April) Feast of 1153, which was kept at Winchester. On the Monday Godwine and his sons

[1] Florence, "propter bonitatem suam," A.D. 1052.

[2] Chron. E; W. Malm., *G. P.*, p. 35; *G. R.*, s. 200, p. 244; *Reg. Sacrum.*

[3] Chron. C, A.D. 1053; *Reg. Sacr.*

[4] He signs as such, *Cod. Dip.* No. 779, but the charter is a very doubtful one.

[5] See below 486. [6] W. Malm., *sup.* [7] Florence, A.D. 1070; Freeman.

[8] Bishop elect of Lichfield, appointed in succession to Wulfsig, who died in October, 1053; Chron. C, D, and Flor. [9] Chron. C, A.D. 1053.

Harold and Tostig were at dinner with the King. Suddenly the old Earl was taken with a fit, either of apoplexy or paralysis, and sank down on the 'foot-settle,' speechless and motionless. 'They carried him to the King's bower, and thought that it might pass away; but it was not so, and he remained without speech and power till the Thursday (April 15), and then gave up his life. He lieth there in the Old Minster.'[1] An end so startling would naturally lend itself to romantic embellishments, especially in the case of one whose name afterwards became exposed to all the cross-fire of the bitterest party warfare. Thus the accredited story came to be that an awkward reference having been made at table to the fate of the unfortunate Ætheling Ælfred, Godwine started up, and, taking a piece of bread in his hand, adjured the Almighty to choke him with that morsel if he had been guilty of anything tending to the Ætheling's danger or the King's harm.[2] Godwine having attempted to swallow the piece of bread, it stuck in his throat. He rolled his eyes, and fell down dead.

Death of Godwine.

Of Godwine the Abingdon chronicler complains that 'he made all too little amends for God's property that he took from many holy places.'[3] If Godwine robbed the Church when it suited him, we fear that he only acted as most other men of his time did. Unfortunately it would seem that, unlike most others, he never gave. No benefaction has ever been traced to him. His greediness was perhaps his worst fault. In the matter of the Ætheling Ælfred he suffered a good deal of natural but rather unjust obloquy. In his clinging to his son Swein he shewed a cool indifference to public opinion; but his ravages on the coast as an exile were only in accordance with the recognised politics of the age. Altogether we cannot refuse him an honourable place among English statesmen as a wise and far-seeing administrator. The confidence reposed in him by King Cnut is in itself sufficient testimony to his business capacity and fidelity. His resistance to Eadward in 1051 was altogether creditable. In this he shewed himself the first Minister who was able to "overawe the Crown."[4] The good education that he gave to his daughter Eadgyth, and probably to his other daughters also, is a further point to be reckoned in his favour.

His Character.

[1] Chron. C, also D and E. For Gytha's benefactions to Winchester and other churches for the soul of her husband, see *Liber de Hyda*, 289; *Cod. Dipl.* No. 926; and, generally, Freeman, *N. C.*, II. 350.

[2] "Si fui conscius alicujus rei quæ spectaret ad ejus periculum vel tuum incommodum"; W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 197. This was an oath that Godwine could not take. Roger of Wendover adjusts Godwine's words to the oath that he could take and had taken in 1040; *Flores Hist.*, I. 492. For other versions see H. Hunt., *Liber de Hyda*, 289, and the metrical *Lives of Eadward*, pp. 15, 117.

[3] A.D. 1052. For a violent quarrel between Godwine and Ælfwold, the saintly Bishop of Sherborne, of unknown cause, see W. Malm., *G. P.*, 179. Ultimately the Earl apologised and they made friends.

[4] Green, *Conq. of England*, 539.

Harold succeeded his father as Earl of Wessex; but he had to resign East Anglia to Ælfgar. As Godwine died at Easter-time, when the Witan would be at court, these arrangements were probably passed at once.[1] Of Harold the family writer tells us that he was a man anxious to tread in the footsteps of his father, a very Judas Maccabæus—painstaking, brave, and intelligent, affable and forgiving, but a terror to all evil-doers.[2] As might be expected of one trained in his father's school, caution and a readiness to consult others were leading characteristics. Still, with all his eulogy, the writer fails to present the portrait of a man of any commanding ability.

Character of Harold.

[1] Chron. C, D, E.

[2] *Vita Ædw.*, 408, and again p. 409: "Infinitis laboribus et vigiliis inedia; multa animi lenitate et promptiori sapientia."

CHAPTER XXIX

EADWARD THE CONFESSOR (*continued*)

Development of Harold's Position—Tostig Earl of all Northumbria, Gyrth of East Anglia—Recall of the Ætheling Eadward and his Family—Legatine Mission to England—War with Wales

OF Scottish affairs the reader has heard nothing since the year 1040, when King Duncan, still quite a young man,[1] was murdered by Macbeth mac Finlay, who then became King of Scotland, as supposed, in right of his wife Gruoch, as already mentioned.[2] The assassination of the gracious Duncan was not the only deed of blood perpetrated by Macbeth. He had attained to his proper dignity, that of Mormaer (*High Steward*) of Moray, through the murder of his cousin Gillacomgan, whom he surrounded in his house and burnt to death with fifty of his followers. In this, however, Macbeth might plead that he was only avenging his father Finlay, who had been ousted of his office and done to death by Gillacomgan.[3] But if Macbeth had waded to power through blood, as King he seems to have ruled well and successfully. In 1050 he made a pilgrimage to Rome, the first recorded visit of a Scottish King to the Eternal City. His liberality to the poor at Rome is specially noticed[4]; and he and Gruoch joined in benefactions to the Priory of St. Serf in Lochleven.[5] But Duncan left by his Queen, a relative of Earl Siward,[6] two sons—Malcolm surnamed Canmore (*Caen-mor = Big-head*), and Donald surnamed Bane. It is likely, considering the relationship between them, that these boys, who must have been quite young at

Macbeth King of Scotland.

[1] "Immatura ætate," Tighernac.

[2] "His (Macbeth's) only connexion with the Scottish dynasty was that his wife was Gruoch, the daughter of that Bodhe, son of Kenneth, whose son or grandson (?) had been slain in 1032 by Malcolm mac Kenneth"; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 406; E. W. Robertson, *Scotland under Early Kings*, I. 121. See *Ann. Ulster.*, A.D. 1033. If it was the son and not the grandson of Bodhe that was killed the chronology would be simpler. Gruoch would be his sister. That Gruoch was the daughter of one Bodhe rests on record evidence (*Reg. St. Andrews*, 114). The identification of this Bodhe with the "Boete" killed in 1033 seems conjectural.

[3] Tighernac, *Ann. Ulst.*, A.D. 1020, 1032.

[4] Marianus Scotus, Pertz, V. 558; Florence. As 1050 was the year of the Councils of Rome and Vercelli, it is just possible that Macbeth may have been present at one or other of these.

[5] *Register of St. Andrew's*, 114.

[6] "Ex consanguinia Sywardi comitis"; J. Fordun, IV. c. 44.

the time of their father's death, may have been harboured by Siward. At any rate, in 1054 we hear of a grand expedition against Scotland undertaken by the old Earl in person. This enterprise must have had the restoration of young Malcolm Canmore for its object. We are told that Siward invaded Scotland with a great force 'both of ships and landfyrd.' Eadward had sanctioned the war,[1] and apparently even sent some of his own House-carles to assist Siward,[2] whose army is otherwise described as consisting partly of Englishmen, partly of Danes. The latter, doubtless, would be his own Yorkshire Danes. Macbeth, on the other hand, had the support of the famous Earl of Orkney, Thorfinn, a great hero in Saga literature, who was lord not only of the Western Islands, but also probably of great part of the mainland of Scotland to the West and North of the Spey. Thus altogether the Scandinavian element was large.[3] A great battle ensued. The day is given, 27th July, but not the locality, which might with likelihood be placed somewhere on the estuary of the Forth. The fight was a stout one, as might be expected with such antagonists. However, Siward had the best of it. But he gained no decisive or bloodless victory. He lost a son Osbern, a sister's son Siward, many of his own House-carles, and some of the King's men.[4] The well-informed Irish writers estimate Siward's loss as half that of the Scots, and they also mention the death of Dolfinn son of "Finntur," doubtless a relative of the Earl of Orkney.[5]

Invasion of Scotland.

This defeat must have been a rude blow to the Throne of Macbeth, but he did not succumb at once, though Florence of Worcester goes out of his way to tell us that he did.[6] On the contrary Malcolm had to struggle on for nearly four years more against the rival House. It was not till the 15th August, 1057, that he got rid of Macbeth, at Lumfanan, in Marr.[7] The defeated party, however, managed to set up a new leader in the person of one Lulach, son of Gillacomgan.

Death of Macbeth.

[1] "Jussu regis," Florence; conf. Fordun, IV. c. 47. [2] Chron. D.

[3] Mr. Skene, who has endeavoured to utilize the Orkneyinga Saga, admits that not a fact therein alleged can be made to tally with the admitted history of the times; and that in it all the known persons and events are ignored. [4] Chron. C and D.

[5] See Tighernac and the *Annals of Ulster*, where 3,000 men are said to have fallen of the Albanach and 1,500 men of the Saxons; *Chron. Picts and S.*, 78, 369. Mr. Skene suggests that Finntur is miswritten by *metathesis* for Thorfinn.

[6] In asserting that Malcolm Canmore became king in 1054 Florence breaks away from his two leading authorities, the Worcester Chronicle and Marianus. He also styles Malcolm "son of the king of the Cumbrians" (regis Cumbrorum filium). But his father, Duncan, was King of all Scotland.

[7] Marianus Scotus; Tighernac; *Ann. Ulst., sup.*; also *Duan Albanich* and *Chron. Picts* (Skene), 63, 152. The Duan, a short metrical Chronicle in Irish, is believed by Mr. Skene to have been written by Gilla Caemhin or Gilla Coemgin, a well-known Irish scholar, who translated Nennius, and died in 1072. The Duan was clearly written when Malcolm Canmore was still on the throne. Tighernac and Marianus were also contemporaries.

This man, it would seem, traced descent, through his mother, from the same Bodhe through whom Macbeth and Gruoch made their title. Lulach was probably a mere puppet; he is styled 'The Simpleton' (*fatuus*). Seven months he reigned and then Malcolm made away with him, "*per dolum*," at Essy in Strathbogie, in Aberdeenshire (17th March, 1058).[1] Thereupon Malcolm III., Malcolm of the Big Head, Malcolm 'the florid, of lively visage,'[2] was solemnly installed at Scone,[3] and for five and thirty years reigned as undisputed King of Scotland.

Lulach King.

Malcolm Canmore King.

Earl Siward did not long survive his expedition to Scotland. Early in the year 1055 he was gathered to his fathers, an old man and full of years. The story ran that being taken ill, and feeling his life ebbing fast, he groaned at the thought that he should have been saved from the battlefield to die 'the death of a cow.' He ordered his men to equip him with his coat of mail and his helmet, his sword, his shield, and his gilt battle-axe, and so, attired at any rate as a warrior should be, breathed his last.[4] He was buried at Galmanho, a suburb of York, in a church built by himself[5] on the site afterwards occupied by the beautiful abbey of St. Mary, now to be seen in ruins.[6]

Death of Siward Digera.

By Æthelflæd, daughter of Earl Ealdred, assassinated toward 1035, Siward left a son, Waltheof.[7] But Ealdred's brother and successor Eadulf, assassinated in 1041 by Siward, also left a son, Osulf.[8] Between these two the claim to the vacant earldom clearly rested. But Bernicia and Deira had not always been united. The combined earldom was really more than could be safely entrusted to any subject. The severance of the two should have been an object for which any prudent Government would have striven, and present circumstances offered a signal opportunity. If Eadward's councils had been directed by men having the interests of the State at heart Bernicia should have been given to Osulf, the undoubted representative of the House of Bamborough, and Deira given to Waltheof, the natural head of the Yorkshire Danes. As it was, the double earldom, extending from the Humber to the Tweed, was given in its entirety to Harold's brother Tostig. But it appears that Huntingdonshire also, and perhaps Northamptonshire, had been held by Siward

[1] Marianus, *Duan. Ann. Ulster.*, *Chron. P. and S.*, 63, 65, 369. The House of Moray, however, did not end with Lulach; he left a son, Maelnectan, who died, Mormaer of Moray, 1085; Chron. D, 1078; *Ann. Ulst.*, 1085.

[2] *Duan, sup.* [3] 25th April, J. Fordun, V. c. 9, but he gives the year as 1057.

[4] H. Hunt. The writer also tells another story of Siward in connexion with the Scottish war, but this anecdote cannot stand, as it implies that the Earl was not there. When informed of his son's death, he inquired if his wounds were in front or behind. When told that they were in front he was content,—he asked for no better death for himself or his son. [5] Chron. C. [6] Freeman.

[7] Symeon, *H. D. E.*, *Auct.* 219. See above, 410. [8] *Id.*, *H. R.*, 198.

as outlying appendages, and these two were also given to Tostig.[1] Henry of Huntingdon, as if to supply a reason for the go-by given to Waltheof, says that he was but a boy—*parvulus*. Yet Siward had married again, and again been left a widower, since the death of Waltheof's mother; and we hear of arrangements with reference to the property of the second wife, made, apparently, at Siward's death by Waltheof and the Abbot of Peterborough in the presence of the King,[2] as if Waltheof was then of age; while the old North country Tract, *De obsessione Dunelmi*, uses language which seems to imply that Northumbria *de jure* vested in Waltheof at his mother's death[3]; and it tells us plainly that Siward's death was followed by local war and destruction of property, as if Tostig had to use force to get in. With respect to Osulf, as his father had been dead fourteen years we may fairly assume that he was old enough to be invested. But even laying aside the claims of Waltheof and Osulf, we cannot excuse the neglect to break up the earldom. As to the influences to which Tostig owed his appointment the Biographer does not leave us in doubt. He tells us frankly that it was due to the efforts of friends, and specially of Harold and the Queen, and that the King yielded to their instances, and to his own sense of Tostig's (or Harold's) merits.[4] We must add that it clearly comes out later that Tostig was the member of the family whom Eadward liked best.[5]

A Family "Job."

Tostig Earl of all Northumbria.

We have taken the appointment of Tostig in natural connexion with the death of Siward. But it is clear that it was accompanied, if not preceded, by a great *fracas*, which we can only regard as a struggle between Harold and Ælfgar, the son of Leofric. The date of Tostig's promotion is not given; but it could hardly have been settled before the time of a Witenagemot held on the 19th March, 1055, very shortly after Siward's death. In this council we are told that Ælfgar was outlawed, and outlawed, according to the Abingdon writer, apparently the oldest authority, 'without any guilt.' The Worcester Chronicle mitigates this judgment, writing 'almost without guilt.' But Florence, coming still later, and correcting the Worcester

Ælfgar Outlawed,

[1] See *Codex Dipl.* Nos. 903 and 904, and Mr. Freeman's Appendix on the Great Earldoms, where he points out that the description of the daughter of Ælfhelm of Northumbria as Ælfgifu of Northampton may indicate an earlier connexion between the districts.

[2] *Codex Dipl.* No. 927. Of course the arrangement may have been made some time after Siward's death.

[3] "Filio suo Waltheofo comitatum Northybrorum dedit." The subject of the verb *dedit*, however, is not clear; it might be Siward,—either Siward or Æthelflæd; Sym., *H. D. E., Auct.* 220.

[4] "Agentibus amicis . . . potissimum fratre Haroldo duce et ejus sorore regina; et non resistente rege ob innumera ipsius fideliter acta servitia."

[5] *Vita Ædw.*, 221, 423; W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 252.

Chronicle, endorses the Abingdon view, and tells us that Alfgar was outlawed "*sine culpâ*."[1] Not a hint is anywhere given of the nature of Ælfgar's offence. We can only suggest that he had opposed the appointment of Tostig, and that Harold had induced the Witan to regard this as mere treason.

The usual result ensued. Ælfgar 'went out,' as Harold, and Godwine, and Child Wulfnoth, and Child Ælfric, and all others under similar circumstances had done. Following Harold's example, Ælfgar made his way to Ireland, where he raised a force of nineteen ships, with which he came back to Wales to join hands with Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, a man who either then was, or subsequently became, Ælfgar's son-in-law, and the husband of his beautiful daughter Ealdgyth.[2] The Welsh King led his ally first against his own special enemy, his namesake, the son of Rhydderch. Llywelyn of South Wales having been finally defeated and killed, the allies proceeded to invade Herefordshire,[3] harrying the southern part of the county known as Archenfield. The destruction was such that the land had not fully recovered by the time of Domesday.[4] The wretched Earl Ralph (*timidus Dux*) met the invaders two miles outside the "Port" (city) of Hereford with a considerable fyrd. Unfortunately, having been trained in foreign schools of warfare, he insisted upon making his men engage on horseback. We have already pointed out that the English of all classes fought on foot. But the horses could not be brought to face the missiles showered on them. At the first discharge of javelins[5] they broke and fled. The result was a bloodless triumph for the Welsh and Irish, who killed some 400 or 500 Englishmen without the loss of a single man. They then burst into the town and sacked and burned it from end to end. They pillaged the grand new Minster of St. Æthelberht,[6] recently erected by Bishop Æthelstan, carrying off vestments, treasures, relics, and everything. They slew the priests in the temple—seven canons fell while attempting to hold the doors against the enemy, and finally destroyed the whole edifice with fire. Of the townspeople some were killed, some carried off as slaves.[7] The tragedy ended with the deaths both of Bishop Æthelstan,

He Revolts.

Herefordshire Harried.

Défeat of Earl Ralph.

[1] A.D. 1055. I pay no attention to the assertion of the later Peterborough Chronicle, that Ælfgar confessed to some treason (not specified), 'though the word escaped him unintentionally.' This is evidently put forward merely to exculpate Harold, who had become a hero since the Conquest.

[2] Domesday, 238*b*. See Freeman, *N. C.*, II. 416, and the Appendix.

[3] *Ann. Camb.*; *Brut-y-T.* (A.D. 1054).

[4] A.D. 1086. See *Norman Conquest*, II. 387, and the references to Domesday.

[5] "Spere," Chron. C.

[6] *i.e.* Æthelberht of East Anglia, beheaded at Hereford by Offa 992–994, who became the local saint; Freeman.

[7] 24th October, Chron. C, D; Florence; *Brut-y-T.*

a man incapacitated by years and loss of sight, and of his coadjutor Bishop Tremerin, a Welshman.[1]

Harold to the Rescue.

The sack of Hereford was a calamity that called for a national effort at redress; and accordingly the fyrd of 'well-nigh all England' was summoned to Gloucester, and Harold placed at its head. Passing through Herefordshire and crossing the border, he marched a little way, 'not far,' into Wales, in fact as far as "Straddele," a border district "reckoned along with Herefordshire in Domesday."[2] Here Harold took up a position and fortified a camp. The allies not caring to attack him there, retired into South Wales, and then Harold, disbanding most of his men, returned to Hereford. That sounds rather tame for a Captain-General of all England. But we must bear in mind that by that time winter must have set in, and that Harold might fairly shrink from the responsibility of prosecuting a winter campaign among the snows of the Welsh Hills. The Welsh for the time were left to themselves, while a task more urgent than that of mere revenge was taken in hand. Hereford, though a frontier city standing on the very border line, was evidently not protected by proper fortifications.[3] Harold resolved at once to remedy this defect, and, accordingly, set his men to 'dyke the port about,' enclosing it all round with ramparts and ditches, gates and bars.[4]

Hereford Fortified.

Meanwhile Harold had come to another very proper conclusion, and that was to sink, at any rate for the time, his quarrel with Ælfgar, to allow him to be reinstated, and so detach him from the Welsh alliance. Negotiations having been opened, the two met at "Bylgeslege," Billingsley in South-East Shropshire,[5] and made friends. Ælfgar then went to the King, and was readmitted to his earldom and all his possessions. His fleet was sent to Chester, there to receive the pay due to them, doubtless a point stipulated with Harold.[6]

Ælfgar reinstated.

The venerable Bishop Æthelstan, as already mentioned, died on the 10th February, 1056. His successor was Leofgar, not a foreigner, but an Englishman, and Harold's priest. On him the prosecution of the war

[1] Æthelstan died on the 10th February, 1056, at "Bosanbyrig," now Bosbury, an episcopal residence—"on the western slope of the Malvern Hills." He had been bishop since 1012. Tremerin died before him. He had been coadjutor for thirteen years; Freeman.

[2] Freeman, II. 393. "Stratelei" is the Domesday form. The first syllable seem to suggest an original "Strath"=valley.

[3] The *Brut-y-T.*, 60, boasts that Gruffudd captured and destroyed the castle (*caer*) at Hereford; but it could not be worth much if it could be "rushed" and destroyed in a moment.

[4] Chron. C; Flor. William of Malmesbury, *G. P.*, s. 163, speaks of considerable earthworks at Hereford in his time, but out of repair, "fossatorum præruptorum ruinis."

[5] 5½ miles south of Bridgenorth.

[6] Chron. C; Flor. The latter introduces the name of Gruffudd, but it seems to me clear that he was not included in the pacification.

against Gruffudd devolved. The chroniclers thought him very secular in his ways. While in priest's orders, they tell us, he wore moustaches.[1] When he became a bishop, going from bad to worse, 'he threw away his chrism (*holy oil*) and his rood (*cross*), his ghostly weapons, and took to the spear and the sword, and so went forth to the war against the Welsh King; and they slew him there, and his priests, and Ælfnoth the sheriff, and many good men with them. The rest, they ran away' (June 17th).[2] This second catastrophe ought surely to have stirred the Government to vigorous and effective action. Such, however, does not seem to have been the case. The groans of the chroniclers imply a series of desultory, unconcerted, ill-planned operations against an impalpable enemy, such as the reader had in the days of Æthelred and the Danes. 'Hard it is to tell the wretchedness, and the goings, and the hostings, and the swink (*toil*) and losses of men and horses that all England dreed (*endured*).' At last, however, Leofric and Harold and Bishop Ealdred got together, and by a desperate effort forced Gruffudd to sue for peace, to render homage, and to swear to be a true and faithful under-king to Eadward.[3]

A Bishop in the Field.

No new Bishop, for the time, was appointed to the See of Hereford. Apparently learning was at a low ebb in England, and men fit to be entrusted with bishoprics were scarce. The care of the diocese was given to Ealdred, the Bishop of Worcester, and remained in his hands for five years. Bishop Hereman or Herman of Ramsbury, finding the revenues of his See inadequate, and having no Chapter at Ramsbury to assist him in his work, had proposed to annex Sherborne, so as to reunite the two Sees of Wiltshire and Dorset, originally one, but separated in 909.[4] It would seem that the Lady Eadgyth approved of the plan, and had promised her support. But the Sees could not be amalgamated till there was a vacancy at Sherborne. Pending that event Herman asked to be allowed to establish himself at Malmesbury, to enjoy the society of the monks, and join purses with them in clerical work. The King was willing. But the monks, naturally alarmed at the prospect of this episcopal invasion, went to Harold, and he forced the King to withdraw his consent three days after he had given it. Herman in disgust left England for a time, and retired to St. Omer where he assumed the monastic habit.[5] His See again was placed under the charge of Bishop Ealdred.[6]

[1] "Kenepas." See the Glossary to Mr. Plummer's edition of Earle's *Parallel Chronicles*. [2] Chron. C and D.

[3] Chron. C; Flor. It would also seem that Gruffudd at this time was muleted of certain lands, part of the modern county of Chester lying West of the Dee. See Freeman, II. 399, citing Domesday.

[4] See above under the year.

[5] Florence; W. Malm., *G. P.*, pp. 182, 420. The latter writer couples the name of Godwine with that of his son in this affair. But the date, which is clear, proves that to be an error. [6] Florence, A.D. 1058.

With a childless King getting on in years the question of the Succession was one that could not long be kept in the background. In 1052 the nation, as we take it, had given the King a very clear indication of the reception that the suggested candidature of Duke William would meet with. Eadward then condescended to turn his eyes towards the natural and proper quarter, and to recognise his paternal kindred in Hungary, the issue of his half-brother Eadmund Ironside. Of these Eadmund, the elder son, had apparently died many years before. The Ætheling Eadward, the younger son, was still living, and father of a family by a lady of Royal birth, Agatha, who most probably was a niece of the Hungarian Queen Gisela, wife of the sainted King Stephen, and sister to the Emperor Henry II.[1] The recall of Eadward to England must have been resolved upon in 1054, when Bishop Ealdred of Worcester was sent to Cologne on a mission to the Emperor Henry III. The Bishop was commissioned to request the Emperor that he would arrange with the King of Hungary for sending the Ætheling home to England. The time, however, was unfortunate, as Andrew, the reigning King of Hungary, was at the moment on bad terms, if not at war, with the Emperor, and nothing could be arranged between them. After spending a year at Cologne Ealdred came home again.[2] But the end of the mission had somehow been secured. In the course of the year 1057 the Ætheling landed in England with his wife Agatha, his son Eadgar, and his two daughters Christina and Margaret. The son became known to later days as Edgar Atheling. Of the daughters, one was destined to end her years as an abbess; the other to become the sainted Queen of Malcolm Canmore, and the ancestress of a double line of kings. Their father, the Ætheling, must have been to all intents and purposes a foreigner, who perhaps had never heard a word of English, except from his mother, or from an English nurse if he had one. But his presence seemed to settle the great and paramount question, on which the fate of the nation and the chances of invasion or civil war depended—the question of the Succession. But the hopes of the English were doomed to speedy disappointment. Within a few days of his landing, before he had been even presented to the King, Eadward died in London.[3] An ending so sudden, so inopportune, so fraught with fateful consequences, could not fail to excite suspicion and comment. The Worcester chronicler sings a plaintive elegy over the event.

Recall of the Ætheling Eadward.

His Sudden Death.

'Nor wist we for what cause'
It done were that he ne might
His kinsman King Edward see.

[1] See Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, II. 368, and the corresponding Appendix.

[2] Chron. C, D; Flor.

[3] Chron. D, E; Flor.; W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 228; H. Hunt. Eadward was buried at St. Paul's. Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, on the strength of an obit in the Donce MS. 296 (11th century), suggests that the Ætheling died on April 19; *Athenæum*, 28 August, 1897.

Well a day! Rueful was that hap,
And baleful for this land.'

These words have been thought to imply "more than meets the ear."[1] The writer no doubt laments that the Ætheling was kept from seeing the King, as if that, and not his prolonged existence, were the material point—rather a feeble utterance. From his words it has been inferred that Eadward was, first, kept from seeing the King; and, secondly, made away with by some faction opposed to his candidature. But it is not at all clear that the writer really meant to suggest foul play. He might only be moralizing, in the simple way of the times, on the mysterious dispensation that had removed the wished-for heir just when he had come to England. Apart from these words there is not a suggestion in any authority early or late that the Ætheling died otherwise than of natural causes, or that he was kept from seeing the King by anything except the illness of which he died. Under these circumstances it seems unfair to cast any breath of suspicion either on Harold or William in connexion with this matter. Their enemies would have been only too ready to take up such a charge if it could have been made available against either of them.[2] With respect to the premature death of the Ætheling, we might point out that the line of King Ælfred was used up; the Confessor King was little better than an incapable. The Ætheling's brother Eadmund had died young. William of Malmesbury understood that the Ætheling himself was a man of no capacity either of mind or body; and his son Eadgar proved a harmless nobody.

The death of the Ætheling was not the only loss of the year. In August or September Earl Leofric of Mercia passed away. He died at his residence at Bromley, in Staffordshire.[3] On the 21st December Earl Ralph of Herefordshire likewise was gathered to his fathers.[4] Earl Odda had died on the 31st August in the previous year, at Deerhurst, having been previously admitted to monastic Orders by Bishop Ealdred.[5] Thus the only counterpoise to the overwhelming influence of the House of Wulfnoth now to be found was in Ælfgar, son of Leofric. To the memory of the latter tradition has been cruelly unfair. The uniform testimony of his own age pronounces Leofric the kindest, most upright, most disinterested of men, the really lovable and popular character of the reign. 'He was very wise before God and the world, and of profit to all the people.'[6] His wife, Godgifu, was his partner in all his good works. Between them they founded and endowed the Priory of St. Mary's Coven-

Death of Earl Leofric.

[1] Palgrave.

[2] Lappenberg, II. 259. Palgrave, however, *Hist. Anglo-Saxons*, 352, and C. H. Pearson, *Hist. England*, I. 244, are inclined to tax Harold with the murder of the Ætheling. Lingard, I. 178, thinks the circumstances suspicious, but does not fasten his suspicions on any one. Mr. Freeman acquits both Harold and William, and thinks the sickness and death most likely natural.

[3] 31st Aug., Flor.; 30th Sept., Chron. D.

[4] *Id.* [5] Chron. C, D; Flor. [6] Chron. D.

try[1]; and left it reputed the richest church in treasures of any in the land. They also presented precious gifts and offerings to the churches and monasteries of Leominster, Wenlock, St. John's Chester, St. Werburgh's Chester, and Stow in Lincolnshire,[2] the fabric of the last being still partly extant. They enriched Worcester[3] with buildings, and Evesham with buildings and lands.[4] Yet Leofric is only known to most of the world as the husband of the Lady Godiva, a Nabal, a man of Belial, who, having been frequently urged by his wife to relieve the city of Coventry of oppressive duties,[5] finally consented only on the disgusting condition that she should ride naked through the market-place with all the people in it.[6] The noble woman accepted the ordeal, and, with two attendants to protect her, traversed the *forum*, happily shrouded in her long flowing locks.[7] A later version of the tale has it that the people, warned of her purpose, retired to their houses, and closed their doors and windows.[8] A still later version adds that one wretch, "Peeping Tom," having cast an unhallowed eye on the passing Countess, was smitten with blindness for his pains.[9]

Legend of "Lady Godiva."

At the death of Leofric his only son Ælfgar, as a matter of course, succeeded to Mercia[10]; but he was not allowed to retain East Anglia. That, or the Northern portion of it, was conferred on Harold's second brother Gyrth,[11] the South-Eastern counties being assigned to the third brother Leofwine.[12] Earl Odda died childless. Earl Ralph left a son, by name Harold. But as it appears that some years later he was still under age Herefordshire could not be placed under his charge, and, as a matter of fact, it appears to have been appropriated by Earl Harold.[13] Thus at the point of time that we have reached Ælfgar was the only traceable earl unconnected with the House of Wulf,

Ælfgar Earl of Mercia.

[1] Conf. *Cod. Dip.* No. 996; a concocted charter, but evidence of the connexion of the House with Leofric.

[2] See *Cod. Dip.* No. 956, A.D. 1053–1055. [3] *Cod. Dip.* No. 766.

[4] See Florence *in anno* for all these. For Evesham, *Cod. Dip.* Nos 938, 941, *circa* A.D. 1038. [5] "A gravi thelonii servitute . . . et aliis exactionibus importunis."

[6] "Per mercatum villæ . . . populo congregato."

[7] Roger of Wendover, I. p. 497 (*Engl. Hist. Society*). Roger, a St. Alban's monk, wrote down to the year 1235, and died in 1237. [8] Bromton, *Scriptt. Decem*, c. 949.

[9] Mr. Freeman points out that "Thomas" was not an English name at the time.

[10] Chron. D; Flor. There is no authority for giving Leofric any other son than Ælfgar. See Append. to Mr. Freeman, *N. C.*, II. 658.

[11] "Rex . . . comitatum ei dedit in ipso vertice Orientalis Angliæ." For writs addressed to Gyrth in connexion with Norfolk and Suffolk see Freem., *N. C.*, II. 566; *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 873–875, etc. Oxfordshire also became his; *Id.*, Nos. 862, 865.

[12] See *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 858, 860, 864, Middlesex and Herts. For Bucks Mr. Freeman cites Domesday, 143, 144, 145, *N. C.*, II. 560, 567, 568.

[13] For Earl Harold in Herefordshire see *Codex Dip.* Nos. 833, 867; Domesday, 179; Freeman, II. 417, 548. For Harold, son of Earl Ralph, see *Id.*, 662 (Append. K K.). He had large estates at the time of Domesday. The parish of Ewyas Harold in Herefordshire still preserves his name.

noth. If we ascertain the extent of his earldom, deducting that, we shall find what the rival family controlled, because they had all the rest. Ælfgar's earldom included in the first place the old North-Western counties, namely, Cheshire, beginning at the Ribble, Shropshire, and Staffordshire, to which Worcestershire had apparently been reunited since the death of Odda. Warwickshire and Leicestershire were also doubtless his, as well as Derbyshire and Lincolnshire.[1] Northamptonshire, as already mentioned, went with Northumbria; so now did Nottinghamshire and Huntingdonshire.[2]

Vast as Ælfgar's province was, it could not compare with the territories subject to the rival House, who at this time enjoyed an extent of landed property and political influence utterly without parallel either in our earlier or our later history. Gyrth and Leofwine may be supposed to have been under Harold's control. Not so Tostig, who was in fact a man of much more decided character than Harold. Both, we are told, were very persistent in following up their schemes. But Harold occasionally missed opportunities through taking counsel of too many people. Tostig told his mind to no one, maturing his plans himself, and, when he did act, acting with effective vigour.[3] He was also much less forgiving to those who opposed him than Harold.

Harold Aiming at the Crown.

From this time onwards we must suppose Harold to have begun to cherish hopes of succeeding to the Crown, if he had not done so before. Large as were the family possessions, Mercia, in Ælfgar's hands, seems to have been a thorn in their side, and an immediate effort was made to get rid of Ælfgar. No sooner had he succeeded to his father's possessions than he was outlawed again. In such a matter the only men who could take the initiative would be either Harold or Tostig. Of the grounds of Ælfgar's condemnation we hear no more than we did on the first occasion. But in our estimation a quarrel under the circumstances between Harold and Ælfgar would be very much of a quarrel between a wolf and a lamb. It is impossible to suppose that Ælfgar could have provoked it. Again, however, we are told, in two words, that he shortly recovered his earldom—by force, through the combined help of Gruffudd and of a Norwegian armament that, providentially for Ælfgar, had suddenly come down on our shores.[4]

[1] For Worcestershire see Domesday, f. 172, where Ælfgar's son Eadwine clearly appears as Earl. The family connexion with Warwickshire hardly needs proof; but see Domesday f. 238 *dorso*, "L (Leofric) comes," and "algid uxor Grifin." For Leicestershire see "Godeva's" estates, 231 *d.* For Derbyshire see f. 272, where Ælfgar and his son Eadwine take the lead; and for Lincolnshire, 336 *d.* See also Mr. Freeman's Appendix on the Great Earldoms.

[2] For Notts see clearly Domesday, 272. Siward is named in connexion with Hunts; conf. Freeman, Append., *sup.* [3] *Vita Ædw.*, 409.

[4] Chron. D; Flor. The Norwegian descent specially noticed by these writers must be connected with the attack on England by Magnus son of Harold, presumably Harold

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

In the absence of more stirring events of public interest ecclesiastical affairs again fill the pages of our scanty records. In March (1058) the Pope, Stephen IX., died. A lay faction then made a hasty election of John, Bishop of Velletri, who took the style of Benedict X. Anxious to make friends, he sent a *Pallium* to Stigand, who, as 'full archbishop,' forthwith began to exercise his powers, consecrating bishops for Selsey and Rochester.[1] Unfortunately, however, for Stigand, Benedict did not obtain general recognition, and, in fact, was deposed and ousted before the year was out,[2] mainly through the influence of the great subdeacon HILDEBRAND, the ruling spirit of the Papal *curia*. Nicholas II., previously Gerard Bishop of Florence, became Pope,[3] and Stigand found himself open to a fresh charge, namely, that of being the friend and accomplice of schismatics. Again in this year Ælfwold, the saintly and much respected Bishop of Sherborne, passed away.[4] We are told that in order to set an example of frugality and moderation in an age when indulgence at the table was carried to great excess, he would only partake at dinner of one dish, served on a wooden platter, with one small mug of beer, well tempered with water. A special votary of St. Cuthberht, he made a pilgrimage to his tomb, where, inspired by the happy confidence of perfect sympathy, he ventured to raise the cover of the shrine in order to deposit an offering and whisper a word of friendship to the departed spirit.[5] It was said that he died singing the antiphon of St. Cuthberht.

Ælfwold and St. Cuthberht.

"Sanctus antistes Cuthbertus,
Vir perfectus in omnibus,
In turbis erat monachus,
Digne cunctis reverendus."[6]

The See of Sherborne being vacant, the projected amalgamation could now be carried out. Ealdred made no difficulty of surrendering the charge of Ramsbury. Herman came back from St. Omer and became Bishop of the combined Sees of Ramsbury and Sherborne, with his seat at the latter place.[7]

Hardrada, recorded by the *Annales Cambriæ* and the *Brut-y-T*, under 1056 or 1057. Under the latter year Tighernac likewise records a grand coalition of the son of the King of Norway with the "Gall" (*Danes, foreigners*) from Orkney, the Western Islands, and Dublin 'to subjugate the kingdom of the Saxons. But God did not consent to that.' The writer was contemporary.

[1] Chron. D, E, F; Flor. Æthelric was the bishop appointed to Selsey, and Siward to Rochester. Previously he was abbot there.

[2] His successor, Nicholas II., was crowned Pope 18th Jan., 1059; H. Nicolas.

[3] Chron. D, E; Flor., 1058, 1059. See also Milman, *Latin Christianity*, b. VI., chap. 3.

[4] *Reg. Sacr.*

[5] "Revulso sepulcri operculo cum eo quasi cum amico fideliter collocutus." W. Malm.

[6] W. Malm., *G. P.*, s. 82.

[7] *Id.*, ss. 82, 83; Florence. Malm. says Herman had three *pagos* = counties—Dorset, Wilts, and Berks Conf. p. 291 for *pagos*.

Of Ealdred, again, we hear that this year he consecrated the Minster of St. Peter's, Gloucester, entirely rebuilt by himself.[1] Having settled these matters, Ealdred started on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the first of English prelates to undertake such a journey. We are told that he travelled by way of Hungary, a fact that points to a route by way of the Rhine and the Danube, and so to Constantinople. We are told that he travelled with unprecedented 'worship,' and that he presented to the Holy Sepulchre a gold cup or chalice 'of five marks, very wondrously wrought.'[2]

Waltham Abbey.

The 3rd May, 1060, being the Day of the Invention of the Cross, witnessed the consecration of Harold's foundation of the Holy Rood of Waltham. This was not an abbey in the proper sense, being in fact a college for a Dean and twelve Secular Canons, though the character of the establishment was subsequently altered by Henry II. Nor was Harold's minster the first building on the spot dedicated to the Cross. The Thegn Tofig, at whose wedding Harthacnut was taken ill, owned the manor, and built there a small church to hold a miraculous crucifix found at "Lutegarsbury," otherwise Montacute, in Somersetshire. The Waltham estate was taken from Tofig's son and given to Harold, with whom it became a favourite residence. He pulled down Tofig's church, replacing it by a more sumptuous building, richly provided with ornaments and relics derived from various quarters, while the whole foundation was endowed with large estates.[3] It would seem that Eadward, Eadgyth, and all the chief personages in the land were present at the consecration. But it is a significant fact that the rite was performed, not by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but by Kynsige, the Northern Primate. This proves that even Harold shrank from compromising himself or his foundation by using the ministrations of his friend Stigand.[4] It will be seen that Harold favoured the Secular rather than the Regular clergy. At

[1] Chron. D.; Flor.; W. Malm., *G. P.*, s. 155. For the earlier history of St. Peter's Abbey, originally a convent of nuns, afterwards of Secular Canons, and again of Benedictine monks (1022), see Dugdale, *Monast.*, I. 531. St. Peter's must be distinguished from St. Oswald's Gloucester, founded by Æthelred and Æthelflæd early in the 10th century.

[2] 1058–9, Chron. C; Florence. Five marks would be equal to forty ounces.

[3] For these see *Codex Dipl.* No. 813. The nave of the existing church—without the carved ornamentation, which was obviously added later—is believed by some to be original. The low surbased side-arches, the character of the masonry (concrete core faced with square blocks like the Roman Wall), and the fact that the work was not designed to receive the usual Norman enrichments, speak in favour of the early date. But the triforium-clerestory must be later.

[4] For the whole history of this foundation see the Tract, "De Inventione Crucis," written by a Canon of the place 1177–1190, with the notes and Appendix of Bishop

the present day most men would agree with him in this, but we must admit that in the days of Harold all the strictest and most zealous Churchmen believed in monasticism.

Before the end of the year Kynsige passed away. He died on December 22. Three days later Bishop Ealdred was 'elected' to succeed him. At the time he was pastor of two flocks—Worcester and Hereford. The latter he resigned at once, and it was given to the Queen's Chaplain, Walter, a Lorrainer, who had already been acting as coadjutor-bishop of the diocese.[1] Worcester Ealdred was allowed to retain, on the strength of the precedents of Oswald, Ealdulf, and Wulfstan I., each of whom had kept the Hwiccian bishopric after being appointed to the Northern Primacy. In the course of the next month Duduc of Wells died (18th January, 1061). Gisa, a King's Chaplain and another Lorrainer, succeeded him.[2] The reader will notice that these appointments were made at a time when Harold's influence must have been supreme, and that Harold himself had brought over a Lorrainer to instruct his own college at Waltham. The connexion between England and the Rhine-lands at this time must have been very close.

Ealdred, Archbishop of York.

Early in the year (1061) Ealdred, Walter, and Gisa all went to Rome; Ealdred charged with a double mission, partly on his own account, partly on the King's account. For himself he sought the grant of his Pall. For the King he had to ask for confirmation of his new foundation of St. Peter's Westminster, and for certain privileges in connexion therewith. Walter and Gisa went in quest of consecration, avoiding Stigand's offices. Certain other personages also undertook the same pilgrimage, namely, Earl Tostig, his wife Judith, his brother Earl Gyrth, and other magnates. All England seemed to be going on pilgrimage at this time. It looked as if the old English polity, conscious of impending dissolution, was seeking to to make its peace with Heaven.[3]

Bishops Walter and Gisa duly obtained consecration at the hands of

Stubbs (Oxford, Parker, 1861). To instruct the Canons in their duties, etc., Harold brought over one Adelard from Liège, a man learned in the Canon Law.

[1] Chron. D and E, and Florence. The shortness of the interval between the death of Kynsige and the election of Ealdred suggests that the 'election' of the 25th December may have been a canonical election, subsequently confirmed by the King and Witan.

[2] *Id.* Chron. E gives Duduc's death under the year 1061, Chron. D under 1060, but, after the death of Kynsige; Gisa himself gives the year as 1060, but apparently he begins his year at Easter, his journey to Rome following immediately. See the extract from a lost work of his given in *Ecclesiastical Documents* (Hunter, Camden Society, 1840), p. 16.

[3] For references to other pilgrimages not here noticed see *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 806, 808, 947, 953. The principal Life of Eadward, p. 410, attributes a pilgrimage to Rome to Harold in connexion with a tour through France. No time is indicated. The only other notice of such a trip is to be found in a romancing Life of Harold, written at Waltham, after 1205; *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, F. Michel (Rouen, 1840).

Pope Nicholas. On the 15th April, being Easter Day, the rite was performed.[1]

St. Peter's, Westminster.

In the matter of the King's errand concerning St. Peter's Westminster, Ealdred had no difficulties to contend with. The King's foundation was for Benedictine monks, and the chief privilege desired was that of exemption from episcopal control, a favour the Papacy was generally ready to grant. A favourable answer was therefore given.[2] But in the matter of his own *Pallium* Ealdred found that grave objection was taken to the fact that he proposed to hold Worcester along with York. Ealdred was unable to see the harm in this; at any rate he clung to Worcester. The matter hung in suspense for some time, as we are told that Tostig was detained in Rome negotiating on behalf of Ealdred, and that Judith, not caring to remain in Rome, went on with the greater part of the retinue, a fortunate circumstance for her as matters turned out. Unable to come to terms with the Pope, Ealdred and Tostig left Rome without the *Pallium*, Tostig vowing that no more Peter's Pence should be sent from England. But at Sutri, about two stages on their homeward journey, they fell into the hands of brigands, who stripped them of everything except the clothes on their backs, and so sent them back in confusion to Rome. Ealdred now condescended to accept the Pall on condition of surrendering Worcester, and Nicholas, taking pity on their plight, kindly supplied the party with necessaries from St. Peter's chest, and so enabled them to eventually reach home in safety. In taking leave of his guests the Pope announced an intended Legatine mission to England,[3] a rare event in those ages, no such embassy having been received since the year 788.

Italian Brigands.

The absence at one and the same time of the lay and ecclesiastical chiefs of Northumbria had left the unfortunate province at the mercy of an unscrupulous neighbour. Malcolm Canmore, we are told, had entered into a personal bond of sworn brotherhood with Tostig, a tie recognised in many parts of the world in primitive states of society. In 1059 he had been taken by Archbishop Kynsige, Bishop Æthelwine of Durham, and Earl Tostig on a visit to the court of

A Scottish Inroad.

[1] So Gisa tells us, *Ecclesiastical Documents, sup.*; W. Malm., *G. P.*, p. 251.

[2] For the letter of Eadward to the Pope and the Pope's answer, see *Codex Dip.* IV. pp. 182, 183; and Ældred of Rievaulx, *Decem Scriptt.*, cc. 386, 387. Whether genuine or not the documents embody the constitution that was established at Westminster. See also *Vitæ Æd.*, 90. For the earlier foundation at Westminster, see above, 327.

[3] See the *Life of Wulfstan*, by William of Malmesbury, *Anglia Sacra*, II. 250; *Vitæ Ædw.*, 411, 412; Chron. D. The above Life of Wulfstan was translated by Malmesbury from an English Life by Coleman, a Worcester monk, who died 1113, he having derived his facts in part from Heming, another Worcester monk, senior to himself, who also wrote a short Life of Wulfstan, *Anglia Sacra*, I. 541. Compare the later life of Ealdred in the *Gesta Pontificum* of Malmesbury, p. 251, where the facts seem less correctly given.

Eadward,[1] presumably to render homage.[2] Nevertheless he did not scruple two years later, when Tostig was abroad, to invade and harry his earldom, not even sparing Lindisfarne, part of the patrimony of St. Cuthberht.[3] With respect to Tostig's absence and its consequences, we may point out that the free indulgence in personal inclination, regardless of public interests, was one of the consequences of the want of any proper central government. In later times we shall find the Lords Marchers kept pretty steadily at their posts.

Ealdred was followed to England at no great interval by the promised mission. The Legates were Ermenfrid, Bishop of Sion in the Rhone Valley, and another Cardinal whose name has not been preserved. The mission had been resolved upon by Nicholas, but apparently the actual commissions were sealed by Pope Alexander II.,[4] the successor of Nicholas, who had died.[5] Their primary errand was to see that the condition with respect to Worcester was honestly carried out—a point on which the Pope's misgivings were fully justified. But they had other matters also to deal with, including probably the foundation of St. Peter's Westminster.

After a visitation of great part of England, executed under the escort of Ealdred—Stigand the Legates would not recognise—they were settled at Worcester under the care of the Prior Wulfstan. At Worcester they remained all Lent (February 13–March 31) waiting for an answer to be given by the King at Easter,[6] clearly after the usual Easter Gemot. This implies that certain terms or requirements had been propounded by the Papacy. The See of Worcester, however, having been declared vacant, local opinion with one voice declared for the Prior Wulfstan,[7] an ascetic saint of the strictest type, but also, it would seem, a man by no means wanting in tact or knowledge of the world.[8] Ealdred would have preferred Æthel-

[1] So a marginal addition to the *Historia Regum* of Symeon, "in a coarse hand, but one nearly coeval"; Arnold.

[2] See *Vita Æwd.*, 416, where we hear that the Scots had been so punished by Tostig for their predatory attacks that they finally elected to serve him and King Eadward, and gave hostages. [3] Symeon, *H. R.*, 1059–1061. [4] So Florence.

[5] Nicholas II. died 21st or 22nd July, 1061. On September 30th Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, was crowned under the style of Alexander II.; H. Nicholas.

[6] See the principal Life of Wulfstan already cited, *Angl. Sac.*, II. 250; Florence.

[7] So Florence.

[8] Wulfstan must have been born before 1012, as he is described as being past fifty in the year 1062 (Florence). He was born of Warwickshire parents of good position, who eventually retired to monastic Houses. The boy was educated at Evesham and Peterborough, and afterwards went to Worcester, where he was ordained deacon and priest by Bishop Bryhtheah (1033-1038). Bryhtheah offered him a good living near the town, but Wulfstan preferred to take vows, which he did under Bryhtheah. At first he was given charge of the boys' school (*magister-custos infantum, puerorum*), afterwards he became Precentor, Sacristan (*cæduus, secretarius*), and finally Prior or head of the House under the Bishop. His asceticism was extreme. He would spend a whole nigh

wig,[1] Abbot of Evesham, a man of excellent character, who had assisted him in the work of the diocese. The Legates, however, threw their influence in favour of Wulfstan, and he was appointed. But the matter was not settled all at once. Whether in consequence of his own unfeigned reluctance, or of other obstacles, his 'election' was not confirmed till the 29th August, nor was he actually consecrated till the 8th of September. The performance of this rite involved some delicate questions. Rejecting the ministrations of Stigand, who, after repeated citations to Rome, had been suspended by a Pope or Popes,[2] Wulfstan went to York to be hallowed by his old patron Ealdred. But the latter, in consequence of Stigand's protests, was subsequently required to declare before the King and Witan that he claimed no spiritual or temporal allegiance from Wulfstan by reason either of his consecration or of their previous connexion at Worcester.[3] One word more to finish the story of Ealdred and Wulfstan and the appointment to Worcester. After the consecration Ealdred left Wulfstan to administer York as his *locum tenens*. This, we are told, he did by way of a compliment to Wulfstan; but meanwhile the Archbishop went back to Worcester. When Wulfstan managed to get away from York he found that Ealdred had appropriated the greater part of the episcopal estates of Worcester, only seven manors or townships (*villæ*) being left to him. Wulfstan kept his temper, knowing well that against Ealdred violent proceedings (*vires*) would be useless.

in the Cathedral chaunting and praying. It is said that he would fast in silence for twenty-four hours three days in the week, taking bread and vegetables three other days, and going the length of fish and wine on Sundays. But apparently this extreme abstinence was only exercised in Lent (*Ang. Sacra*, II. 251), because we hear that when bishop, Wulfstan would sit out the after-dinner drinking with his followers, though he himself scarcely drank anything. Florence represents him as passing three continuous days and nights without food or sleep, an obvious expansion. Wulfstan was not a scholar, having only just enough learning to get on with (*qui necessaria sciret*). Logic was quite beyond him (W. Malm., *G. P.*, p. 281). Preaching was his strong point, and he used to preach regularly on Sundays and high Feasts. He enjoyed the friendship of Earl Leofric, or at any rate of his wife Godgifu, of their son Ælfgar, and of Harold (*Angl. Sacra*, II. 248).

[1] Malmesbury, in his Life of Wulfstan in the *G. P.*, p. 280, seems to invert the facts. He says that Ealdred specially chose Wulfstan because he thought him simple-minded, but that he found himself mistaken.

[2] "Eo quod officium episcopale . . . interdictum erat." See Florence; *Angl. Sacra*, II. 251; W. Malm., *G. P.*, p. 252; and especially the oath of canonical obedience subsequently taken by Wulfstan to Lanfranc, where the fact is asserted in the clearest manner. Popes Leo, Victor, Stephen, Nicholas, and Alexander were all named as having taken proceedings against Stigand; Freeman, II. 634.

[3] See Florence, *sup.*; W. Malm., *G.P.*, 251, 281. I reject the allegation in Florence that Wulfstan took the oath of canonical obedience to Stigand on the strength of Wulfstan's own declaration to Lanfranc (above), that he had never done so. Mr. Freeman suggests that Wulfstan subscribed the written oath without reading it, or without fully understanding it. But he was not so illiterate as all that.

Eventually, by persistence and tact, Wulfstan induced Ealdred to restore all but twelve manors.[1]

With the first days of the year 1064 we find ourselves once more in the swirl of war and secular politics. Regardless of the lessons of experience and of his own oaths, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn had not refrained from predatory incursions into England, sometimes even venturing to cross the Severn.[2] The King had been spending Christmas (1063) at Gloucester, as he seems commonly to have done. War with Wales must have been resolved upon in the Midwinter Gemot, as Harold took the field shortly afterwards. His first idea was to surprise the Welsh King in his winter residence at Rhuddlan, on the Clwyd, and with that intention he started off with a force of moderate strength, but apparently all mounted on horseback.[3] But whatever expedition Harold could use on his ride from Gloucester to Rhuddlan Gruffudd got word of his coming in time to make good his escape; and so Harold had to content himself with destroying the palace, and burning the shipping in the river[4] at Rhuddlan.

The attempt to dispose of Gruffudd by a *coup de main* having failed, Harold fell back upon a carefully concerted plan of campaign for the subjugation of Wales. About the 26th May he sailed with a fleet from Bristol to attack South Wales from the coast, while Tostig invaded North Wales with a *fyrd* by land. From our older English writers all that we hear is that the brothers overran the whole country, and that everywhere the Welsh came to terms and gave hostages; with one speaking fact to follow, namely, that in August the luckless Gruffudd, now beaten and discredited, was put to death by his own people 'for the war that he waged against Harold.' His head was brought to Harold, and by him again presented in true barbaric style to Eadward, together with the more legitimate trophies of the beak and ornaments of the Welsh King's ship.[5] From later sources we learn a good deal more as to the character of the struggle, and the means adopted by Harold to ensure success. In the first place we hear that he very wisely equipped his men as light-armed troops, himself discarding the usual hauberk of mail, and contenting himself with a jerkin of hardened leather—perhaps the boiled leather that we hear of in later times. We are also told that he made his men put up with Welsh fare, as if to save the transport of provisions.[6] Then we hear

Harold's Tactics.

[1] *Angl. Sacra*, II. 251. The reader will remember that these facts come to us from Coleman and Heming, men personally connected with Wulfstan.

[2] *Vitæ Ædw.*, 416, 425. [3] "Equitatu non multo secum assumpto"; Flor.

[4] Chron. D; Flor. The Clwyd is still navigable for small vessels up to Rhuddlan.

[5] Chron. D; Flor.; *Vitæ Æd.*, 416, 425.

[6] "Militiam eligens expeditam . . . levem exercens armaturam. . . . præduro tectus corio." So John of Salisbury, *Polycraticus*, b. VI. c. 6 (ed. Giles). "Volucres Angli . . . agminibusque citis"; *Vitæ Æd., sup.* "Levibus armis, victuque patriæ conformi," Giraldus Cambrensis, *Descriptio Kambriæ*, p. 217, vol. VI. of his works. Rolls Series, No. 21.

that the Welsh, unable to face the English in open fight, were driven from one refuge to another and butchered without mercy. At the places where more important struggles had taken place the Earl set up pillar-stones with the vain-glorious inscription, '*Here Harold conquered.*' We also have an edict that any Welshman found with arms to the East of Offa's Dyke should lose his hand.[1]

Bleddyn and Rhiwallon.

The older writers again seem to imply that the war ended with the death of Gruffudd (August 5), and that a settlement of Wales was effected by the appointment of two native princes, Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, styled brothers of the late Llywelyn, but stated by the Welsh chroniclers to have been in fact sons of one Cynvyn.[2] These men gave hostages, and swore to be faithful to Eadward and Harold, to render such tribute as had been rendered in other times to English Kings, and to be ready at call with military service by sea and land.[3]

Curtailment of Wales.

The real subjugation of Wales would have required an armed occupation, an effort to which the England of the time was utterly unequal. But it would seem that the hostilities extended into a second year.[4] Thus we hear that in 1065, after overrunning the country, Harold began to build a hunting lodge at Portskewett in Gwent (Monmouthshire), and to accumulate stores there for the entertainment of the King, but that Caradoc, son of the late Gruffudd ap Rhydderch of South Wales, came down with a band of men, killed most of the workpeople, and carried off the goods.[5] Again, it is certain that the Welsh had to submit to a considerable curtailment of their territory. In the North modern Flintshire, with the vale of Clwyd and a further territory of undefined extent, was annexed to Cheshire and Mercia. In mid-Wales, Radnor, and in South Wales the parts of our Monmouthshire lying between the Wye and the Usk were attached to Harold's earldom of Herefordshire, and so brought under his control.[6] But it appears that at the time of Domesday these districts were still mostly waste; and we are told that during the whole reigns of the first three Norman Kings, a period of nearly one hundred years, Wales was powerless to give any trouble.[7] But this assertion is not borne out by the later records with which we shall have to deal.

The reader will have noticed that the allegiance of the newly appointed Welsh Princes is said to have been rendered to Harold as well as to Eadward. This seems to imply that Harold had been recognised as Heir to the Throne. We may point out, however, that the Scots in like manner had been represented as undertaking to 'serve' Tostig as

[1] Giraldus, *sup.*, "Hic fuit victor Haroldus."
[2] *Ann. Camb.* and *Brut-y-T.*, A.D. 1068. [3] Chron. D; Flor.
[4] So John of Sailsbury, *sup.* [5] 24th August, 1065; Chron. C, D; Flor.
[6] See Freeman, *N. C.*, II. 473, and the Append. [7] Giraldus, *sup.*

well as Eadward.[1] Again, the reader may have missed the name of Ælfgar in connexion with the Welsh campaign. The date of his death is not recorded, but he had passed away since the date of the Waltham charter attested by him in 1062.[2] His eldest son Eadwine succeeded to his earldom.

[1] *Vita Æduu.*, 416, and above, A.D. 1059. [2] *Cod. Dip.* No. 813.

CHAPTER XXX

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (*continued*)

Affairs of Normandy—Conquest of Maine—Captivity of Harold in Normandy, and his Oath to Duke William—Rising of Northumbrians against Tostig—Death of Eadward

CURIOUSLY linked in point of time with Harold's greatest triumph, his Welsh campaign, was the unfortunate incident of his captivity in Normandy, and his oath of allegiance to his rival William, a lamentable affair, in which our fullest sympathy is due to Harold.

Since the time of his visit to England in 1051 the Duke's powers had been developed by further trials and experiences, and his position strengthened by further successes. He had quelled sundry domestic revolts, secured his dynasty by a fruitful marriage, and added the important county of Maine to his dominions.

Normandy.

As early, perhaps, as the year 1048, before William's visit to England, he had proposed for the hand of Matilda ("Mahelt"),[1] daughter of Count Baldwin V. of Flanders, by Adela daughter of Robert II. the late, and sister of Henry I., the reigning King of France. No alliance could be more suitable for the Duke of Normandy than one with the rich border-land of Flanders, only separated from his own dominions by the small Counties of Ponthieu and Boulogne.[2] The union was destined to prove as happy a one as if it had simply sprung from mutual affection; but the current of their true love was not allowed to run smoothly at the first. Pope Leo IX. intervened with an inhibition, which was uttered in the Council held at Rheims in October, 1049,[3] as already mentioned. With respect to the grounds of the Papal objection to the match, an ingenious theory has been broached that Matilda was the wife of another man, Gerbod, 'advocate' of the Abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer; moreover, that by him she was actually mother of a son and daughter, namely, Gerbod, afterwards Earl of Chester, and Gundrada, afterwards married to William of Warenne. This myth, however, has been dispelled,[4] and the inhibition appears to have been based on the ground that the parties were related

Papal Objections.

[1] *Roman de Rou*, line 9642.

[2] Freeman, III. 83. [3] *Id.*, 89, citing Labbe, *Conc.*, XI. 1412.

[4] For this theory, as originally propounded by Mr. Stapleton, and for a time partly accepted by Mr. Freeman, see *Archæol. Journal*, III. 1, and *N. C.*, III. 645. For its refutation see *Gundrada de Warrenne*, by Mr. R. E. C. Waters.

within the prohibited degrees. The relationship, however, does not appear to have been clearly made out. It has been suggested that Matilda's paternal grandmother may have been a daughter of Richard the Good, and so aunt to William.[1] Or the objection might be based on the fact that Matilda's mother, Adela of France, had been married or betrothed to William's uncle, Richard III.[2] For four years Baldwin and William submitted to this annoying veto, but at last in 1053 the Count brought his daughter to Eu, and there she was duly married to the Duke. It was, perhaps, not an accidental coincidence that at that time Pope Leo was a prisoner in the hands of Norman adventurers in Apulia.[3] But the Papal prohibition remained to condemn the union as uncanonical. Not till 1059–60 was this stigma removed through a dispensation obtained from Nicholas II. by the skilful diplomacy of Lanfranc. As the recognised champion of orthodoxy, his credit at Rome would be great. But the dispensation was only granted on the condition that two monasteries should be founded—one for nuns, to be built by Matilda; and one for monks, to be built by William.[4] Both were taken in hand without delay, and established at Caen. In 1062 William's foundation of St. Stephen's received its first abbot in the person of Lanfranc, thus duly rewarded for his successful intervention.[5] Matilda's convent of the Holy Trinity was not consecrated till four years later.

In other spheres also William's ability had brought him out successful under trial. Petty revolts of disloyal kinsmen, such as that of the Duke's cousin William, surnamed Busac, younger brother of Count Robert of Eu,[6] or that of his uncle William, Count of Arques, had been suppressed with ease, even though the rebellion in the latter case had received support from France.[7] The jealousy naturally felt by Henry I. and his subjects towards a principality that barred the waterway of the Seine, and cut off Paris from the sea, led to a formidable attack in the winter of 1054–55. A double invasion was planned. One army, led by the King's brother Odo and Count Guy of Ponthieu, would

Normandy Invaded.

[1] This view seems untenable; *N. C.*, III. 650.

[2] For other princes attacked by Leo at the same time for infringing the marriage laws of the Church see *N. C.*, III. 89. At the same time, considering the far-fetched character of the objection to William's marriage, it seems quite probable that Leo may have acted at the suggestion of the Emperor Henry III., who may have been jealous of the aggrandisement of Flanders.

[3] *N. C.*, III. 92, citing for the date *Chron. Tours*, Bouquet, XI. 348.

[4] See *N. C.*, III. 106, citing William of Jumièges, p. 282, where the fact, previously suppressed, is let out that the Duke and Matilda were related; also *Vita Lanfranci* (Giles), II. 287–289. Lanfranc at one time had condemned the Duke's marriage, but William ordered him to be expelled from Normandy, and his monastery's lands to be ravaged. Lanfranc took the hint.

[5] Chron. Bec. 197 (ed. Giles), cited Freeman, *N. C.*, III. 110; Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, 320; and Orderic, 549, correcting 494, where 1066 is given as the date.

[6] A.D. 1048–1053; Freeman, *N. C.*, III. 119–120. [7] A.D. 1053; *Id.*, 120–140.

enter Normandy from the East, and ravage the *Pays de Caux*; while Henry and Geoffrey Martel would march from Paris upon Evreux and Rouen. William kept on the defensive, disposing forces to watch either attack. The Eastern army apparently entered Normandy at Aumâle, and marched as far as Mortemer, a village between Aumâle and Neufchâtel, ravaging the country by day, but feasting and keeping careless watch by night. Apprised of this, the Norman leaders, namely, the Count of Eu, Walter Giffard, and Roger of Mortemer, a local magnate, after a forced march by night, attacked the French in their quarters at daybreak, firing and surrounding the town. After a stiff fight of some hours' duration (*ad usque nonam*) the invading force was dissipated or destroyed. William promptly forwarded the news to the camp of his lord, King Henry, who, taking the hint, at once retired.[1] Among the prisoners was Guy of Ponthieu, who, after two years' captivity, purchased his freedom by becoming William's 'man.'

On the side of Maine, again, William secured a certain advance by establishing a garrison at Ambrières,[2] within the limits of that province. Having established it, he maintained it in spite of all the efforts of Geoffrey Martel, the practical over-lord of Maine, and his feudatory Geoffrey of Mayenne. The latter fell into William's hands and was forced to do homage, thus giving the Duke a definite footing in Maine.[3]

A Footing in Maine.

For three years the land had rest, and then King Henry and the restless 'Hammer,' Geoffrey Martel, undeterred by previous failures, mustered their forces for a last desperate effort against William. Entering Normandy from the South towards August, 1058, 'when the new corn was in,'[4] they marched to Exmes[5] at the head of the river Dives, and so down its course to St. Pierre, William watching their movements from Falaise. Callous and politic, he would not risk an action against superior numbers to save the peasantry from destruction. His men were ordered to retire to their strongholds, leaving the enemy free to harry and burn at will. He might have said, as the later King of France[6] said when asked to look at the villages blazing within sight of Paris, 'It is only smoke; they can't smoke us out of France.' On the invaders pressed

Normandy again Invaded.

[1] A.D. 1055; W. Jum., 281; W. Poitiers, 56–61; Orderic, 657; *Roman de Rou*, II., pp. 70–80; Freeman, *sup.*, 140–161. William of Jumièges gives the year as 1054, presumably ending at Easter, as Orderic tells us that the action was brought before Lent, and in the eighth year after Val-ès-Dunes (1047), showing that the year was 1054–5.

[2] Dept. Mayenne, on the river Varenne, near its junction with the Mayenne.

[3] 1055? W. Poitiers, 61–64; Freeman, *sup.*, 164–169. Another post established by William within the limits of Maine was La Roche Mabille (Orne), just West of the border stream of the Sarthon; Freeman, *sup.*

[4] "Encuntre aost, el blé novel"; *Roman.*

[5] "Per comitatum Oximensem," W. Poit. and W. Jumièges; "Oismes," *Roman de R.* Department of Orne.

[6] Charles V.

towards Bayeux, stopping short, however, on the line of the little river Seulles, from whence they turned back to Caen, a city, we are told, as yet undefended either by walls or castle.[1] Caen having been duly sacked, they advanced to the fords of the Dives at Varaville, not far from the sea, intending to push their ravages Eastwards towards Lisieux. It appears that the country on the West or left bank of the river was low and marshy,[2] as in fact it still is, the road to the ford being carried over a narrow causeway.[3] King Henry and the Count of Anjou had crossed in safety with the van when the rise of the tide arrested the greater portion of the army, encumbered as it was with the baggage train and the spoils of Normandy. William, who was on the look-out for an opportunity of dealing an effective blow, swooped down upon them with a strong body of troops, reinforced by as many peasants as could be got together. The French in their cramped position on the causeway were speedily overwhelmed, and either killed, drowned, or taken prisoners, almost to a man. 'Never were so many people taken, or more killed, in Normandy.' Henry from the higher ground across the river looked on, the helpless spectator of his army's discomfiture. Again he had to beat an ignominious retreat out of Normandy. The restitution of Tillières was the price of peace.[4]

Two years later (1060) Henry I. passed away, leaving his crown to an infant son, Philip I., who was placed under the guardianship of Baldwin of Flanders. About the same time Geoffrey Martel was gathered to his fathers.[5] As he left no issue he divided his dominions between his nephews, the sons of his sister Hermengarde by Alberic Count of the *Gâtinais*, namely Geoffrey, surnamed "*Barbu*" (Bearded) and Fulk "*Rechin*," *i.e.* the Quarrelsome.[6]

Succession in Anjou.

For William the death of Geoffrey Martel opened up the road to Maine, that fertile and much coveted district, whose history, through Normandy, came to be linked with that of England. A shadowy claim to the county had been asserted by the Dukes of Normandy under an alleged grant from a King of France, not the original cession of Charles the Simple, but a later grant concurrent with the cession of Bayeux made by King Rudolph (924?). As a

Affairs of Maine.

[1] "Encore ert Caem sans chastel,
N'i aveit fet mur ne quesnel."—*Roman*, II. 89.

[2] "Les marez"; *Roman*.

[3] "Chauchie," *Roman*. The writer speaks of a bridge, which seems clearly wrong. Mr. Freeman suggests that the bridge may have been built by Wace's time, as he was clearly acquainted with the locality.

[4] W. Poitiers, 64–66; W. Jum., 283; *Roman de Rou*, II. 87–94; Freeman, 170–177: he invites attention to the fact that the Norman archers are first noticed in connection with the action at Varaville.

[5] 1060, W. Poit., *sup.*; 14th Nov., 1060, Fulco, *Hist. Com. Andegav.* (See next note.)

[6] Freeman, *sup.*, 180; conf. Sismondi, *France*, IV. 336 citing Fulk's own chronicle, *Hist. Com. Andegav.*, 138; Société de l'Histoire de France, *Chroniques d'Anjou*; also in D'Achery, *Spicilegium*.

matter of fact Maine appears to have been ruled by native Counts, holding of the Kings of France, but condemned to constant struggles to maintain their independence against the aggressions of the Counts of Anjou. It was in warfare against Anjou that the celebrated Herbert (*Héribert*) 'Wake-the-Dogs' won his surname[1] (994–1036). Herbert was succeeded by his son Hugh, at whose death (1051) Geoffrey Martel took possession of Maine, expelling Hugh's son, by name Herbert, and keeping it in his hands till his own death.[2] By rights the younger Herbert ought then to have succeeded without dispute, but the Angevin dominion was too firmly established to be shaken off; and so, as the lesser of two evils, and to give himself a chance "of recovering dominions that he had never possessed," Herbert 'commended' himself and his country to William, undertaking to hold it as a fief of him, and recognising his rights under the supposed grant to Rolf. Moreover he undertook to marry one of William's daughters, declaring him his heir if he should die childless.[3] In 'commending' his possessions to William, Herbert does not appear to have gone beyond his rights under feudal law, but it is very questionable if he was entitled to cut off all the rights of his collateral relations.[4] These included three sisters and an aunt. The sisters were—Garisende, second wife of Albert Azzo II. of Este, Marquis of Liguria[5]; Paula,[6] (qy. Pauline?) married to John of La Flèche[7]; and Margaret as yet unmarried. The aunt was Biote, daughter of Herbert Wake-the-Dogs, married to Walter of Mantes, Count of Pontoise and the *Vexin Français*. The married sisters and the aunt all had children.[8] Some two years later (1063 or 1064) Herbert died, unmarried, and not without suspicion of foul play.[9] Whether he had ever obtained any possession of Maine seems doubtful. At any rate a most complicated situation was ushered in. Duke William at once put forward his claim

[1] "Evigilans Canem"; Ord., 532.

[2] See Mr. Freeman's excellent sketch, *N. C.*, III. 188–196, and the authorities there fully cited.

[3] So W. Poitiers, 69, 70, where he clearly distinguishes this marriage proposal from the later betrothal of Herbert's sister Margaret to young Robert. Orderic, however, only records the latter; 487, 532. Sismondi and Freeman follow him, but I do not see how Herbert would secure his own possession by marrying his sister to young Robert.

[4] See Baron Maseres' note to W. Poitiers, 67, where, as he points out, the chaplain's anxiety to defend William's title betrays a sense of weakness.

[5] By his first wife Cunigund the Marquis was father of Welf, Duke of Bavaria, ancestor of the Dukes of Brunswick and the English House of Hanover. By Garisende of Maine the Marquis had Fulk, ancestor of the Dukes of Ferrara and Modena, and a third son, Hugh. Freeman, *N. C.*, III. 196; Sismondi, *France*, IV. 404.

[6] *N. C.*, IV. 545. [7] Dept. Sarthe, in Anjou, but on the borders of Maine.

[8] Orderic, 532; Freeman; Sismondi, *sup.* Walter of Mantes was the eldest son of Drogo and Godgifu, sister of the Confessor; Ralph, Earl of Hereford, was a younger son. [9] Sismondi, IV. 404.

under the treaty with the late Count, but the prospect of his rule was not inviting, nor were the rights of the native family forgotten. The people of Maine declared for Herbert's aunt Biote and her husband, Walter of Mantes,[1] probably as being those among the possible claimants best able and willing to give effect to their pretensions.

In 1064 William invaded Maine in force, wasting the county without mercy, and establishing garrisons in strategic places, but refraining from laying formal siege to Le Mans. This important stronghold was held for Biote by Geoffrey of Mayenne, William's old adversary. Cut off, however, from all succour or supplies, the citizens were fain to surrender, and William eventually entered in triumph. The building of a Norman donjon secured his position.[2] The situation was further simplified by the deaths of Biote and her husband, conveniently removed by poison, but whether before or after the fall of Le Mans is not clear.[3] Geoffrey of Mayenne, however, was still at large and bidding William defiance from his fastness. Strong by nature and strengthened by art, the town of Mayenne stands on rising ground on the right bank of the river of the same name. William, to the great discontent of his army, was obliged to settle down to a formal siege of the place. For a while battering-ram and catapult were plied in vain; the affair threatened to prove a lengthy one, when a fire, according to one account an accidental fire, threw the town into confusion and enabled William to effect an entrance. The town having been captured and sacked, the citadel next day yielded on terms.[4] Once more the troublesome Geoffrey was allowed to do homage.

Thus had William added the fair plains of Maine to his own inherited Normandy. To reconcile the *Manseaux* to his rule, he sent for Margaret, the one unmarried sister of the late Count Herbert, and contracted her to his young son Robert; but before the marriage could be celebrated the girl died. In William's life the Conquest of Maine "stands second only to the conquest of England."[5]

To return to Harold. The events we have now to detail must have happened shortly after the reduction of Maine; that is to say, apparently either in the autumn of 1064 or the spring of 1065.[6] It happened on a

[1] W. Poit., 70; Ord., 487.

[2] Mr. Freeman informs us that little of William's castle remains, though considerable portions of the Roman walls built by Constantine may be seen; *sup.*, 204, 206.

[3] Before, Orderic, 488, 534. The chaplain does not notice the deaths of Walter and Biote, but he implies that they died after the surrender of Le Mans, as he says that Walter agreed to it, p. 71. In the latter of the two passages cited Orderic expressly implicates William in the poisoning; in the former passage he contents himself with saying, "quibus defunctis securior Dux, etc."

[4] W. Poitiers, 72–74; Ord., 488. According to William of Jumièges, who, however, places the capture of Mayenne too early, the fire, in the first instance, was kindled by children at play, p. 283: (A.D. 1064, Ord.; 1063, Maseres.)

[5] Freeman.

[6] Harold's visit to Normandy is placed after the reduction of Maine and the siege of Mayenne, events which occurred in 1063–1064; W. Poitiers, 71–74. It also is clear

day that Harold sailed on a cruise from his harbour at Bosham, near Chichester. Foul winds having come on, he was driven over to the French coast, where he had to land in Ponthieu, at the mouth of the river Maie, in the estuary of the Somme. He was at once seized as a waif of the sea—a lawful prize—and imprisoned for ransom by Guy, the Count of Ponthieu.[1] With respect to the object of Harold's trip accounts differ widely. The Norman writers assert that he had been sent by Eadward, whose health was failing, for the express purpose of arranging for William's succession, and to render homage to him as King-elect of England.

Question as to the Circumstances.

This story needs no refutation. It was clearly the invention of men who could not bring themselves to avow the real circumstances under which Harold's allegiance had been extorted from him, and who therefore faced the difficulty by boldly asserting that he went to Normandy for the express purpose of declaring himself William's man.[2] We may also point out, among other objections, that if Harold had gone on an embassy from Eadward he would certainly have gone under safe-conduct, and therefore would not have been lawful prey in the hands of Count Guy. Another version, at first sight less improbable, was that Harold was going to Normandy, not on the King's errand, but on one of his own, that is to say, to negotiate for the liberation of two relatives, namely, his youngest brother, Wulfnoth, and his nephew, Hakon, son of Swein, alleged to have been in William's hands as hostages.[3] With respect to the circumstances under which these youths had come into the Duke's keeping accounts are again subdivided, some writers telling us that the hostages had been exacted from Godwine by Eadward in 1052, and sent to Normandy for safe keeping[4]; while another authority has it that the hostages had been given to William at the time of the original promise of 1051 as guarantees for his succession.[5] Now, in the first place, the reader must be told that, apart from these allegations, there

that Eadward died not long afterwards. We may therefore place the visit to Normandy either in the autumn of 1064 or the summer of 1065, in the interval between the events recorded in connexion with Wales. Florence and the A.S. Chronicles ignore the incident altogether. Huntingdon places the affair after the reduction of Maine, but before the Welsh campaign, giving the year as 1062. The year will not do, but Harold might have gone to Normandy in the autumn of 1063.

[1] Brother and heir of Ingelram II. who married Adelais, sister or half-sister of Duke William, and by her had two daughters—Adelais and Judith—of whom anon; *N. C.*, III. 136.

[2] W. Poitiers, 74–79; Wm. of Jumièges (Duchese), p. 285; Orderic, *Id.*, 492. So too Bandri of Bourgeuil (below). Wace gives this as one account of the journey, but evidently one he could not quite accept; *R. Rou*, II. 109 (ed. Pluquet, 1827).

[3] So Eadmer, the Canterbury monk, who was born about this time, *Historia, Novorum*, p. 6 (Rolls Series, No. 81), copied by Symeon, *H. R.*, s. 151. The *Roman de Rou* gives this as the primary account, II. 108.

[4] *Id.* and W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 200.

[5] W. Poitiers, 78.

is no evidence that either Wulfnoth or Hakon was in William's hands before the time of Harold's visit, though it is certain that Wulfnoth was a prisoner for a long time afterwards.[1] With respect to this last man, however, the question seems settled by a charter of the year 1059, in which we have Wulfnoth at court and signing as Minister.[2] With respect to Hakon, the story may also be dismissed. It is almost superfluous to point out that when William came to England in 1051 Godwine and all the male members of his family were out of the country; and that since Godwine's return in 1052 Eadward had never at any time been in a position to take hostages from him or Harold. Lastly, we may say that even if Wulfnoth and Hakon had come into William's hands under any other circumstances, and since 1059, it is most unlikely that Harold should have adventured himself into the lion's den except under safe-conduct. Lawless as the age was, it had its principles, and respect for a safe-conduct was one of them. These versions then being dismissed, we fall back upon a third account, that given by William of Malmesbury, who, rejecting the idea of a mission to Normandy, tells us that the best informed people of his time believed that Harold had simply sailed on a pleasure trip, for the sake of fishing or yachting, when foul winds drove him across the Channel.[3] Harold, then, being in Ponthieu, the news of his capture was soon brought to Rouen. It may be, as asserted by Malmesbury, that in his distress he appealed to the Duke. Anyhow, William, with his usual promptitude, saw his opportunity, and at once demanded the surrender of Harold. Guy was William's vassal; but even if he had not been such he was in no position to risk a quarrel with Normandy, and so Harold and his party were all delivered over at Eu, and brought to Rouen, where they were treated with all distinction. But Harold was soon given to understand that his return to England would depend upon his recognition of William's pretensions in that quarter. Under the circumstances Harold had no option but to submit; the homage, however, was not rendered in the capital city of Rouen, but in a small town of the name of Bonneville.[4] This much seems established. The Duke's chaplain, however, assures us, on the authority of persons who were present, that Harold of his own free will added further proffers of assistance and service, undertaking to deliver Dover Castle, recently fortified by himself; while the Duke, in return, promised to confirm Harold in all his possessions.[5] Another stipulation in the compact, and one that evidently obtained general credence, was that Harold would marry one of William's daughters, while it also appears that the Duke conferred on his guest the honour of knighthood, a novelty

[1] W. Malm., *sup.* [2] Facsimiles of A.S. MSS. (Sanders), Part I. [3] *G. R.*, s. 228.

[4] "Coadunato ad Bonamvillam consilio." W. Poitiers, 79; W. Jum.; W. Malm.; Orderic, *sup.* There are five places of the name of Bonneville in Normandy—three in the Dept. of Eure and two in that of Calvados.

[5] W. Poitiers, *sup.*

for an Englishman.[1] William then took his distinguished vassal on an expedition to the borders of Brittany, against the reigning Count, Conan, son of Allan, William's former protector. The hostilities were apparently connected with the establishment by William of a border fortress at Saint-James-de-Beuvron, to the South of Avranches, while Conan also chafed at the state of affairs at Dol, a fortress situate within his own territory, but held by a rebellious vassal, one "Ruallus," in the interest of William. The campaign, however, of which nothing is known except from Norman sources, was not distinguished by any important action, Conan retiring at the Duke's approach. William turned homewards, and after a while sent Harold back to England. Hakon was allowed to go with him, but Wulfnoth was detained as a hostage for his brother's fidelity.[2]

Whatever the details of this much-contested episode, we cannot doubt that Harold was forced to pledge himself to support the Duke's pretensions to the crown of England. The fact was shortly proclaimed to all the world, but never really denied.

At home further troubles were at hand to darken the last chapters of Old-English history. The appointment of a West-Saxon to rule Northumbria must, under any circumstances, have been a hazardous experiment calling for tact and management on the part of the intruding Southerner.

Tostig in Northumbria.

But Tostig did nothing to justify the King's choice; he accumulated unpopularity till the whole country rose against him. We have already blamed him for absenting himself from the sphere of his duties by going on pilgrimage to Rome. So again now, in critical circumstances, we hear that he was, and apparently for a considerable time had been, in the South in attendance on the King at court and in the hunting-field.[3] In fact it appears that Tostig was so frequently absent that he had a recognised deputy, a Thegn of the name of Copsige, who had the charge of Northumbrian affairs when he was away.[4]

The absence of a ruler from his district is always felt as a grievance. But Northumbria had far graver charges—charges of bloodshed—to bring

[1] W. Jum., *sup.*; *R. Rou*, 112; W. Malm., *sup.*; Orderic, *sup.*, and 573, where the name of Harold's intended is given as Agatha. Jumièges and the *Roman* call her Adeliza or Adela. For more of Harold's oath see the Append. to Mr. Freeman's *N. C.*, III. 667.

[2] W. Poitiers, 79–85; conf. W. Jum., *sup.* A well-known romantic embellishment of the circumstances of Harold's oath is that he swore upon a chest covered with a cloth, supposing it to be empty, and that his oath would be bound by no sanction. When he had sworn, William removed the cloth, and, to Harold's dismay, showed a mass of holy relics on which he had sworn. This comes from Wace, the writer of the time of Henry II.; *Roman de Rou*, II. 113.

[3] "Erat. . . . Tostinus in curia regis, diutiusque commoratus est cum eo, ejus detentus amore et jussis"; *Vitæ, sup.*

[4] "Quidam vocabulo Copsi qui sub Tosti totius comitatus curas gerebat"; Sym., *H. D. E.*, p. 97.

against Tostig. We are told that within the last twelvemonth he had assassinated two young men of rank—Gamel son of Orm, and Ulf son of Dolfin, when at his house in York under guarantees of peace.[1] Still more shocking is it to hear that during the last Christmas festivities Gospatrick, another Northumbrian magnate, had been murdered at court by the orders of the Lady Eadgyth, to please her brother Tostig.[2] The family apologist alleges that these men suffered for their misdeeds (*ob nequitias suas*), and assures us that Tostig owed his unpopularity simply to the effectual measures that he had taken for the suppression of brigandage and violence, evils that even the strong-handed Siward had failed to repress. We cannot question the probability of the existence of brigandage, because we shall hear of Northumbrian brigands centuries later. But we must point out that Tostig's mode of proceeding was not that of a lover of peace and righteousness,[3] as the writer ventures to allege, but that of a jealous and sanguinary despot. The Welsh campaign, also, may have contributed to Tostig's downfall, as the imposition of a grievous tax, a tax too heavy to be borne, was another charge laid against him.[4] Probably the money had been wanted for the war. But whatever the causes of their discontent, the Northumbrians—both Yorkshiremen and Bernicians, Danes and English—rose, determined to submit to Tostig no longer.[5] On the 3rd October, 1065, the leading Thegns, Gamelbearn, Dunstan son of Æthelnoth, and Glonieorn son of Heardulf,[6] came to York with a little army, attacked and rifled Tostig's mansion, and scattered his household. Tostig himself was absent, but two Danish house-carles, who were caught, were taken outside the walls and put to death, while on the morrow some two hundred more of Tostig's men were hunted down and killed. A tumultuous assemblage deposed Tostig and declared for Morkere, younger son of Ælfgar, as Earl.[7] Morkere waited for no second bidding, but came at once, and led the insurgents on a southward march. In the counties of Nottingham, Derby, and Lincoln they were received as friends. The former of these districts, as we have seen, was attached to Yorkshire; the two latter went with Mercia. A halt was made at Northampton, where Eadwine joined them with the forces of his earldom, including many Welshmen,[8] always ready for military adventure. The county of Northampton, an outlying appendage of

Assassinations.

March to the South.

[1] "Sub pacis fœdere," Florence. The fathers, Orm and Dolfin, were still living at the time of Domesday, and still in the enjoyment of parts of their former estates; Freeman, *N. C.*, II. 477. [2] Florence.

[3] "Pacis deificæ filius et amator eximius dux, etc.," *Vitæ Ædw.*, 421, 422. [4] Flor.

[5] "Thegenas ealle on Eoforwicscire and on Northhymbralande togædere."

[6] All three appear in Domesday as having been great landowners in Eadward's time.

[7] Flor.; Chron. C, D, E; *Vitæ Ædw.*, *sup.*

[8] Independently of the Welsh districts recently annexed to Mercia there must have been a considerable Welsh element within the limits of Mercia, to say nothing of the alliance with Gruffudd of North Wales.

Northumbria, seems to have been regarded as Tostig's private property, as we hear that the whole district was ransacked and plundered, many persons being even carried off as slaves.[1] With respect to the choice of Morkere as Earl in preference to Osulf or Waltheof, the representatives of the native Houses, we may suppose the Northumbrians to have been influenced by political considerations, and the necessity of securing more influential support than either of those disinherited men could give them.

Harold Mediates.

Harold now appeared on the scene, commissioned by the King, at Tostig's request, to mediate and make peace between the insurgents and their Earl. A grand Gemot was held at Northampton, and Harold apparently did his best to induce the Northumbrians to lay down their arms, and submit all questions between them and Tostig to legal decision. But the North country folk would not hear of Tostig being kept on as their ruler. He had, in the words of the Chronicle 'set up bad laws,'[2] meaning, probably, as we should say, 'ruled unjustly.' He had robbed the Church,[3] and deprived honest men of their lands and lives. They would rather renounce their allegiance to Eadward than take back Tostig. Finally, they prayed the King to give them Morkere. Harold went off to report this message to Eadward, who was still buried in the woodlands of Hampshire or Wilts; while the insurgents, determined to press their point, made a further advance to Oxford. There Harold had another interview with them on the 28th October,[4] when, finding them obdurate, he took upon himself to say that the King would appoint Morkere, and 'gave them his hand on it.'[5] We are also told that Harold then 'renewed Cnut's Law.'[6] The reference, of course, was to the declaration of the celebrated Oxford Gemot of 1018, when Englishmen and Danes agreed to live in amity under the Laws of Eadgar. This might seem to suggest that Tostig's doings had raised some questions as between the blood of the two races. But there is no evidence of anything of the sort, and the probability is that the 'renewal' was simply meant as a declaration of amnesty and fraternity towards all men except Tostig.

But if Harold, wisely yielding to imperative necessity, had abandoned his brother, not so Eadward. It is clear that he exhibited the same dull tenacity, the same inability to realise facts that we have noted on former occasions. Thrice he sent to the insurgents, simply ordering them to disperse and go home. When they had reached Oxford he left his hunt-

[1] Chron. D and E; *Vita, sup.* [2] "Unlage rærdon."

[3] Symeon, however, praises him and his wife, Judith, as good patrons of St. Cuthberht, *H. D. E.*, p. 94.

[4] Chron. C; Flor; "Axoneuorde," *Vita.* Chronicles D and E have two meetings at Northampton, the latter on the 27th Oct., and no mention of Oxford.

[5] "Heom thet on hand sealdon" (*leg.* sealde); Chron. E comparing B.

[6] *Id.*

ing and submitted to hold a council at Bretford, near Salisbury. Hot was the altercation between the various parties. Tostig's enemies did not shrink from taxing him with putting men to death for the sake of their property; while he was furious with Harold for not having supported him through thick and thin, even suggesting that he had instigated the revolt, a most transparent calumny.

An Excited Gemot.

For a man in Harold's position, and with Harold's aspirations, the split in the family, and the transference of Northumbria to a distinctly rival House, must have been a most serious, almost a fatal blow. Preposterous as Tostig's charge was, Harold, nevertheless, had to clear himself of it upon oath, his own single oath, without compurgators. But the King still clung to Tostig, and ordered the *fyrd* of all England to be called out to support the dispossessed Earl. In vain the courtiers protested against civil war; in vain they pointed to the approach of winter; finally, seeing that the King would not listen to reason, they went their own ways, leaving him to enforce his call to arms as best he could.[1] Nobody responded, and we are told that Eadward fell ill of sheer pique and rage at the slight,[2] denouncing the wrath of Heaven on those who refused to pay due regard to the orders of their King.[3] The struggle must have been kept up for some weeks longer, but, at last the King, finding that he could not harbour Tostig, dismissed him in peace, again to seek a refuge in Flanders. Towards Christmas the Earl sailed with his wife, his infant children, and a considerable following of Thegns,[4] a desperate band, pledged to give trouble at the earliest possible opportunity. Baldwin, Judith's brother, gave them a most friendly reception, and established them at St. Omer with its revenues for their support.[5]

The King's Orders Ignored.

Tostig Sent Abroad.

The King's health still failing more and more, he kept his Christmas in London, with a view to assisting at the hallowing of the new Westminster Abbey, for which ceremony the Innocents' Day (28th Dec.) had been fixed. The choice of the day was an odd one, as the Innocents' Day was always held a specially unlucky day, so much so that the very day of the week on which Innocent's Day fell was accounted a *dies infaustus* during the whole of the ensuing twelvemonth. Perhaps the day was accelerated at the last in the hope of securing the King's attendance, but this was not to be. He proved too ill to appear, and Eadgyth had to replace him in the Abbey,[6] as we are told that she often had done in the council chamber.[7] Our sympathy with her at this time

Dedication of Westminster Abbey.

[1] "Regem proficisci volentem non tam avertunt quam eo invito perperam deficiunt."

[2] "Quo dolore decidens in morbum ab ea die usque in diem mortis suæ ægrum trahebat animum." [3] "Dei super eos imprecatus est vindictam."

[4] "Cum . . . plurima nobilium suorum manu."

[5] See *Vita Ædw.*, 422-424, a thoroughly trustworthy account; also Freem., *N. C.*, III. 656. [6] Ælred, *Scriptores Decem*, c, 399; *Vitæ Ædw.*, 128. [7] *Id.*, 423.

must not be withheld in spite of the moral obliquity that could doom an unoffending person to death in order to please a brother. Between the illness of her lord and the ominous feud between her brothers, we are told that she was reduced to a state verging on distraction.[1]

Eadward's Deathbed.

Even the fevered dreams of the dying King were haunted by a vague sense of impending chaos and disaster. After two or three days passed in a state of semi-unconsciousness, when his utterances were hardly intelligible, he suddenly raised himself on his bed and spoke out clearly. The Queen was sitting at the end of the bed cherishing his feet in her bosom. Stigand, Harold, and Robert the Staller were standing round him, with some others who had been called in at his request to hear a dying vaticination, we had almost said a last malediction. He had seen a prophetic vision. Two monks, holy men, whom he had known and loved long ago in Normandy, had appeared to him with a message from the Almighty. The rulers in high places in England — earls, bishops, abbots, priests — were not what they seemed to be, but simply ministers of the Devil: therefore God had given over the kingdom for a year and a day after his (Eadward's) death[2] into the hands of the enemy, and the land would be wasted by fiends with fire and sword. He had answered, 'I will tell the people of God's will, and surely they will repent, as the men of Nineveh repented, and God will have mercy upon them.' The vision had replied, 'They will not repent, nor will the mercy of God reach them.'

A Prophetic Vision.

The Green Tree.

He had then begged to know when the end might be, and the final word was, 'When a green tree, cut off from its root and removed from it by three acres' breadth,[3] shall of itself and without human or other help again be joined to it, and again put forth leaves and bear fruit, then shall the end be.' The bystanders were dumbfoundered by these awful warnings, as well they might be. But the ready Stigand hastened to dispel the impression by whispering audibly to Harold that the failing King was wandering. 'He does not know what he is talking about.'[4] The Queen, however, we are told, and those who had the mind of God, kept these sayings and pondered them in their hearts. The writer appends his own view — apparently pointing at Stigand — that the persons who had done most to bring down God's wrath upon the nation were those whose worldly ambition had made them deaf to Papal embassies and Papal monitions.

[1] *Vitæ Ædw.*, 423.

[2] "Post obitus mei diem anno uno et die una." "Un an e un jur durra"; *Vitæ Ædw.*, 431, 130.

[3] "Trium jugerum spatio." It has been suggested that this should be taken as meaning the width of a normal acre-strip in a Common Field, two hundred A.S. yards long by four 'rods' broad. The rod was = 5 A.S. or 5·5 Imperial yards; Seebohm, *English Vill. Comms.*, p. 99. The acre's breadth would be = 22 yards Imperial.

[4] "Senio confectum et morbo quid diceret nescire."

The reader may be left to take what view he pleases of the King's prophecy, which must be taken to have come down to us through Eadgyth. She may have modified the King's words: like him, she cared for Tostig, not for Harold. But again we repeat that small powers of divination were needed to see that between Harold, Tostig, and Duke William, England had an anxious future before her. The graphic incident of Stigand's whisper to Harold gives great reality to the scene. In the next century the prophecy as to the green tree was taken to have been fulfilled when Henry I. took to wife Eadward's grandniece, and so acquired that link of connexion with the old dynasty of which neither Harold, William I., nor Rufus could boast.[1]

But ere he breathed his last Eadward, we are happy to say, was able to assume a gentler and more forgiving tone. He thanked Eadgyth for her dutiful filial service[2]; then, holding out his hand to Harold, he commended to his charge his sister the Lady, and all the kingdom,[3] not forgetting a word on behalf of his foreign retainers. He begged Harold either to accept of the fealty of these men,[4] if they wished to stay, or else to dismiss them in peace with all their belongings.

These words seem to have been accepted, and rightly accepted, by the nation as amounting to a final nomination of Harold as his successor.[5] The reference to Eadgyth is ambiguous, but the reference to the fealty of the foreigners seems quite decisive. We must suppose that out of regard for Eadgyth and the foreigners Eadward at the last acquiesced in the unpalatable fact that Harold must succeed him.[6]

The King directed his body to be buried in the new Minster, received the Viaticum, and so passed away on Thursday, 5th January, 1066,[7] the last King of England descended in the male line from Ælfred and Cerdic. Popular opinion canonized him from the day of his death as a man of angelic conversation and prophetic soul; a true saint, pure, upright, and gentle.[8] Miracles were wrought at

Death of the King.

[1] See Ælred, *sup.*, and the French Life in the *Vitæ*, p. 130.

[2] "Ex sedula officiositate servitutis suæ . . . in loco carissimæ filiæ."

[3] "Porrecta manu ad . . . Haroldum," "Hanc," inquit, "cum omni regno tutandam tibi commendo, ut pro domina et sorore, ut est, fideli serves obsequio."

[4] "Ut suscepta ab eis, si ita volunt, fidelitate, eos . . . retineas, etc."; *Vita Æduv.*, 433.

[5] "Haroldus . . . quem rex ante decessionem suam regni successorem elegerat," Flor.; "Se cyng hit him geuše," Chron. E. So too Eadmer, the Canterbury writer, *Historia Novorum*, p. 8. Wm. of Malmesbury also admits that the English asserted the fact, *G. R.*, s. 228, p. 280. The *Roman de Rou*, essentially a Norman account, accepts the fact, II. 119. It must be noticed, however, that the contemporary Chronicles C and D rest Harold's position simply on his election, the constitutional basis.

[6] See W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 228.

[7] Chron. C, D, E; Flor.

[8] "Inter regni negotia vivebat angelum," W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 220. See also the ballad given by the Abingdon and Worcester Chroniclers.

his tomb.[1] Finally, he was officially recognised as a Confessor, or Saint of the second class, by Alexander III. in 1161.[2] Eadward's personal appearance is described as comely and dignified.[3] His stature was moderate and his build probably slight[4]; at any rate his hands and fingers are described as long, thin, and transparent. He had plump, rosy cheeks, and milk-white hair and beard[5]; apparently he was an Albino. Utterly unfit as he was to fill a throne, he was not destitute of qualities to gain popular regard. The unsullied purity of his life of itself would invest him with a halo of sanctity.[6] He was thoroughly respectful in his attitude to the Church; not only regular in his attendance at Mass, but also reverent in his behaviour when there. He very seldom spoke during the services unless he was spoken to. He must have had a pleasant manner, as we are told that he could refuse without giving offence: at the same time he could be very violent if crossed in anything that he really cared about.[7] He had little taste for pomp or regal show, matters that the Lady took more to heart. His one passion was the chase; if not in the field he loved to be surrounded with hawks and hounds. For England and all things English it would seem that he had a profound contempt.[8] Still he is represented as affable and accessible to persons of humble rank. He was kind to the poor, supporting paupers at his different seats, and showing himself ready to minister to the ailments of the sick. His success in these matters gained him a great name.[9] A wonderful cure of suppurated glands in the neck of a young woman, apparently effected by nursing and treatment, is believed to have been the origin of the practice of touching for the King's Evil. Again we hear of sundry 'blind' men who recovered their sight on washing their eyes in water in which the King had performed his ablutions. As the 'blind' men, on certifying that they were 'cured,' were placed on the list of the King's pensioners, applicants for treatment would doubtless be numerous.[10] Of Eadgyth we are told, and we see no reason to doubt the fact, that in all things she took her cue from her Royal husband, endeavouring, however, so far as in her lay, to supply what was wanting in him. Where he gave she would scatter,[11] but all for his honour. Her custom was to sit at his feet, except in church and at dinner-time, and address him as

Field Sports.

Touching for the King's Evil.

The Lady Eadgyth.

[1] *Vita Ædw.*, 435; and Ælred of Rievaulx, *Scriptt. Decem*, 403.

[2] See Freeman, *N. C.*, III. 34.

[3] "Persona erat decentissima . . . corpore toto integer et regius homo"; *Vita*, 396. [4] "Corpus fragile," *Id.*, 430.

[5] *Id.*, 396. [6] *Id.*, 428. [7] *Id.*, 396.

[8] "In squalore mundi Anglorum vivebat." I take these, the Biographer's words, to express the King's view. [9] *Id.*, 414, 415.

[10] *Id.*, 428–430. For the *lacuna* at this point see pp. 13, 105, where a translation of the missing part will be found. For more miracles, etc., see W. Malm., *G. R.*, ss. 222–225. [11] "Cum ipse daret illa largiebatur."

'Father.' Her relations to him altogether were clearly those of a daughter, not of a wife.

Of legislation under the Confessor King we hear not one word beyond the proclamation of 'Cnut's Law' by Harold in 1065. The so-called *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* are a compilation plainly posterior to the time of Rufus, and in fact of the time of Henry II.[1] But we do get a full view of the state of English law under Eadward from the *Leges Willelmi Conquestoris*, a code 'granted' by William I. about the fourth year of his reign,[2] which professes to give, and, as far as we can see, does give the state of the law as existing under Eadward. Apart from the use of Norman-French, and one or two clauses specifically referring to Frenchmen, there is nothing to show that the code was not issued before instead of after the Conquest. Not a new principle is introduced. The slight divergences from the last native code, that of Cnut, do not amount to more than the intervening time and circumstances might account for. The Church rights of sanctuary; the King's Peace[3]; ranks of men and their legal values ("*wers*"); ordeals by iron and water; the jurisdiction of the Hundred; Peter's Pence; the endless provisions connected with cattle dealing and cattle stealing (*Team*); the minute distinctions between Danish, Mercian, and West Saxon law are all there. Above all, we have a re-enactment of the great social law of *frithborh*, now for the first time spoken of as frankpledge, under which every man, not of high rank, had to be under standing bail for his appearance in the Hundred Court, if "wanted."[4] We notice, however, more distinct references in these Laws, as in the Charters of the Confessor, to the position and rights of the holders of the private jurisdictions of *soc* and *sac*.[5] In the table of heriots, again, or reliefs, as they are now called, we find the higher nobility no longer subjected to the money payments required by Cnut.[6] This might have been a concession extorted from the weakness of the Confessor. On the other hand, we have the heriot of the villein defined and given as his best beast, his horse or ox, and that of the free rent-paying tenant not under vassalage given as one year's rent.[7] In connexion with the King's Peace we get for the first time the names of the four great roads, the Watling Street, the Ermine Street, the Foss Way, and the Iknield Way. Any one who kills or assaults a man on either of these is guilty of a breach of the King's Peace.[8] In connexion with these, apparently, we

Legislation.

[1] See Schmid, LXXI. and c. 11 s. 1 of the *Leges* themselves; also Bishop Stubbs, *R. Hoveden*, II. xxii., and Dr. Liebermann's Tract on the subject of the Laws (1896). The text in Thorpe is much interpolated.

[2] See the preamble to the *Leges Ed. Conf.*, Schmid, p. 491; and, generally, on the Laws of the Conqueror, Bp. Stubbs, *sup.*

[3] cc. 2. 26. [4] cc. 20 s. 3, 25, and 52; see above, 323, 377, 410.

[5] cc. 2 s. 3 ('soc sac toll team and infangthief') and 27.

[6] c. 20, comparing Cnut, II. c. 71. [7] *Id.* [8] c. 26.

hear of a local constabulary, 'Streetwards,' furnished by a levy of one man from each ten hides.[1] We are also glad to hear that the cultivators of the soil are not to be removed from their holdings, nor pressed for more than their due services.[2]

Eadward and the Church.

To the Church Eadward was apparently liberal, but a large proportion of the grants attributed to him are of doubtful authenticity. He certainly gave freely to Winchester[3]; Abingdon and Bury St. Edmund's also received,[4] and we have confirmations of old vast grants in favour of Chertsey and Malmesbury, which are passed as genuine.[5] The Westminster charters seem fabrications; they are dated on the day of the consecration, 28th December, 1065, when the King was too ill to attend[6]; but they appear to have been made up by stringing together genuine grants, many of which are extant.[7]

Westminster Abbey.

In his great architectural work, Westminster Abbey, the King had been in a manner anticipated by Harold and Eadgyth. Of Harold's church at Waltham, dedicated in 1060, as already mentioned, we may believe that a considerable part may yet be seen. Eadgyth consecrated a new stone church at Wilton, to replace a wooden one, in the summer of 1065.[8] Nothing remains either of Eadgyth's church at Wilton or of Eadward's Minster, which was rebuilt by Henry III. But in justice to Eadward and the time and money devoted to the work, it is right to say that the proportions of his edifice must have transcended those of Waltham, or of any previous church in England, and that in several respects they corresponded with those of the existing building. The church, when dedicated, certainly comprised a chancel, transepts, and a central tower. Now the south transept of the existing church abuts on buildings belonging to the original structure, remains of which are still traceable, these buildings having been defined by the original south transept. The new transept, therefore, was cast in the mould of the original one. The identity of the dimensions of the transept and other considerations raise a very strong presumption in favour of the view that the width and length of the original chancel were also those of the present one. The width of the nave would also correspond.[9] How much of this was completed by Eadward is uncertain. The East end is described by the Biographer as having lofty side arches, and apparently an apse-ending (*circumvolvitur*); also a vaulted aisle running all round it, as the present building has. The roof was of wood covered with lead. The central tower had circular staircases carried through turrets up to a certain height, doubtless that of the

[1] c. 28. [2] c. 29.
[3] See *Cod. Dip.* Nos. 774–776, 780, 781. [4] *Id.* Nos. 796, 800, 1,342.
[5] *Id.* Nos. 812, 817. [6] *Id.* Nos. 824, 825. [7] See *Id.* Nos. 855–859, etc.
[8] Before the rising against Tostig; *Vitæ Ædw.*, 418–421.
[9] So Sir G. G. Scott, *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey* (1863), 4, 5.

gallery above the aisles, as above that, again, we are told that the tower rose with a plain wall up to the wooden roof.[1] The arches at the crossing are described as low, a clumsy feature common in Anglo-Saxon churches.[2] Lastly, as another point of correspondence between Eadward's church and the present one, we must note that the singing-choir extended westwards under the crossing, an arrangement generally supposed to have been borrowed by Henry III. from Spanish exemplars.[3] Of the conventual buildings of the Confessor considerable portions still remain.[4]

[1] The Bayeux Tapestry also seems to represent the central tower as having angle-turrets up to a certain height.

[2] So, *e.g.*, at St. Paul's, Jarrow, St. Mary's Stow, and at the church of St. Regulus at St. Andrews, where only the noble central tower remains, but where the arches of the tower must have been much lower than the roof of the choir and nave.

[3] The original description is worth giving: "Principalis aræ domus (*choir*) altissimis erecta fornicibus quadrato opere parique commissura (*blocks square on their faces and beds*) circumvolvitur; ambitus (*aisle*) autem ipsius ædis dupplici lapidum arcu ex utroque latere hinc et inde fortiter solidata operis compagine clauditur. Porro crux templi (*crossing*) quæ medium canentium Deo chorum ambiret, et sui gemina hinc et inde sustentatione mediæ turris celsum apicem fulciret, humili primum et robusta fornice simpliciter surgit, cocleis multipliciter ex arte ascendentibus plurimis tumescit, deinde vero simplici muro usque ad tectum ligneum plumbo diligenter tectum pervenit"; *Vitæ Edw.*, 417. Sir Christopher Wren saw the MS. of this Life, but gives an inaccurate rendering.

[4] Namely, the waggon-vaulted "Dark Cloister," with the cross passage leading to the "Little Cloister." Alongside of the Dark Cloister (East side) runs a range of vaulted underbuilding, supported on piers. Part of this forms the chapel of the Pyx, where the monetary standards are kept, while another part serves as the boys' gymnasium. All this dates from the time of the Confessor, as well as the old Dormitory over it, now the great schoolroom. Some of the windows are original. Another bit of the Confessor's work may be seen in the wall and narrow light at the South-West corner of the Little Cloisters. Inside the house may be seen an original arched doorway, which apparently opened into a latrine.

CHAPTER XXXI

Review of Later Anglo-Saxon Constitution and Society—The Manorial System—The *Witenagemôt*—Popular Courts and Assemblies—*Frithborh*—Domestic Arts—Architecture

THE reader whose patience has followed the thread of our narrative from the time of the Teutonic immigration into Britain will not expect a very elaborate survey of the later Anglo-Saxon constitution. The principal legislative changes have been noted step by step as we went along, but a retrospective glance will enable us to enter more fully into the state of English society on the eve of the Norman Conquest. In outward seeming, things are very much as they used to be in quite early days. We have the old gradation of orders—King, Archbishop, Ætheling, Bishop, Ealdorman or Earl, King's Thegn, Lesser Thegn, Ceorl, Læt, and Slave. The values of their lives, the weight of their testimony in court, are reckoned as formerly. We still have the people meeting in their assemblies of the Township, the Hundred and the Shire. The family tie and the right of private war are still the bases of the criminal law. The old tariff of fines and compensations for injuries remains; but the spirit and working of the whole are altogether changed. The power and wealth of the chief ruler have made vast strides. We have no question in later Anglo-Saxon times of the deposition of a King, however unfit; nor do we hear of any ecclesiastic whose position might be thought to overshadow that of the Throne. But in early days social distinctions did not seem incompatible with the freedom and independence of the Many. Now the social distinctions rise abruptly before us, but there is no longer any freedom or independence in the lower strata to balance their preponderance. If the people are still brought together periodically for the transaction of business, the political and legislative functions which flourished in the days of Tacitus, of which traces could still be noted after the migration, are now, for the time being, wholly gone. The suitors no longer attend as freemen coming in their own right, their attendance is rather a badge of servitude than otherwise. They are brought in flocks as the retainers of their lord, to support his interests and echo his cry. The relations of aristocracy and people have been exactly inverted since the *Germania* was written. Then the word was "*De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes.*"[1] Now the description should be "*De minoribus*

[1] *Germania*, c. 11.

rebus plebes consultant, de majoribus principes." In our later Chronicles, when any incident involving public action is recorded, the word is 'the Thegns did this,' or 'the Thegns wanted that.' The highest functions of the meetings of the Hundred and Shire are now judicial, questions of public policy, legislation, or taxation, being reserved for the *Witenagemôt*, the King's Privy Council, which is not, in any proper sense of the word, a representative assembly. Land is everything, and the ownership of land has been concentrated in a few hands. The small landowners have been bought out or reduced to vassalage, and the tenants and cultivators on the large estates have been unable to hold their ground as against their landlords. Of the social constitution of a large manor in the latter Anglo-Saxon days we get a full view in an interesting document, already cited, and entitled *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*,[1] and evidently written by a well-informed man of practical experience in the management of land.[2] Among the various classes of persons described, we have not one free rent-paying tenant to represent the *ceorl* of earlier days. In fact, we have only one *ceorl* named, the bee-ceorl or bee-keeper, who has extra work to do at the lord's bidding, and whose position is clearly servile, as the lord, *prima facie*, takes all his goods at his death.[3] The *Thegn*, or owner of our manor, apparently holds it as *boc-land*, as we are told that he stands on his charter-rights (*boc-riht*) and is only liable to the Three inevitable burdens—military service, and the repair of forts and bridges.[4] All owners, however, are not so free, some being liable to the King in many other duties. Beneath the Thegn we have a long string of dependants, apparently grouped in the first instance under three heads—those of the *geneat*, the *cotsetla*, and the *gebur*; corresponding, as already suggested, to the *læt* of earlier times. Of these the last appears to be in the best position; he is a small tenant farmer, holding a 'yard' of land, usually estimated at 30 acres, or one-fourth of a hide.[5] On entering he receives two oxen, one cow, six sheep, with seven acres ready sown for him, also implements and some furniture for his dwelling-house.[6] He pays 10*d.* money rent, with some contributions in kind. But his chief render is in labour. His 'rent-ploughing' is three acres, to be sown with seed found by him: besides this, under some other head he ploughs an acre a week during the autumn, and finally he may be called upon for three extra acres of 'boon-ploughing,' and more besides, 'if he wants more grass.' He has also to take his turn of lying at the lord's fold. His

Rectitudines Singularum Personarum.

The *Gebur*.

[1] Schmid., Append. III. p. 370; Thorpe, I. 432. See also the *Gerefa*, printed by Dr. F. Liebermann from MS. C.C.C., Camb., No. 383, f. 102; *Anglia*, IX. 251.

[2] See c. 5, "Mid us is geræd, etc." (*with us it is the rule, etc.*).

[3] *Ib.* (c. 5). [4] "Fyrd-færeld, burh-bot, bryc-geweorc." The terms vary.

[5] See Append. to this chapter.

[6] For this stocking, also known in other parts of our Islands as "Stuht" or "Steelbow," see Robertson, *Scotland under Early Kings*, II. 159, 161, 371; Kemble, I. 321.

goods, again, go to the lord at his death.[1] With the *gebur* of our manor we may compare the *ceorl* of a Hampshire estate, described in another old writing (undated). He pays 40*d.* of money rent, besides bread, ale, two ewes and their lambs. But he has to plough and sow three acres a-week, mow so much hay, drive and stack so much corn and cut wood, do fencing, and, in fact, pretty well whatever is required of him all the year round, except during the holiday weeks of Christmas, Easter, and Ganging[2] Days (Rogation Days, 5th week after Easter).

The *Cotsetla.*

The *cotsetla* does not necessarily pay rent, but he works for the lord on Mondays all the year round, and three days on 'harvest.' He should have five acres at least. 'If he has less it is little.' He is clearly reckoned in the eye of the law a free man—as probably all but actual slaves were—because we are told that he pays Hearth-penny[3] on Holy Thursdays, 'as every freeman should,' and Kirkshot at Martinmas. He is also bound to take upon himself the burden of the extra public duties appertaining to the lords "*inland*" or demesne, such as coast-guard (*sæweard*) and watching the King's game.[4] This would only happen where the lord's estate was *folcland*, not where it was *bocland*.

The *Geneat.*

The *geneat* ('companion,' compare the old *gesith*) appears to stand in the worst position of the three: what he had, or should have, we are not told; but he must have had an allotment of land, because it is said that in some places he pays rent and a grass-pig. But his duties are described as unlimited. 'He must ride and drive[5]; lead loads, work, and find provisions; reap and mow; set and cut hedges; pay Kirkshot and Alms-fee; keep head-ward and horse-ward[6]; run errands, be it far, be it near, just as he is bid.'[7] That the *Geneat* and the *Gebur* were well-defined and generally recognised classes of men is proved by the fact that we have them again described almost in the same words as in the *Rectitudines*, in a charter comprising estates in various counties. The

[1] *Rectitudines*, c. 4. For the servile position of *Geburas*, probably to be identified with the *villani* of Domesday, see *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,354; Earle, *Land Charters*, 275.

[2] *Cod. Dip.* No. 977. The holding from which this amount of return was due is given as a *hiwisc*, *i.e.* a hide. The rent, as compared with that of the *gebur* of the *Rectitudines*, corresponds, being four times what he paid for his 'yard' or quarter hide. In a Winchester charter of the year 902 we have fifteen hides let for forty-five shillings Wessex, or fifteen pence the hide, but with customary services besides (*Cod. Dip.* No. 1, 079). For the hide and its subdivisions see Appendix to this chapter. In estimating the amount of the labour to be done, we may take it that the ploughing of an acre would be a full day's work, even on light land.

[3] Here probably used as = plough-alms, usually paid fifteen days after Easter. In general hearth-penny means Peter's Pence, payable at the end of June. See Schmid.

[4] *Rectitudines*, c. 3. [5] "*Averian*," i.e. lead beasts of burden or packhorses.

[6] Headward (*heafod-weard*) was the duty of keeping watch round the King's quarters when he was in the district. See instances from *Domesday* given by Schmid in his *Glossary*. Horseward was probably the duty of watching the King's sumpter animals during the night when he was on the move. It was one of the rights remitted on *bocland*. [7] *Rectitudines*, c. 2.

services of the *Gebur* are defined and limited; those of the *Geneat* are again given as unlimited.[1] The condition of these men may not have been one of actual hardship,[2] but it is impossible to regard them as really free. They were clearly *adscripti glebæ*, men bound to the soil, who could neither leave it of their own free will nor be turned off it, so long as they performed their services.[3] They were the representatives, very likely in many cases actual descendants, of the *coloni* of the Romano-British period.[4] But for our estimate of the social state of England as a whole at the Confessor's death, the all-important question remains, What were the actual or relative numbers of these different classes of men—the Free, the Unfree, and the Partly Free? As for the highest class of all, that, of course, was very restricted. The archbishops and bishops were fourteen in number; the earls, so far as we know, five or six; of abbots we find as many as eleven attesting one charter, and of Kings' Thegns, or court functionaries, twenty-four. Between the King and these fifty-five men, say sixty or seventy men at most—the House of Lords of the time—rested all the real political power of the realm. For wider numbers we must turn to the invaluable record of the Domesday survey, taken 1085–1086. The inquiry is not free from difficulty, and our conclusions can only be given within certain limits. In the first place, the record does not extend to the counties of Durham and Northumberland, and only in part to Cumberland and Westmorland. Then occasionally whole Hundreds are omitted where exempt from payment of *geld*, the ascertainment of this point being the ultimate end of the entire inquiry. Then we have a perplexing variety of names for the different classes, due partly to local usage, partly to the fact that the commissioners were Normans who had to render the English terms into Latin. Again, we are not sure that the different sets of commissioners always used the same terms in the same senses. Lastly, we must add that neither the town population nor the clergy are fully recorded. But Sir Henry Ellis thought that for the agricultural population the returns might be considered fairly complete.[5] The total numbers made out by him come to 283,242 adults, without counting wives and children. From these we must deduct 7,968 townspeople (*burgenses*), thus reducing the landward total to 275,274. Of this aggregate, under the heads of *villanus*, *bordarius*, *bur*, *colibertus*, *coter*, or *coscets*, classes that we must broadly identify with our *geneat*, *gebur*, and *cotsetla*,[6] without counting 1,543 men with special callings—

Villanus, Bordarius, Coscets.

[1] See the translation, Kemble, *Saxons*, I. 321. This seems to traverse Mr. Seebohm's suggestion that "geneat" was a general term, including the gebur and the cotsetla; *Engl. Vill. Comms.*, 130. [2] Yet see the illustrations in the well-known Cotton MS. Julius A. VI. (A.D. 969), where the labourers are bare-legged and bare-headed.

[3] See *Cod. Dip.* No. 1,354, already cited. [4] For evidence of the early date of villenage in England the reader may consult Seebohm's *Eng. Vill. Comms.*, 107, 108, etc.; *contra* Mr. Maitland, *Domesday and Beyond*. [5] *Introd. to Domesday*, II. 419.

[6] For the continuity of the agricultural system in England before and after the Con-

smiths, carpenters, shepherds,[1] fishermen, salt-workers, and the like —entered as such, but certainly not men of independent position, we get 198,833 persons of semi-servile class, with 25,624 actual slaves, thus making up an unfree total of 224,457 out of 275,274 souls. Thus the entire balance with any claim to be considered free is reduced to 50,817, say between a fifth and a sixth of the whole. But of these, again, the greater part were under bonds of feudal subordination that would certainly interfere with their political liberty, and a large proportion really belong to the semi-servile categories. The figures taken out by Sir Henry Ellis may be tabulated as below, but we must say that in our opinion the numbers and position of the classes that we reckon distinctly servile are those that seem most clearly made out.

(1) "Tenants in Capite,"[2] *i.e.* overlord or landowners with no superior over them, including ecclesiastical corporations, about	1,400
(2) "Under-tenants," *i.e.* mesne lords or landowners holding under superior lords	7,871
(3) Clergy	1,084
(4) *Liberi Homines* (10,136), *Homines* (1,292), *Homines Commendati* (2,151), *Radmanni*, etc., etc.[3]	14,764
(5) *Sochemanni*	23,090
(6) Townsmen (*Burgenses*)	7,968
(7) *Bordarii, Cotarii, Coteri, Coscets*	89,456
(8) *Villani, buri, bures, coliberti*	109,374
(9) Slaves (including females, *ancillæ*, 467)	25,629
(10) Sundry: craftsmen, shepherds, etc., 1,543; Frenchmen, 354; bailiffs, 85; merchants, 24, etc., etc.	2,606
	283,242

Multiplying this total by four or five for the women and children, we should get an entire population for the included districts of less than a million and a half. On the other hand, the amount of land under plough relatively to the population seems to have been considerable. It has been calculated that there might have been five million acres in cultivation, from one-half to one-third of the area in cultivation in 1879.[4]

With respect to some of the above categories, we labour under the dis-

quest, see Seebohm, *sup.*, 1–81. He regards the *gebur*, with his yard or half-yard of land, as the normal *villanus* of Norman times. The services are often identical with those of the *Rectitudines*, but we trace a growing increase in the money-payments and decrease in the labour-services as the system wears away. See also Round, *Feudal England*, 31. The Domesday *Villarius* in general has a yard or quarter-hide of land; sometimes less; sometimes as much as a whole hide. The *Bordarius* has usually less than the *Villarius*. See *Maitland*, sup. 40.

[1] See these in the *Rectitudines* clearly ranked among the humble dependents.

[2] This term was unknown before the Conquest, and therefore is not properly applicable to the A.S. period.

[3] This class includes the *aloarii* (qy. *alodiarii*?), *censorii*, otherwise *gablatores*, drenghs, and *vavassores*, all answering the general description of *liberi homines*; also *dimidii homines*, etc.

[4] Seebohm's *Eng. Vill. Comm.*, 103.

advantage of not knowing exactly how Sir Henry Ellis defined them, but our first class will represent the big landlords, ecclesiastical and lay, the King's Thegns[1] and the like, between whom and the King, in our view, the substance of all political power rested. In Domesday they are styled tenants *in capite*, as holding directly of the King. But the phrase and the thing denoted came in with the Conquest. Before that time no strictly feudal tie existed between the overlords and the King,[2] their holdings being allodial. Our second class will comprise the middling gentry, the 'middling[3] Thegns,' with five hides of land, now representing the twelve-hynd men.[4] Of the clergy nothing need be said, except that in some places the parochial incumbents are simply entered with the *villani* and *bordarii* of the manor, but priests are not comprised in the 1,084 of our list.[5] The burgesses (*burgenses*), again, were probably a comparatively free class, but in the majority of cases we are told that they 'belonged' either to some lord or the King.[6] Their renders, however, were ascertained and free, not servile or unlimited.

Tenants-in-Chief.

Middling Gentry.

Burgesses.

Our fourth and fifth classes must be taken together. The *Sochemanni* were obviously the suitors of a private franchise or soke, and therefore classed together; but it does not appear that in other respects they were all in the same position. The mere largeness of their numbers would in itself suggest that men of very different positions may have been placed in this category, and so we shall find it to have been in fact. On the whole, however, we take these two categories to include all the yeoman class. Recent investigations prove that they might be of three sorts. They might be—

Freeholders of the Manor.

I. "*Liberi homines commendatione tantum.*" These appear to have been allodial owners of small estates, bound under the law of Æthelstan to find a lord, but free to choose their lord,[7] and free to leave him: free 'to go with their land whithersoever they would' (*ire, recedere, cum terra sua quo voluerint, sine licentia*), a curious phrase, fortunately explained for us as meaning that they were free to sell or dispose of their land (*dare, vendere*) as they pleased,[8] and in such a manner that the alienee also would be free

[1] See *Cnut*, c. 71, s. 1.

[2] *i.e.* not necessarily, as was the case after the Conquest: the King, of course, would have vassals in the men on his own estates as any other landowner might.

[3] *Id.*, s. 2.

[4] So a gloss on the *Laws* of Ælfred (c. 39 s. 2) in the MS. Colbert. "Liberalis (*gentleman*) quem supra thegen nominavimus et quem dicunt xii. hendeman"; Schmid, p. 93.

[5] Ellis, II. 420.

[6] Ellis, II. 425, etc.

[7] In Surrey we hear of a woman with a free hide of land who had placed herself under Chertsey Abbey "pro defensione"; Ellis, I. 68.

[8] See the extracts from Domesday, and the Ely and Cambridgeshire Inquests given by Round, *Feudal England*, 18, 22, and esp. *Domesd.*, I. 200, where "recedere cum terra" is glossed in the margin "vendere." In *Domesday*, I. 172, we have "Si ita liber homo est ut habeat socam suam et sacam et cum terra sua possit ire quo voluerit." The

to choose his lord, and not be in any way bound to the soke of the lord to whom the vendor had commended himself. In these cases both the land and the man were clearly free. The land would not be appurtenant to a soke, and the man would only be vassalized to the extent required by Æthelstan. They were freeholders, whose connexion with the soke or manor was only personal, and terminable at will.

II. "*Liberi homines soca et commendatione tantum.*"[1] Here the men were free to go and sell, as those in the first class; but the land was appurtenant to a soke, as free-land however, and not subject to servile renders. The alienee would be bound to commend himself to the lord and to do suit and service to his court of soc and sac.[2] In later language he would be a freeholder of the manor. As a variety of this class we have cases where a man was commended to one lord, while his land was under the soke of another lord.[3]

III. "*Liberi homines soca saca commendatione et omni consuetudine.*"[4] These were freemen owning base-land (thegn land?),[5] appurtenant to a soke, bound to render services only limited by the custom of the manor. *Prima facie* they could not sell without consent, but apparently there were cases where they could.[6] In practical position these men would not differ greatly from *villani*.

As for the men classed as *Radchenistri*, *Radmanni* (A.S. *Radcnihtas*), *Vavassores* and Drengs, in these terms we should see merely varieties of nomenclature, partly local, the persons designated as a whole being clearly referable to one or other class of *Liberi Homines*. All with a few exceptions are men below the rank of landed gentry, but above that of peasantry.[7] *Vavassor* was a Norman word, and we are told that throughout the Domesday Survey the designation "was sunk in the general name of *Liberi Homines*."[8] They had *villani* and *bordarii* under them; they might own or occupy one, two, or three hides of land. In the general decay of all orders except the highest they represented the old six-hynd men,[9] some of them, however, having sunk into practical villenage. The word *Radcniht* belonged to the native tongue, and the meaning of the word, 'Rider' suggests that they were men expected to attend the *fyrd* on horseback. To the *Liberi Homines* would also belong the men returned

words should be taken as meaning not the lord of a soke, but one free to attach himself to any soke that he pleases. [1] Round, *sup.*, 31.

[2] "Poterant vendere terras, sed saca et commendatio remanebat Stæ. Ædel."; *i.e.* with the lord, the Abbot of Ely; *Ib.*, Ely Inquest, 132. [3] Round, *sup.*, 33.

[4] "lxx liberi homines unde abbas habuit sacam et socam et commendatio et omnem consuetudinem"; Round, 30; Ely Inquest, 161.

[5] See the passages cited, Round, 28, 29. [6] *Id.*, 30.

[7] See the relief of the *vavassor*, *William I.*, c. 20 s. 2; so too *Roman de Rou*, II. 142; also Fleta on the subject. [8] Ellis, I. 52.

[9] So the gloss in the Colbert MS. already cited: "hominis quem Angli vocant radeniht, alii vero sex hendemen"; *Ælfr.*, c. 39 s. 2.

as *gablatores* and *censorii*, free rent-paying tenants, not apparently a numerous class.

The *Sochemanni*, as already intimated, appear on investigation to have been a mixed class, based on a sort of cross division. Thus we hear of sokemen who could, and of sokemen who could not, choose their lord, or sell their land, without leave. We hear of sokemen who could, and of sokemen who could not, sell their land away from the soke; we have a commended sokeman with four *liberi homines* under him[1]; we have land let at rent (*ad geldum*) to sokemen, with *villani* and *bordarii* under them. These all belonged to our first two classes of *Liberi Homines*. But, again, a large, apparently by far the largest portion of the sokemen owe 'the full custom.' They must plough and sow, reap, carry, and thresh; bring up stores, supply horses, all on demand,[2] just like the *geneat* of the Rectitudines. These could only come under our third class of *Liberi Homines*, if *Liberi* at all. As to their relative numbers, on the Ely lands we hear of seven sokemen of the higher grade to thirty-four under full service, and again of four to thirty-four in the like positions.[3] If the law did distinguish the sokeman bound to unlimited service from the *villanus* the difference between them cannot have been great. Lastly, we must point out that the *Sochemanni* are only found in fourteen counties, almost all on the East side of the kingdom,[4] where Danish influence had been felt, so that the distinction may have been mainly one of name.[5] Thus we should be taking too liberal an estimate of the yeoman class if we assumed it to extend to the whole of our fourth and fifth categories.

Our seventh and eighth categories, the *Bordarii*, *Cotarii*, and *Villani*, make up a total of 198,830 souls, without counting the lower class of sokemen. The two former we would identify with the *cotsetla*,[6] the latter with the *gebur* and *geneat* of the *Rectitudines*, where the Latin version renders *geneat* by *villanus*. The former were mere cottage-labourers; the *villanus* was the normal peasant farmer with a usual holding of a yard (30 acres) of land. But, as already pointed out, the *villanus*, and presumably the cottar also, were accounted free men in the eye of the law. The *villanus* is clearly identified with the old *ceorl*, or twy-hinder, by the fact that his *wer* was 200 shillings.[7] But the *cotsetla* is

The *Adscripti Glebæ*.

[1] Round, *sup.*, 18; Ellis, *Domesd.*, I, 68. [2] Round, 31, 32. [3] Round, 31.

[4] Namely in Derbyshire, Essex, Gloucestershire, Herts, Hunts, Kent, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Northants, Notts, Rutlandshire, Suffolk, and Yorkshire. See Ellis.

[5] In the so-called *Leges Edw. Conf.* the villein and the sokeman in Denalage are placed on a par as regards the lord's *manbot*, c. 12 s. 4.

[6] The meaning of the two words is the same, as bordarius is derived from *bord*, a cottage.

[7] See *Leges Henrici*, c. 70 s. 1, and c. 76 s. 4, and *Wergilds*, cc. 1, 2, 3. The *Leges Willelmi*, no doubt, I. c. 8, give the wer of the "vilain," or "rusticus," as 100s. That must have been the half-wer, without the lord's manbot.

placed in some respects below the *villanus*, between him and the slave.[1] Of these last, some may have been born slaves, or bought, or captured in war; others may have been reduced to slavery by debt or inability to pay the fines for misconduct (*wite-theowas*). Others, again, we hear of, who had 'sold their heads for meat in hard times.'[2] But however much they might be at the mercy of their owner, he was not allowed to ill-treat them at will. He was required to give them a due ration of food—two loaves a day, besides morning and noon meals; to allow them certain holidays; and they could purchase their freedom with savings acquired in some "unexplained way."[3] Manumissions were common, and manumissions by will fully legal. Throughout the lower classes, we have 'half-men,' *Homines Dimidii*, *Dimidii Liberi Homines*, *Sochemanni Dimidii*, *Dimidii Villani*, *Dimidii Virgarii*, and *Dimidius Presbyter*. One explanation given is that these men were in the possession of half holdings only, implying that there were normal holdings for each class.[4] The 'half-priest,' then, would have only half a cure or half a stipend. But these appellations call for further explanation.

Slaves.

The depressed state of the bulk of the population,[5] the want of a sufficient free backbone to the country, will fully account for the military weakness exhibited by England. Serfs cannot be converted into soldiers without training and discipline, and the English ceorls were taken straight from the plough to the battlefield. In connexion with this we may again notice the lax system of assessment by which landowners were often rated much below the amount of their holdings, and so let off with less than their proper contributions, whether in money or service. Thus we hear of five measured 'carucates' passing as one hide; eight 'carucates' passing as one hide and a quarter, and so on.[6] For the fyrd the general quota now had apparently been reduced to one man from five hides. Between them they equipped him, and provided him with pay and rations for two months.[7]

The social picture thus unfolded presents a lamentable falling off from the primitive order of the *Germania*, supposed to have been introduced into Britain by the Teutons, as in many respects it certainly was. But we must point out that the depression of the ceorl was of old date. Things must have gone considerable lengths before Æthelstan could require every

[1] *Henr. I.*, c. 82 s. 3. [2] *Cod. Dip.* No. 925.

[3] See Kemble, I. 38; Cnut, *Laws*, II. 45; Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, I. 85 (ed. 1883); *Rectitudines*, cc. 8, 9. [4] Nasse, *Agricultural Community*, 36.

[5] On this point compare William of Malmesbury, though his account of English society in some respects seems too unfavourable. "Vulgus in medio expositum præda erat potentioribus, ut vel eorum substantiis exhaustis, vel etiam corporibus in longinquas terras distractis acervos thesaurorum congererent"; *G. R.*, s. 245.

[6] See Domesday for Devon and Cornwall. This abuse appears most in the South-Western counties. It was one of the main ends of the Survey to correct the assessment.

[7] Domesday, f. 56b. The entry is given with reference to Berkshire only, but the rule

man to find a lord. The regulation probably marked the completion, not the inception of a system. That the ceorl 'sitting on gafol-land,' *i.e.* the *censarius* of Domesday, was not reckoned a fully free man in the time of Ælfred appears from his treaty with Guthrum, where this man's *wer* is given, as usual, as 200 shillings, or £4 of silver[1]; but that of 'an Englishman or Dane,' meaning clearly a fully free Englishman or Dane, is given as eight half marks, or two pounds of gold, presumably six times as much, or a sum equal to the *wer* of a twelve-hynd man.[2] Again we are led to surmise that the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, to a great extent, must have occupied Britain as landlords, accepting the agricultural system much as they found it, just as the Teutonic invaders of Gaul did, and as the later Danes and Normans in England did. We must also once more point out that the system taken over by the Franks in Gaul can scarcely be distinguished from that of the *Rectitudines* and *Domesday*.[3] But the system in Roman Britain must have been the same as that in Roman Gaul, of which province it formed part. The conclusion is almost irresistible that the agricultural system in Britain was not revolutionized by the new settlers, but that they condescended to accept things a good deal as they found them. Again we must refer to the tenacious vitality of agricultural customs.[4]

Apparent Antiquity of System.

Parallel Case of Gaul.

Of the representative assemblies of the country, the County Court was still the highest. It was emphatically the folkmote, in which every freeman was entitled to appear personally or by representation. The suitors were the Thegns, Stewards, Freemen, Priests, and Reeves. The small towns and townships send up four men and their reeve[5]: the larger towns send up twelve men. Twelve of the older Thegns are appointed as a committee for the despatch of business.[6] Earl,

The Folkmote.

was probably general. At Malmesbury we hear that they paid twenty shillings, or sent one man "pro honore V hidarum"; f. 64b. Again, at Lewes, we have twenty shillings as the commutation. See also below, under *Towns*.

[1] The Wessex shilling before the Conquest was =5*d.*; the Mercian shilling=4*d.*

[2] *Ælfred and G.*, c. 2. [3] See Fustel de Coulanges, *Problèmes d'Histoire*, 183.

[4] For the early date of the manorial system in Great Britain see also Seebohm, *English Village Communities*. Among other things, it is pointed out that the Jutes, Angles, Saxons, and Frisians, who came over, must have found the three-course system of husbandry, which prevailed to so late a date in this country, already established there. They cannot have brought it over, because it was not known in the parts from whence they came: a different system prevailed there. The three-course system only obtained in Southern Germany and the parts affected by Roman intercourse. Whether the Romans introduced it into Britain, or found it there, is another question. See p. 371, where the researches of Landau, Haussen, and Meitzen are referred to, also 414. Mr. F. W. Maitland, on the other hand, rejects the connexion with Roman times, laying stress on the old argument from language, and the seeming disappearance of the Celtic population. *Domesday and Beyond*, 221, 223. See also above, 145.

[5] The "four true men of the vill," with the steward or bailiff, also appear in Scottish law; Robertson, *Scotland under Early Kings*, II. 340.

[6] Conf. *Codex Dip.* No. 804.

bishop, and sheriff are there. Twice in the year the assembly meets. 'Christian pleas'[1] are taken first; then Crown pleas; then general business.[2] Reference to the King in matters under litigation was only allowed by way of appeal from the decisions of the lower courts, as already mentioned.

The Hundred Court is still the primary court of superior jurisdiction, whether for civil or criminal, voluntary or contentious business. Suits must begin there before going to the County Court. Wills were published and women's dowers assigned in its meetings. These were held once a month, and were attended by the owners of land within the Hundred or their stewards, by the parish priest, the reeve, and the four good men from each township.[3] The sheriff was the convener and president; the judges were the whole body of free suitors, but a judicial committee of twelve appears to have been put forward as in the County Court.[4] By these men, as a sworn "jury of accusation," known or reputed offenders were presented to the gemôt. The accused, if their friends would stand by them, might clear themselves by bringing forward compurgators, the number varying according to the importance of the charge. If the oath 'burst,' *i.e.* if the compurgators could not swear up to the requisite mark, then the criminal might be sent to execution at once, or he might be allowed the chance of an ordeal. Or he might be let off with a fine if he could find bail for his future good conduct. The general gemôt sitting as judges were not subjected to any oath.[5] The law might be so administered as to be utterly ferocious or utterly lax. Tenants of townships belonging to a soke were excused from attendance at the Hundred Courts. Where the whole Hundred was included in a soke the steward, and not the sheriff, would preside. Twice in the year a special court was held to review the frithborh- or frithgild-lists from the several townships ("View of Frankpledge"). The Hundred was also a fiscal unit, Danegeld and shipgeld being assessed at a certain rate per Hundred, according to requirement, and then apportioned among the "leets," or rating townships of the Hundred.[6] We have already seen that

The Hundred Court.

[1] *i.e.* pleas in which the rights of the Church or the moral law were involved; *Leges Henrici*, c. 11.

[2] See *Leges Henrici*, c. 7, here clearly confirming old regulations.

[3] *Ib.* and c. 8. See also *Statutes of Realm*, I. 223, *Consuetudines Cantiæ*; and again, *Rot. Parl.*, II. 64.

[4] Stubbs, *C. H.*, I. 115, 129. Mr. Robertson suggests that the number twelve may have been taken as a 'long ten,' representing one juror from each theoretic township or tithing in the Hundred; *Scotland under Early Kings*, II. 334.

[5] For forms of the oaths to be taken by the different parties in different proceedings see Schmid, *Append.* X. and XI. and *Glossary*.

[6] See the *Calendar* of Abbot Sampson of Bury (1180–1190), where "leta" is defined as = "villa integra." Sometimes a single township constituted a leet, sometimes two or three grouped together. The assumed unit of taxation was £1 per Hundred, the contributions from each township or vill being settled on that basis. Corbett, *Cambridge*

the Hundred had a common purse, filled by penalties or percentages, and applied presumably in relief of public burdens falling on the community.

The Township Meetings.

As for the meetings of the Township, they were restricted to parish business, such as now is, or till lately was, transacted by the vestry, the representative of the old village *gemot*, with "which it once was identical. It frames by-laws (*i.e.* burh-laws),[1] looks after roads, commonable rights, rules of cultivation,[2] arranges for its representation in the courts of the Hundred and Shire, elects officers,—its *burhsealdor*, or head borough, its constable, its *bydel*."[3] If the township belongs to a soke, the steward presides.

Later Manorial Courts.

A word to trace more fully the connexion of these institutions with those of later times. With the extension of the manorial system the meetings of the Township and Hundred appear more and more as Manorial Courts, of which there were three sorts, namely, Courts-Baron, Customary Courts, and Courts-Leet. The Court-Baron was a regular incident of a Manor, that is to say, of a Manor comprising freehold tenants, because without freeholders there could be no Court-Baron, and they were the judges. This is expressly laid down. "The freeholders that be suitors are judges."[4] The Court-Baron, therefore, was just the soke *gemot*, and, as such, under the presidency of the lord's steward. In fact, it is suggested that in this connexion the word "baron" was used in its original sense, as equivalent to 'freeman,' and that "Court-Baron" meant, not 'Lord's Court,' but 'Freeman's Court.'[5] If the Manor had no freehold tenants owing suit to it, then there could be no Court-Baron, but only a Customary Court, and in this the lord or his steward was the judge. Neither Courts Baron nor Customary Courts, however, had any concern with criminal cases. These, when the lord had rights of *soc* and *sac*, were dealt with in his Court-Leet—a court of petty criminal jurisdiction. As the governing body of a borough town might have a soke of their own, so they would have a Court-Leet. Commonly incidental to the jurisdiction of these courts, was the View of Frankpledge, or revision of the Frithgild lists. But this matter was only dealt with at special courts, distinguished as Great Courts-Leet, held twice a year, at Easter and Michaelmas, at which the entire male population, from twelve years old to sixty, was required to attend. But, in these courts, as if under a compromise with the Crown, the sheriff, and not the steward, presided. The exact correspondence of the regulations in the *Leges Henrici Primi*

Thirwall Essay, 1892; T. T. Methold, "*Hepworth*," Suffolk Archæol. Instit., 1894; also Round, *Feudal England*, 44, 98.

[1] See Skeat, *Etymol. Dict.*, and above, 158. [2] *Leges Ed. Conf.*, c. 28.

[3] *Ib.* Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, I. 97. Where a town included several wards or tithings, there might be a constable or tithing man for each.

[4] Viner, *Abridgement*, VII. 8. [5] *Ib.*

(c. 8 s. 1), for the holding of the Great Hundred Court with the accounts in the text-books of the Great Court-Leet proves the identity of the two.[1]

The organization of the Anglo-Saxon towns and cities was still that of the country districts. A place important enough to form a parish, whether free or belonging to a soke, ranked as a Township; a town large enough to comprise several parishes ranked as a Hundred; a great city, like London or Canterbury, ranked as a County.[2] The meetings of the several wards or gilds would be co-ordinate with those of a country parish, the actual business being of course different. At Lincoln and Stamford we hear that in the time of King Eadward the government was in the hands of twelve *lagemen*, who were reckoned to have a soke of their own.[3] These men appear to have held hereditary office, as we are told that at the time of Domesday their sons had succeeded them; again at Cambridge and Chester we hear of twelve magistrates; perhaps these may have been only the twelve Thegns of the County and Hundred courts. Of the constitution of the county towns we get many details from Domesday. The 'customs,' however, there enumerated are often merely the ordinary criminal law of the land. In most cases compositions had been established for Crown dues and military service (*firma*). Oxford paid £20 to Eadward and £10 to the Earl; it sent 20 men to the fyrd or paid £20. Cambridge had ten wards; it paid £7 for rent and £7 for other dues. Leicester paid £30 a year and honey worth £10 more. The contingent for the fyrd was 12 men. If a sea-fyrd was called out they sent four horses to London for transport service. At Warwick the contingent for the fyrd was ten men, and for a sea-fyrd four 'boatswains' (sailors). The total return from the sheriffdoms of Warwick, "*Tempore Regis Edwardi*," town and county, came to nearly £90 a year.

The Towns.

With reference to the fyrd we have already stated that by the time of the Confessor a general composition of one man (*miles*) from five hides had apparently been established, each hide giving the soldier four shillings for pay and rations for two months, or twenty shillings in all. With respect to this sum a question might have been raised whether the shillings were to be taken as A.S. shillings of 4*d.* or 5*d.*

[1] See Viner, *sup.*; Brooke's *Abridgement*, "Lete," II. 61; Scriven, *Copyholds*, 351; Stubbs, *C. H.*, I. 431. "Leet" appears to be an English word, as Ducange (Leta, letum) has only English references. See above the reference to the Calendar of Abbot Sampson of Bury, where we have "leet" defined as "villa integra." So in the Court Rolls of the Manor of Hitchin, which was divided into three wards (= Tithings?), the collective wards are spoken of as "the whole Leet"; Seebohm, *Engl. Village Com.*, 445.

[2] The two Sheriffs of London are one for the county of the city, the other for the county of Middlesex; Robertson, *sup.*, II. 336.

[3] See Domesday under those towns. Lincoln, under the Confessor, had 970 dwelling houses (*mansiones*), 120 being counted as 100, "numero Anglico," *i.e.* the old English "long hundred."

each or as Norman shillings of 12*d.* each. The reader will notice that the Oxford commutation of £20 for 20 men settles the question in favour of the Norman shilling. If the average value of a hide was, as we shall see, probably about £1 a year, the calling out of a fyrd would involve an income tax of 25 per cent. on the district affected. But the Danegeld about which so much fuss was made, as we have seen, apparently only came to 7*d.* the hide in the latter days of its collection.[1]

The Witenagemôt.

The Witenagemôt, as already mentioned, was not in any proper sense a representative assembly, nor did it apparently form part of the primitive Teutonic constitution. It was partly an assembly of Notables, partly a royal Privy Council, being a resultant of the aggregation of a number of petty kingdoms under a quasi-imperial head. The rulers of the federated districts meet to concert measures with their overlord and his personal followers. The Witenagemôt is thus composed of Earls, Bishops, Abbots, and such of the King's Thegns as he chooses to summon. Lesser personages cannot approach the place of meeting except as the retainers of a lord. The interests of the general population are not represented except so far as they coincide with those of their rulers. The Witenagemôt, therefore, never was a numerous assembly. One hundred persons is about the largest gathering that can be traced. Thirty was a much more usual number.[2] But the Witan, if not a numerous body, were certainly endowed with very large powers. They exercised all the functions of a modern Ministry, a modern Privy Council, and a modern Parliament. They had a voice in every public act of importance.[3] They elected the King and could depose him.[4] New laws were enacted with their 'counsel' or their 'counsel and consent.'[5] Similar sanction was necessary for the settlement of treaties; the imposition of taxes; the levying of forces; the appointment of Bishops and Earls.[6] Lastly, the Witenagemôt acted as a Supreme Court of Justice for the hearing of State trials, or other causes of exceptional importance. Of the exercise of this function the reader has had sufficient instances in connexion with the histories of Eadric Streona, of Godwine, and their families.

The *frithborh* or *frithgild* system (frankpledge), and the rights and liabilities of the members of these gilds have been already touched upon.

Frithborh.

Every freeman over twelve years of age was required to be enrolled. The arrangement extended to town and country, clergy and laity alike. How high in the social scale the requirement was carried does not appear. The *Iudicia Civitatis Lundoniæ* speak of

[1] For the towns and boroughs the reader will do well to consult Mr. F. W. Maitland's elaborate review, *Domesday and Beyond*, 172–217.

[2] See the instances given by Bishop Stubbs, I. 139, 140; Kemble, II. 200.

[3] Kemble, II. 204.

[4] Kemble, II. 214, 219. See, *e.g.*, the cases of Sigeberht of Wessex, Alchred of Northumbria and others in the Tables above, 227.

[5] Kemble, II. 205; Stubbs, 141. [6] See Kemble, *sup.*, 213, 221–224.

frithgilds as applying to *Eorl* as well as *Ceorl*.[1] Men of gentle birth but small means might have to be enrolled; but we can hardly suppose the Thegn with five hides of land to have been included. On the other hand the *Liberi Homines* with some hides of land who could go with their land whither they would, but who nevertheless had to choose a lord, probably came within the compass of the rule.

The prominence of ecclesiastical influence in Old English legislation has been largely illustrated. The government, in the latter days, might almost be called theocratic. The Church had been the chief civilizing influence, and a special bond of union from the first. England had been united as a Church long before it was united as a kingdom. The Church first planted by Italians and afterwards propagated by Celtic and other agencies intertwined itself with the national life, and assumed a distinctly national character. In the later Anglo-Saxon days Church and State were but two sides of one edifice. The Church was the spiritual, as the fyrd was the military organization of the people. In the confusion between the domains of law, religion, and morality the interference of a bishop in temporal affairs probably involved no greater incongruity in the ideas of those days than the employment of a military officer on civil work would involve in our days. The clergy, of course, had their special rank, functions, privileges, and liabilities. The mass priest ranked as a Thegn. Special rules for compurgation, and a special form of ordeal attached to them, as already stated. For purely spiritual offences the Bishop and the Archdeacon must have had special jurisdiction over their clergy,[2] but for offences against the ordinary law there is no reason to suppose that a priest would be tried except in the ordinary court of the Hundred or Shire, his ecclesiastical superiors being there to protect the rights of the Order.[3]

The Church.

That, in spite of all the efforts of the monastic party, in spite of Canons and Edicts, the Secular clergy were still extensively married seems clear. Various instances have already been given.[4] Ælfric *Grammaticus* in his *Pastoral Epistle* admits the inadequacy of all measures passed in restraint of marriage. 'Beloved, we cannot compel you to chastity, but we admonish you,' etc.[5]

From the facts that we have adduced it will be seen that England before the Norman Conquest was thoroughly feudalized as between land-

[1] Æthelstan, VI. c. 1. For more see Append. A to this chapter.

[2] See *Northumbrian Priests' Law*, Schmid, Append. 364; Thorpe, II. 290. The priest who resists his Bishop's order pays 20 "*or*;" for resisting the Archdeacon's orders 12 "*or*" (1 *or* = 1*s.* 5*d.*).

[3] For everything connected with the Anglo-Saxon Church the reader will refer to the 8th chapter of Bishop Stubbs' *Constitutional History*.

[4] See also Kemble, *Saxons*, II. 444.

[5] Thorpe, II. 377; Ælfric admits that the clergy pleaded the precedent of St. Peter. For the prohibitions see his *Canons*, *Id.*, 342, etc.

lord and tenant. What was subsequently introduced was an extension of those principles to the relations of landlords to the King, with novel incidents. But the Old English feudalism was tempered in practical life by mutual good feeling, and community of blood, language, and tastes. English landlordism has always been indulgent. Nor were the social barriers impassable. "English society was not a system of caste either in the stricter or in the looser sense." The Ceorl who by whatsoever means had so thriven as to become possessed of five hides of land, with a church and a kitchen, a bell-house, a "burh-geat-setl"[1] and a special duty in the King's hall ranked as a Thegn or twelve-hynd man.[2] So of the chapman (*massere*), who had fared thrice over sea in his own 'craft.'[3] So again another writer assures us that to his personal knowledge 'by God's gift a Thral (slave) has become a Thegn; a Ceorl has become an Eorl, a Singer a Priest, and a Book-writer a Bishop.'[4] Wealth was the great thing. Then as now money gave the passport into English society. But the full rank of gentility was not gained or lost all at once. An old proverb tells us that it takes three generations to make a gentleman. So in Anglo-Saxon law we hear that the offspring of the risen Ceorl in the third generation, if they have the requisite estate in land, will rank as *gesithcund*, and be entitled to the *wergeld* of Thegn-right.[5] Conversely we may suppose that the great-grandsons of the landless *Eorl* would lose their status.

Primitive Feudalism.

If we return to consider the higher orders in detail, the Royal position will be found to have gained, naturally, by the extension of territory, and the opportunities given to the King of playing off one part of the kingdom against another. The reader will have noticed the high-sounding titles, 'Imperator,' 'Basileus,' 'Monarcha' affected by the later Kings. But their power of giving effect to their numerous prerogatives was hampered by the want of means of communication, and the general deficiency of higher administrative machinery throughout the country. These and other difficulties could only be overcome by personal exertion on the King's part, and the exercise of tact and forethought. His direct intervention is constantly called for. Thus a really able, painstaking King can make himself almost supreme; under a weak, careless, or ill-advised King everything goes to pieces. But this will be found to be the case as much after as before the Conquest.

The King.

The Royal prerogatives seem almost boundless. The King is the head of the Church as well as of the State, and so with the consent of the

[1] "Januam sedam," Lat. vers.; qy. 'porch with a seat in it?' The expression "may imply a private jurisdiction or may only signify a town house"; Sir F. Pollock, *Eng. Hist. Review*, VIII. 216.

[2] *Ranks*, c. 2, and *Wers*, c. 2 s. 9, where the mere ownership of 5 hides assessed for the King's service gives the rank; Schmid, 388, 396.

[3] *Ranks*, c. 6. See Thorpe's note, I. 193. [4] *Grith and Mund*, c. 21; Schmid, Append. IV.; Thorpe, I. 334. [5] *Wers*, Schmid, 396, 398.

Witan appoints the Bishops as well as the Earls. The Witenagemôt is his Privy Council; whom he wills he summons to it, and whom he wills he summons not. But he exercises the right of selection at his own peril. He negotiates treaties; regulates the coinage; he is the chief conservator of the peace; that is to say the primitive right of private war is wholly suspended within the limited range of the King's Peace; that is to say within a certain distance of his actual quarters for the time being, at all times along the lines of the four Great Ways, and in any place, or with regard to any person, to whom he pleases to extend it[1]; whoso fights in his presence forfeits his life. The King's *grith* (protection) gives security for nine days, while that of any other subject (except an Archbishop) only extends to seven days. An oath of allegiance from all persons appears to be due to him.[2] He is entitled to maintenance for himself and his retinue in his progresses[3]; heriots, wreckage, treasure trove, harbour dues, and tolls on goods sold are his. From the chief towns he received an annual rent (*ferm*), as a composition for sundry dues, apart from the rents payable to him from his property in the town (*gafol*). The greater part of the endless fines for criminal offences went into his pocket; the landed forfeitures also were his. In short, his revenues for the times must have been relatively very great, however small the actual sum might sound in our ears. Of the regulation and system of the Royal Treasury as to audit of accounts and the like nothing is known. But the Anglo-Saxon Kings had a Treasurer, the *Hordere* or Keeper of the King's Hoard, who received the moneys due to him from the sheriffs and other reeves and accountable persons, and the *Hordere*, doubtless, must have had a staff of officials under him. Payment of coin might be called for under four different systems of reckoning. A Crown debtor might pay either (*a*) by tale (*numero*), any 240 pennies making a pound; (*b*) by weight (*ad pensum*), the full weight of silver being required for each pound; (*c*) by rate (*ad scalam*), where instead of having the coin actually weighed out, the debtor paid an extra sixpence on the pound to cover possible deficiencies in weight; (*d*) by 'whited' or blanched silver. In this case not only was the full weight required, but the purity of the bullion had to be tested by subjecting a percentage of the coin tendered to actual assay by fire.[4] This practice was distinctly English, and unknown in Normandy.[5] On the Pipe Rolls of our Norman Kings the dues to be paid

Royal Officers.

[1] 'King's hand Grith.' [2] *Laws Eadmund*, III. c. 1.

[3] Except from owners of *bocland*.

[4] See *Dialogus de Scaccario*, *Select Charters*, 185, 186, and Mr. Hubert Hall's *Introduction to Pipe Rolls*, 93; and for the process of assaying, *Id.*, 63. For the antiquity of the requirement of testing the silver see *Laws of Ælfred*, c. 3. "Mid V pundum mæra peninga," *i.e.* pennies of pure silver. "Two pund mere hwites seolfres," 'pure white silver,' "argentum album"; Schmid, 592. The later expression was "argentum dealbatum."

[5] Stubbs, *C. H.*, I. 408, citing Stapleton, *Preface to Norman Exchequer Rolls*.

in blanched silver are evidently those of longest standing, namely, the county ferms,[1] going back, not improbably, to the time of the Confessor. But the revenues of the Anglo-Saxon Kings were to a considerable extent paid in kind, and so they were down to the time of Henry I., who abolished the practice, establishing money payments in all cases. On the whole it is likely that of the system of the later Exchequer, as found on the Pipe Rolls, more belongs to pre-Norman times than has been usually supposed. Among the King's other high officers of state were the *Burthegn* (bower-thane) or Chamberlain; the *Disc-thegn* (dish-thane) or Sewer; the *Hors-thegn* or Master of the Horse; the *Stallere* or Constable. Under the Confessor, as already noticed, we get the useful addition of a Chancellor or Secretary of State. At the King's death the office was held by one Regenbald, a man admitted to favour by the Conqueror.[2]

The Earl.

The position of the Earl was that of a Viceroy or Lord Lieutenant. Girt with a sword of office,[3] his duty in time of war was to lead the forces of his county or counties; in time of peace to preside with the bishop at the half-yearly folkmotes. In all things he represents the central government. His revenues are derived from official estates,[4] 'earl-lands,' and the 'third penny' of the fines and receipts accruing from the administration of justice. The money as received is put into a money box. The King's officer keeps the box: the earl's man keeps the key. Twice in the year the contents are counted out and divided.[5]

The Sheriff.

But the King had another officer within the shire to whom much more than to the Earl he looked for the protection of his personal interests: namely, the Shire-reeve, or sheriff. This man's duties were primarily fiscal, he being not a national officer, but the bailiff or steward of the King's estate within the county. As such he was appointed by the King without any concurrence of the Witan, and could be dismissed at will. The district committed to a sheriff never expanded to the size of the bigger earldoms, two linked counties being the most that appear to have ever been placed under one sheriff, and the office as a rule was not allowed to become hereditary. The sheriff was the convener of the County Court, where he sat with the Earl and the Bishop, and he presided in the Hundred-Court. His emoluments were derived from perquisites and percentages, probably also in early times from official estates.[6]

[1] So too expressly the *Dialogus de Scacc.*, *Select Charters*, 187, "Ex comitatibus . . . qui antiquo jure coronæ regiæ annominantur."

[2] See Freeman, *N. C.*, IV. 53.

[3] See Rymer, *Fœdera*, II. 509.

[4] See the *Pseudoleges Canuti*, a compilation of the Anglo-Norman period, where "comitales villas quæ ad comitatum pertinent" are mentioned along with the third penny and other emoluments of the earl; Schmid, p. 430. Earl-lands are noticed as late as the 15th century.

[5] Ellis, *Domesday*, I. 167, 168, note; also *Placita Quo Warranto*, the proceedings taken by Edward I. against John of Warenne, where the rights and dues of the Earls of Surrey are given at length in their original Anglo-Saxon.

[6] 'Reevelands' in Herefordshire are noticed in Domesday.

On his rounds he expected to be entertained gratuitously, if not met with presents. His position was more like that of a foreign prefect than that of any official now known to our constitution. With the Norman Kings it became a matter of domestic policy to undermine the position of the Earls by entrusting the execution of Royal mandates and Royal business as much as possible to the sheriffs.

Of England economically the reader must think as of an agricultural country under primitive conditions, with no manufactures[1] and very little commerce. The illuminations to a manuscript of the eleventh century show the rudeness of the agricultural implements. The inferior labourers have neither shoes nor stockings; a rough tunic seems their only garment.[2] The returns in Domesday, with many fluctuations, seem to give the value of the hide, without extras, such as mills, meadow-land, or the like, as running about £1 or 240 pence per annum. Taking the normal hide as 120 acres, that would come to *2d.* per acre rent.[3] But we never hear of any definite rent per acre, only of rents from hides or other aggregate holdings. In the Saxon times rents were so largely paid in kind that it is most difficult to form any estimate of rents.

As for the commerce there must have been some exportation of metals,[4] wool, and hides; probably also of honey and tallow. The *Instituta Lundoniæ* of Æthelred II. seem to speak of grey and brown cloth, pepper and vinegar as imports.[5] But wine must have been an important item. Queen Eadgyth's chaplain, with his usual grandiloquence, speaks of the wares brought into the Thames from all parts of the world[6]; and William of Poitiers, the chaplain of William the Conqueror, also refers to English trade as considerable.[7] But the *Instituta* point to a commercial intercourse extending only to the mouth of the Seine on the West, and the mouth of the Rhine on the East. Still there must have been considerable intercourse with Scandinavia. And we have heard of York as the centre of this trade. Next to London, the time-honoured mart, Sandwich and Bristol must have been the most important ports. Chester probably shared with the latter the intercourse with Ireland.

Literature.

The history of a dead language is a subject for special treatment, not within the scope of a work of such a character as ours. The remains of Anglo-Saxon literature that have come down to us

[1] Some cloth-workers (panifici) are noticed at Stamford in *Domesday*, I. 336b; Lappenberg.

[2] MS. Cott. Julius A. VI. ff. 3, 4 and 8 dorso.

[3] See Domesday, *passim*, and Mr. O. C. Pell's Essay *Domesday Studies* (P. E. Dove), I. 227.

[4] See W. Poitiers, 157.

[5] Above, 379, and Schmid, 218.

[6] "Fluvii a toto orbe ferentis universarum venalium rerum copiosas merces"; *Vitæ Ædw.*, 417.

[7] "Terræ, sua fertilitate opimæ, uberiorem opulentiam comportare soliti sunt negotiatores gaza advectitia"; *Gesta Guill.* 146 (ed. Maseres).

do not fill a large space; one moderate volume will comprise all the prose and another such all the verse.[1]

In architecture of all sorts the English were clearly behind the continental nations.[2] Apart from the few stone castles introduced by Normans, earthworks of the Danish type, that is to say conical 'motes' surrounded by banks and ditches, and surmounted by palisades,[3] appear to have been the chief fortifications. Of their ecclesiastical buildings the few abiding specimens show a heavy style of Romanesque, almost destitute of ornament, and altogether wanting in the special decorative features of continental Romanesques.[4] We have a few archvolts rudely moulded in imitation of debased Roman work; and we have colonnettes of strictly native design, rude balusters with bead mouldings, apparently turned in some sort of lathe.[5] The churches must have been of very moderate dimensions, and the amount of daylight admitted infinitesimal. The windows seem to have been mere slits, with round heads and deep jambs. Sometimes the window-head is made of two stones laid at an angle. Nobody but the priest could have been expected to read a line of anything inside an Anglo-Saxon church, and even he would probably require lights on the altar.

Forts.

Church Architecture.

We have already spoken of Harold's church at Waltham, and of the relics of Eadward's work at Westminster. Among the best preserved specimens of Old English church architecture we may mention the internal archvolt of the tower of St. Benet's Cambridge, and the archvolt transferred from an earlier building to the southern aisle of the present St. Giles' Cambridge; also the chancel-arch and chancel of Bosham church in Sussex, a building with which Earl Godwine and his family must be associated. Again we have Anglo-Saxon work in the nave, transepts, and central tower of St. Mary's Stow, Lincolnshire, built by Bishop Eadnoth (A.D. 1034–1050), and enriched by Leofric and Godgifu, as already mentioned. At Deerhurst, in Gloucestershire, the lower courses of the tower, and possibly parts of the walls of the parish church are pre-Norman; while close by, Odda's chapel, recently brought to light, is practically entire. The dedication stone (removed to Oxford) gives the date, 12th April, 1056.[6] Of unique interest is St. Paul's Jarrow, the church of Benedict

[1] See the collections of C. W. M. Grein, *Bibliothek der Angelsachsischen Poesie*, and *Bibliothek der A.S. Prosa*. New editions by Professor Wülker are coming out.

[2] So of their private dwelling houses; W. Malm, *G. R.*, s. 245; "Parvis et abjectis domibus," etc. He contrasts the larger houses but more frugal style of living of the French, a remark equally applicable to the life of the present day.

[3] For these see above, 272, and generally Clark, *Mediæval Military Antiquities*.

[4] For A.S. church architecture see generally Bloxam, *Gothic Architecture*.

[5] Good specimens of these may be seen in the towers of St. Michael's Oxford, and Earl's Barton, Northants; some are also preserved in the porch of St. Paul's Jarrow. The bail on the stumps at cricket give a good idea of one of these.

[6] "II Id. April anno XIIII Eadwardi Regis." See *Deerhurst*, by Rev. Geo. Butterworth (North, Tewkesbury) and Earle, *Parallel Chron.*, 345.

Biscop, Ceolfrith, and Bæda, a simple and primitive edifice. The chancel and chancel arch, with the lower portion of the central tower, are original, and again the dedication stone preserves the date, namely April 24th,[1] 'in the fifteenth year of King Ecgfrith,' *i.e.* 685, the year of his death.[2] Considerable portions of the conventual buildings still remain, blackened by centuries of the smoke of "coaly Tyne." These, however, are probably not older than the time of William the Conqueror. At Monkswearmouth, again, we have the tower, also the work of Benedict, founded in the fourth year of King Ecgfrith.[3] Other special relics are the little church (*ecclesiola*) of St. Lawrence Bradford-on-Avon, noticed by William of Malmesbury, a building of very modest proportions, but practically unaltered. Pre-Norman, again, are Brixworth, Northants, a church partly Roman, and certainly rebuilt with Roman brick, and Worth, Sussex (apse-ending); while characteristic Saxon work may be seen in the chancel arches of St. Saviour Southampton, and Wittering, Northants; also in the towers of St. Michael's Oxford; St. Peter's Barton-on-Humber; Wyckham, Berks; and Barnack, Stowe, and Brigstock, all in Northants.[4]

Domestic Architecture.

Of the domestic architecture of our early forefathers even less can be said than of their church architecture, the illustrations that have been published being mostly taken from MSS. whose illuminations are not of English origin, but clearly derived from foreign originals portraying foreign life and manners.[5] But without doubt before the Norman Conquest, as after it, houses were mostly built of wood or of mud-clay set in timber frames, houses built of stone being quite exceptional.[6] Probably the hall of a country gentleman accommodated most of the household. An English MS. seems to show even the women sleeping in beds along the walls of the general hall, with only curtains to screen them off.[7] The outer walls were very low. The roof being supported on rows of posts, like the aisles of a church, came snugly down over the beds. The "box-beds" recently prevalent in Highland farmhouses may be a survival of this ancient system.

Metal Work.

As concerns the minor arts we know that English embroidery and English goldsmiths' work were celebrated.[8] Unfortunately no specimens belonging to the later Anglo-Saxon period are extant, the few articles of jewellery that have come down to us being

[1] "VIII Kal. Mai." [2] Ecgfrith was killed by the Picts in May, 685.

[3] A.D. 674. See Bæda's *Life of Benedict*, 143 (ed. Stevenson).

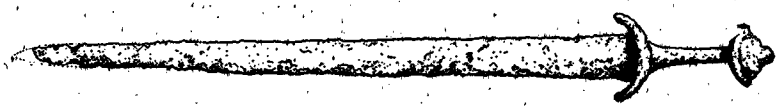
[4] For a very full list and engravings of some of the above see Bloxam's *Gothic Architecture*.

[5] The Harleian MS. No. 603, from which Mr. T. Wright drew for his *Domestic Manners* (1862), has the same illuminations as the Utrecht Psalter, and both show bows of the crooked Oriental type, Tartar horsemen with conical caps, and buildings with dome-roofs, etc. A real English bow may be seen MS. Cott Claudius B. IV. f. 41 dors.

[6] Hudson Turner, *Domestic Architecture*, I. xxii.

[7] MS. Claudius B. IV. (Ælfric's *Genesis*) f. 27 dors. [8] W. Poitiers, 158; also Lappenberg, II. 364, where a writer tells us that *opus Anglicum* was famous in Italy.

mostly derived from tombs of the early pagan period, but these are very elegant, and compare very favourably with contemporary work from Northern Gaul.[1] On the other hand a good many articles of Irish goldsmiths' work, probably referable to the later Anglo-Saxon period or thereabouts, have survived, and they exhibit the same richness and delicacy of ornamentation as do the Irish MSS., which, for the period, are unrivalled.[2] The inlaying upon Anglo-Saxon swords is very elegant. The shape of these and of the smaller dagger-knives or falchions (*mece*, *bill*) was very special, as already mentioned, differing both from the Celtic and the Scandinavian weapons. The Celtic swords mostly retain their primitive leaf-shape to the last, with the alternative type of the spit or small rapier.[3] The Scandinavian sword is straight, stiff, and two-edged, tapering to a point, and fitted either for cutting or thrusting. The Saxon sword and dagger are thick and stiff, shaped off with a curious point like the head



SCANDINAVIAN SWORD, FOUND IN NORFOLK. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

of a pike-fish, and only available for stabbing. But the spear and javelin were still, as in the days of Tacitus, the primary weapons. The Bayeux Tapestry seems to show the English still using the primitive round shield (*targa*) as well as the later Norman kite-shaped protection.

Currency.

Apparently the one current coin of the realm was the silver penny, of which then, as now, 240 went to the £1. Halfpennies, however, of the time of Ælfred, but of his time only, have been found. The shilling was simply a money of account. In Wessex fivepence made a shilling; in Mercia fourpence made a shilling. Another mode of reckoning sums of money, also based on the penny, was that by "or," "mancus" and "mark," being apparently the Scandinavian table of values. Fifteenpence made one "or;" two "or" made one mancus; four mancus, one mark; two marks, £1. We also hear of the "scæt" and the "thryms." The former, at any rate in Kent, was just a farthing[4]; the thryms, a Northern expression, was = 3*d.*, 80 making £1.[5]

Gold must have been measured out by weight in rings or bars. Specimens of gold in such shapes may be seen in the Dublin Museum. Gold pennies, however, of Archbishop Wigmund of York (A.D. 837–854), of Æthelred II. and of the Confessor have been found.[6]

[1] See specimens of both in the mediæval departments of the British Museum and South Kensington Museum, and esp. the Meyer collection at Liverpool. [2] See the specimens in the Museums of Dublin and Edinburgh. [3] For the Celtic swords see above, p. 35; and for the Saxon sword and dagger p. 174, where, unfortunately, they are drawn both of the same size, instead of one twice the size of the other. [4] For a Mercian scæt, worth nearly a penny, see Schmid, *Gesetze*, 594. [5] See Schmid, pp. 592–595. [6] C. Oman, *Academy*, 10th Aug., 1895. See also the collection in the British Museum.

APPENDIX A TO CHAPTER XXXI

Frithborh.—Frithgilds.—Gilds

THE history of the institution of frithgilds, or frankpledge, involves various moot points, such as the relations of the later personal tithings to the territorial tithings, and to the personal tithings of early times; the relation of the later personal tithings to frithgilds; and the relation of the frithgilds to the later trade-gilds. We have already expressed our belief that an arrangement of the population by tens and hundreds formed part of the primitive Germanic constitution. A number of fragmentary but widely diffused pieces of evidence point to this conclusion. The personal Hundreds are clearly described by Tacitus, and may be considered unquestionable. In England we have territorial Hundreds, which, whether prior or posterior in point of time, must be connected with the primitive personal Hundreds. Then we find in parts of England the word 'Tithing' used as equivalent to 'Township' to denote a subdivision of the territorial Hundred; and, again, in the later Anglo-Saxon days we have laws insisting that within each territorial Hundred the whole free population must be enrolled in Tens. Considering the slowness of Anglo-Saxon legislation to evolve or take in new principles, and that the bulk of Anglo-Saxon Law is simply the re-proclamation of customs long before sanctioned by usage, we hold to the belief that the later arrangement of the population by tens must be historically connected with the primitive arrangement of the same character. The special responsibilities of the members or brethren of the Tens (*frithborh*) may have been developed and expanded in course of time, so as to assume characteristics unknown to earlier days; but that would not affect the historic continuity of the institution of personal tithings. Of *gegyldan*, persons specially interested in each others' lives and conduct, but not relatives, we hear as early as the Laws of Ine (A.D. 676–705, cc. 16, 21, 23). From these, taken in conjunction with passages from the Laws of Ælfred (cc. 27, 28), we get a clear view of a responsibility divided between relatives and *gegyldan*. 'If one kinless of father-kin slay a man, then if he have mother-kin let them pay a third part of the *wer*; let the *gegyldan* pay another third, and for the remaining third let him flee himself. If he have neither father-kin nor mother-kin then let the *gegyldan* pay half, and for half let him flee.' The next clause goes on: 'If a man kill such an one (*i.e.* one without father-kin or mother-kin) let half (the *wer*) be paid to the King, half to the *gegyldan*.' These regulations clearly imply that every law-worthy man had *gegyldan*; that is to say that the whole adult male law-worthy population was enrolled in groups, the members of which relatively to one another were called *gegyldan*, meaning Sharers-in-paying or Fellow-payers. Next in the *Iudicia Civitatis Lundoniæ* (Æthelstan, VI. c. 1, Schmid, A.D. 924–940) we have an arrangement of the population of the city, 'eorl and ceorl' in groups expressly called 'frithgilds' or 'gildships' (*on urum friŏ-gegyldum*, c. 1; *on urum gegyldscipum*, c. 8 s. 6), and described as consisting of tens, and tens of tens, with headmen to look after each ten and each hundred (*teoŏunge, hyndene*). These associations have common purses, and monthly meetings for the transaction of business, ending with dinners (*metscype, byttfyllinge*). They contribute to fines payable by, and share in fines and forfeitures accruing to, members. They subscribe for masses for the soul of a deceased brother (*gegylda*). Their primary objects are mutual protection against robbery, and the suppression of crime. Some of the provisions point to a voluntary element in the matter of joining a particular 'gildship' (c. 8 s. 6). This may have been a privilege open to the citizens of a great city. The regulations as a whole may be regarded as a special development, but only a development of something connected with a general system. The *byttfyllinge* above noticed may clearly be linked with the "scotales" of later days, while the prayers for the soul of a deceased gildsman give the religious element associated with the gilds of subsequent times. In the Laws of Eadgar (A.D. 959–975) we have the requirement that every man must be under *borh* (*security*) for good conduct, the Tithing-man and Hundred-man being clearly noticed as old institutions. Under Æthelred II. (978–1016) we have the same requirement as to *borh*. Under Cnut (1016–1035) every freeman must be in a Hundred and Tithing, every man must be in a Hundred and under *borh*. If any doubt could be entertained as to the practical identity of this collective *borh* with the tithing (except in the case of household retainers), it is removed by a 12th century gloss on a Latin text of the Laws of Cnut (*Consiliatio Cnuti*, F. Liebermann, 1893, II. c. 18), which tells us that the Tithing, or *decimatio*, was a subdivision of the Hundred, as the Hundred was of the County; and that the *Decimatio*, otherwise *Warda*, otherwise *Borch*, might number from ten to thirty men, according to locality, all mutually responsible for each other. Again, under William the Conqueror every man

must be under 'pledge' (III. c. 14). So in the legal compilation known by the name of Henry I., where in the very words of the old law every man is required to be in a Hundred and Tithing, *decima*—otherwise rendered *plegio liberali*, frankpledge, an obvious mistranslation of *frithborh*. Finally, the so-called *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* (1130–1150) clearly identify the personal Tithing, or "*tenmann tale*," with the *frithborhs*; the Township again being the sphere of the authority of the Tithing men (cc. 20, 28, Schmid). For the connexion between the original frithgilds and the later trade-gilds we need only remember the constant tendency of men of one trade or craft to congregate. The dominant industry might give its name to a particular 'ward' or gild. The men of such a quarter might become the Cordwainers' or the Mercers' Gild. Still more readily would this happen if the men of a populous town had the right of chosing in what gild they would be enrolled. But that they had to be enrolled in one gild or another we must believe. The government of a borough by the gilds would thus be simply government by the free members of the community.[1]

APPENDIX B TO CHAPTER XXXI

Hide

THE hide, as is well known, is rendered in Latin by various equivalents, *familia*, *mansio*, *mansus*, *mansa*, *manens*, *cassatus*, etc. In Kentish charters it appears as the *swulungc* or *sulung* (*Cod. Dip.* Nos. 226, 688, 769, etc.), and this again is rendered *terra aratri* (*Id.* No. 122), thus giving a clear link with the later *carucata*. The extent of the hide is a matter that has been greatly disputed. It was clearly a measure of estimation, representing a certain value, about £1 a year, and therefore varying with the quality of the land and with local usage. That it was, however, regarded to a certain extent as a definite measure may be gathered from such expressions as 'two hides less sixty acres' (*Id.* No. 612), 'three *mansæ* and thirty acres' (No. 633), 'two and a half *mansæ*' (No. 639), 'two and a half hides and forty acres' (No. 813). The hide is generally supposed to have contained from 100 to 120 acres, and undoubted authority for this view in particular cases can be found, as *e.g.* in the charter No. 1,222 in the *Codex Diplomaticus*, where there is a clear reference to a hide of 120 acres[2]; while the well-known *Dialogus de Scaccario* (*temp.* Henry II.) boldly lays it down that the hide contained 100 acres (Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 200). Many of the charters granting hides of land gave boundaries which may be clearly identified, but, unfortunately, these give us no real clue to the area of the hides granted because the boundaries given for the most part are not those of the actual hides conveyed, but those of the township or manor within which the hides were situate (Nasse, *Agric. Comm.*, 23, 24). As each hide merely represented portions of a field, or rather portions of different fields, these portions not being fenced off, but merely marked out by strips of unploughed turf, two furrows wide, it would be impossible to give the boundaries of any specific hide, and that independently of any question of redistribution. Nor do the charters tell us what proportion the hides granted bore to the total hidage included in the boundaries described. This was treated as a matter too well known to the locality to need stating. Mr. Kemble, assuming that the hide would be all in one plot, and practically of the same size all over England, argues for a measurement of 30 acres, of 4,000 Saxon square yards (=4,840 English) each, or 120 'furlongs,' 'quarantenes,' or 'small acres,' of 1,000 square yards each, thus accounting for the view that the hide contained 120 acres (*Saxons* I. 93–101). He supports this theory by taking estimates of the hidage of different parts

[1] Mr. J. R. Green connects the frithgilds of Æthelstan with the earlier *gegyldan* on the one hand and with the later gilds of the borough towns on the other (*Conq. of Eng.*, 229). So too Dr. Brentano in his Introduction to Miss Toulmin Smith's *Gilds* (Early English Text Society, 1870). He considers that the gilds "originally comprehended all full citizens," but thinks that they were voluntary associations, which seems odd. Bishop Stubbs asserts that there is "no definite trace" of the institution of *frithborh*, or frankpledge, before the Norman Conquest, and scouts all idea of connexion either with any primitive arrangement of the population by tens and hundreds, or with the *gegyldan* of Ine, or with the later trade-gilds (*Const. Hist.* I. 93–96). Mr. Earle, again, admits that "the later institution seems to have been a substitute for the original Tithing, which had become effete" (*Land Charters*, liv.).

[2] See also Ellis, *Introd. Domesday*, I. 147. For a summary of the evidence in favour of 120 acres to the hide see Mr. F. W. Maitland, *Domesday and Beyond*, 489.

of England given by Bæda and other old authorities (see these, *Saxons*, I. 81, 101; and Earle, *Land Charters*, 458), and comparing them with the actual acreage. The results are not very clear in themselves, but we must utterly reject the authority of every estimate of the hides in England prior to Domesday. It is quite impossible that any trustworthy survey of the country could have been taken before that time. Again, Mr. Kemble compares the numbers of hides given by Domesday for certain districts with the acreage of those districts, with the result that the gross acreage will not make up 100 acres for the hide, and that without allowing anything for wastes and woodlands, which were not reckoned in the area of the hides. But similar comparisons based on data from the Exeter Domesday make the area much too great (*Saxons*, I. 487, 488). In like manner Mr. Eyton, by dividing the whole area of Dorset by the hides in Domesday, gets an average of 200 to 300 statute acres for the hide (*Dorset Domesday*). This again must be rejected because it makes no allowance for meadow land, wastes, and woodlands.

If we turn to the specific statements of local rentals and registers we must recognise the largest amount of variety both in the hide and its subdivisions. These last, on the whole, seem pretty clear, though the nomenclature varies locally. It may be taken as admitted that generally the hide contained four 'yards' or 'yard-lands'[1] (*gyrd=virgata=pertica*, Earle, 248; Ellis, I. 146, 155). Another division was that by oxgangs (*bovatæ*), of which two went to the virgate and eight to the hide. With respect to the name oxgang, it has been suggested that as eight oxen formed the normal team of the common plough, each eighth of a hide would have to contribute one ox (Robertson, *Scotland*, II. 271; Round, *F. E.*, 35; Seebohm, 121). But the bovate is mostly found in the North country. With respect to its size, Sir Henry Ellis cites authorities to show bovates running from 8 to 17 acres, and even to 24 acres each (*Domesday*, I. 156). The Durham records in like manner show bovates, eight to the carucate or hide, some being of eight, some of twelve, and some of fifteen acres each, implying hides of 64, 98, and 120 acres.[2] These represented several holdings, or little farms. But where entire carucates are mentioned, their extent is given as 120 acres. In accordance with the measures of the bovates we find virgates or yardlands running from 15 to 30 acres,[3] with one in Ely of 60 acres, which may have been exceptional, a double yardland perhaps (Ellis, I. 155, 156); and so we find hides varying from 60 to 180 acres (*Id.*, 151). But 30 acres for the yard, and 120 acres for the hide were probably the normal sizes.[4] Very interesting and instructive is a plan of the Common Fields of Burton Agnes in the East Riding of Yorkshire.[5] This was taken in the year 1809, but it probably represents the land as it had been in the time of Domesday, perhaps long before Domesday, and as it continued to be down to the year 1858. There we see the arable land of the township laid out as an irregular parallelogram adjoining the village. The parallelogram is divided longitudinally into three Fields—"West Field," "Middle Field," and "East Field"; and each of these again is cut up transversely into little strips of unequal sizes, oxgangs, or half-oxgangs, or whatever they may have been called, the smallest running from five to seven acres each. The total area comes to something under 1,000 acres. We are told that a further 100 acres should be added for land evidently taken off the Common Field at some time, thus raising the total to nearly 1,100 acres. In Domesday the land is returned as twelve carucates, thus clearly giving hides of say 90 acres each, 30 acres in each Field.[6]

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[1] Nasse, however, quotes from the *Hundred Rolls*, II. 629, a manor where the hide contained six virgates of 28 acres, or 168 acres in all; and another where it comprised six of 40 acres, or 240 in all; *Agric. Comm.*, p. 37.

[2] Boldon Book, *Feodarium Prior. Dunelm.*; and Hatfield's *Survey* (Surtees Society). Where we read of "duo bovatæ de XXX acris," and "de XXXVI acris" we must understand this as the area of the two together, reducing each to 15 or 18 acres; Boldon Book, 3, 19, etc. In Ireland the "Seisrigh" might vary from 60 to 120 acres; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, III. 157.

[3] For variations in the virgate Mr. Stuart Moore, in *Domesday Studies*, p. 19, cites a passage from the Ramsey Cartulary, "Aliquo loco plus . . . aliquo minus."

[4] So Seebohm, *passim*, and especially Round, *Feudal England*, 36.

[5] See the plan below, 534, borrowed from Canon Isaac Taylor's plan in the first volume of *Domesday Studies*. For plans of other Common Fields see Seebohm, *Engl. Vill. Communities*.

[6] By an extraordinary manipulation of figures Canon Taylor brings out the twelve

In Kent and Sussex, which rejoiced in special nomenclature, we hear of the *wist* as a subdivision of the *swulong* or local hide, but the accounts as to the *wist* are not quite consistent. First we are told that eight virgates made a hide, four virgates constituting a *wist*, which thus would be half a hide. But here we evidently have a blundering reference to a double hide, as we hear of a 'great wist' apparently double the ordinary *wist*[1]; and so again we have a specific *wist* mentioned as containing 48 acres.[2] But on the whole it appears that the *wist* corresponded to the virgate of other districts.[3] But again there is evidence from Domesday and elsewhere that the *swulong* might run about 200 acres more or less (Ellis, I. 153, 154). Perhaps there again we have double hides. The reader will see the caution to be exercised in forming positive conclusions.

Coming down to later times we find that in the Lowlands of Scotland in the Middle Ages the normal occupancy of the tenant farmer was the "quarter-holding" (*i.e.* quarter of hide) or "husbandland," consisting of two oxgangs, and averaging 26 Scoteh acres (=32–33 English acres).[4] But as it appears that value was the standard (£1 per annum gross produce, 6*s.* 8*d.* rent), the area must have varied (Robertson, *Scotland*, I. 291, II. 47, 158). These quarter-holdings may clearly be linked with the holdings of the *ferdingi*, *i.e.* 'quarter-men,'[5] otherwise *villani*, of earlier times (Henr. I., c. 29 s. 1). Finally, returning to England, official Reports show that down to the last century in some counties manors were divided into yardlands—*virgatæ*, originally supposed equal in value, but differing in size, and in fact in value also. In Bucks they ran from 28 to 40 acres each. In Wilts the value varied mostly from £18 to £25 (Nasse, 8).

ANGLO-SAXON MEASURES.

1 Anglo-Saxon yard	=1·1 yard, or 39·6 inches Imperial.
5 Anglo-Saxon yards	=1 Anglo-Saxon rod.[6]
200 Anglo-Saxon yards (=220 Imperial yards)	=1 Anglo-Saxon *furlang* (lineal).
1 Anglo-Saxon *furlang* lineal × 1 Anglo Saxon rod (=200 Anglo-Saxon yards × 5 Anglo-Saxon yards, or =220 yards × 5·5 yards Imperial)	=1 Anglo-Saxon *furlang* (superficial) = our rood.
4 Anglo-Saxon *furlangs* (superficial)	=1 acre = 4,000 Anglo-Saxon square yards = 4,840 square yards Imperial.[7]

IMPERIAL MEASURES.

3 feet = 1 yard.
5½ yards = 1 pole or perch.
40 poles = 1 furlong (220 yards).
8 furlongs = 1 mile (1,760 yards).

NORMAN MEASURES. (SAME AS IMPERIAL?)

Lineal.

16 feet (qy. 16½?) = 1 *pertica* (perch).
40 *perticæ* = 1 *quarantena* (furlong).
12 *quarantenæ* = 1 *leuga anglica* (1½ mile?)

Superficial.

1 *quarantena* × 4 *perticæ* (or other equivalent) = 1 acre.[8]

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hides as containing 180 acres each, p. 181. Yet he gives us Haisthorpe, three Fields, 547 acres, in Domesday 6 carucates = 90 acres each; and Thornholm, 670 acres, in Domesday 7 carucates = 95 acres each.

[1] "Octo virgatæ unam hidam faciant, wista vero quatuor (duabus?) virgatis constat"; *Chronicle Battle Abbey*, 11. "Magnæ wistæ"; *Custumals of Battle Abbey*, 29 (Camden Society, 1887).

[2] *Chron. Battle*, 19.

[3] "Dividitur leuga per wistas quæ aliis in locis virgatæ vocantur"; *Chron. Battle*, 17; and especially *Custumals Battle*, XIII. For the leuga see p. 11.

[4] The Scots acre is equivalent to 1¼ English acre, and something more, containing about 6,104 square yards against 4,840 of the Imperial acre.

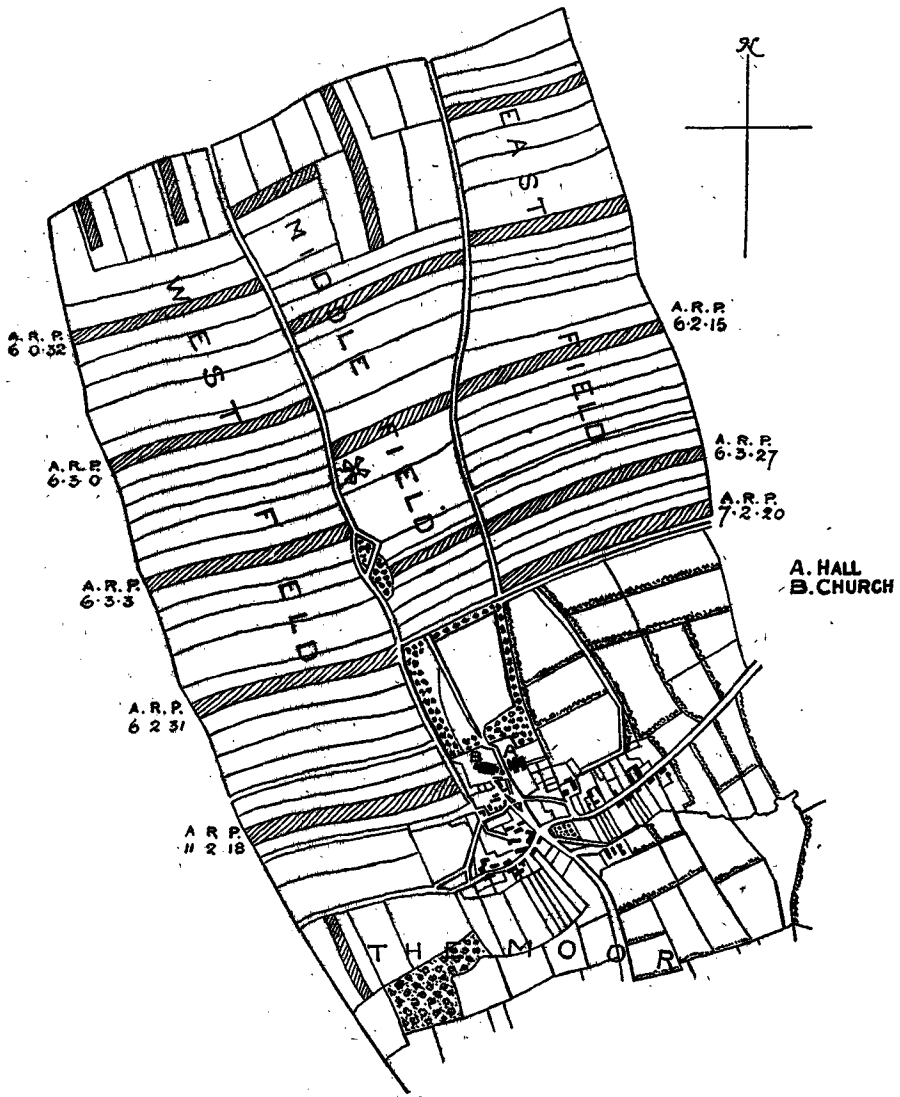
[5] The *quarterium* also appears in English rentals; Rogers, *Prices*, I. 72.

[6] F. Seebohm, *English Village Communities*, 2. [7] Kemble, *Saxons*, I. 99.

[8] *Chron. Battle Abbey*, 11; Seebohm, *sup.*, 3. According to Mr. Seebohm, p. 4, *quarantena* is also used as equivalent to the later "shot," a group of furlong-strips ploughed together as a Field or part of a Field (see *Chron. Battle Abbey*, *sup.*).

PLAN OF THE COMMON FIELD OF BURTON-AGNES IN THE EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

(From the plan given by the Rev. Canon Isaac Taylor in *Domesday Studies*.)



The shaded strips are the parson's share or glebe, forming about one-tenth of the whole. The reader will notice that the enclosures adjacent to the Hall must at some time have been taken off the Common Field.

ADDENDA AND ERRATA TO VOLUME I

Page 61. Silver coins of Venutios and Cartismandua were found at Horley, near Huddersfield, in 1894; one bears the legend *CART* clearly legible; *Athenæum*, 27th November, 1897.

Page 85, note 3. From Coupar Angus Eastwards as far as Kinloch House, and apparently making for the crossing of the river Dean within the grounds of Cardean, the Roman road may be traced, about 21 feet wide, running parallel to, but a little to the North of, the existing road from Coupar Angus to Cardean.

Pages 78, 83, 92. The excavations of 1895, 1896, and 1897 on the line of the Roman Wall have settled some questions and opened up others. The fourth rampart or *agger* on the North side of the *vallum*, seen between Birdoswald (*Amboglanna*) and Wall Bowers, has been proved to be of a different construction and earlier date than the regular *vallum*. It has a turf core instead of a stone core; and so Mr. F. Haverfield speaks of it as the Turf Wall. From Wall Bowers it ran through the site of the existing fort at Birdoswald, and on Eastwards as far as the bank of the Irthing. Thus it must be older than the fort, and to all appearance older than the regular *vallum*, which again seems to be more recent than the fort, as it has been found to make a sharp bend to the South, to keep clear of the fort, as already mentioned. (Below, I. 82.) So too at Carrawburgh. I must therefore abandon the arguments as to the prior date of the *vallum* that I drew from the fact that, to the outward eye, the *vallum*, in both places, had originally run through the sites of these forts, but had been subsequently displaced by them. So again the circumstance that at Wall Bowers the stone Wall overrides the extra rampart of the *vallum*, the "Turf Wall," proves nothing with respect to the antiquity of the regular *vallum*, as the latter was apparently a distinct work, of later date, than the "Turf Wall." On the main question of the priority in date of the regular *vallum* and the Wall the excavations have revealed nothing decisive. We have still only general considerations to go by, and I adhere to the view that the Wall, with its greater length, its greater strength, and its exterior position, must be held the later work. In fact we now seem to have several successive stages of fortification to deal with, beginning with smaller earthen forts, and perhaps the "Turf Wall" as an experiment, and ending with larger walled forts and the continuous stone Wall. For the actual excavations see Mr. F. Haverfield's Reports of the Cumberland Excavation Committees of 1895, 1896, and 1897; *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian etc. Societies*, vols. xiv. and xv.

Pages 145, 517. Mr. Maitland, while denying any general survival of the Roman manorial system (*Domesday and Beyond*, 221, 222), is prepared to admit that the Germans "sometimes fitted themselves into the agrarian

framework that they found," p. 346; and that the Saxon leaders in Britain may have taken to themselves "integral estates," especially in the S.W. of the Island; p. 351. This is almost as much as I would hold to, namely the surviving roots of an old system, which spread rapidly, with offshoots that eventually over-lay and choked the free Germanic institutions originally imported. Dr. Vinogradoff seems to recognise "three elements" in the complex structure of later English villanage. "Legal theory and political disabilities would fain make it all but slavery; the manorial system ensures it something of the character of the Roman colonatus; there is a stock of freedom in it which speaks of Saxon tradition"; *Villainage in England*, 137.

Page 146, and note 4. *Alod.* The better root-meaning for this word, (Old French *alleu* from O. Norse *ald-odal*), would seem to be heritable or family property, rather than absolute property; Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*

Page 156. I have considered the Hundred as originally an organization of men; the later view was that the theoretic Hundred consisted of a hundred hides of land, irrespective of the population, so that if, for any reason, a new Hundred had to be created, 100 hides were put together for the purpose. See the case of Oswaldslaw, referred to by Mr. F. W. Maitland, *Domesday and Beyond*, p. 452, from the *Codex Dip.* VI. 237, a doubtful charter as it stands, but one which must be based on a genuine original. Not only are the dates and attestations all correct, but the arrangements effected by the charter are all found in operation at the time of Domesday. For Worcestershire, as a whole, the hides returned in Domesday come to just about 100 for each of the 12 Hundreds of the county; in exact figures, 1204; Maitland, *sup.* 455. Again, the Hundred of Micheldever in Hants had just 100 hides; *id.* 499, note. Doubtless numberless other cases might be discovered.

Page 160, note 7. For "below in vol. ii.," read "at the end of this volume."

Page 199, l. 7. For "686," the date of Ecgfrith's death, read "685."

Page 204, and note 2. A further curtailment suffered by the See of Winchester during the episcopate of Daniel, was the establishment of a Bishopric for the South Saxons at Selsey, the abbey founded by Wilfrith. The Abbot Eadberht became the first Bishop (A.D. 705–709); Bæda, *H. E.* p. 379; *Reg. Sacr.*

Page 209. Æthelbald, in separating the Sees of Lichfield and Leicester, was, in fact, only undoing the work of Coenred, who had united the two Sees (A.D. 705), which had previously been separate. See *Reg. Sacr.* ed. 1897, p. 224.

Page 212. For more of St. Guthlac, see his *Memorials*, by Mr. W. de Gray Birch (Wisbeach, 1881).

Pages 247, 265. Death of Ælfred the Great. For "Oct. 28," read "Oct. 26."

Pages 277, 281, 282, 287, note 5. It would seem that Eadweard died on the 17th July (XVI. Kal. Augt.); so the *Liber Vitæ* of Hyde Abbey, p. 6, cited W. H. Stevenson, Athenæum, 16th July, 1898. The year, of course, was 924. I also find from Mr. Stevenson's letter that the Red Book of Canterbury (Birch, *C. S.* II. 317), and Thorne, 1778, give the 4th Sept., 925, as the date of Æthelstan's coronation, and the day in fact was a Sunday; that, I take it, would be the date of his coronation in

Wessex, which may have been delayed by the opposition of the Ætheling Ælfred, the coronation in Mercia having been celebrated earlier. The MS. Tiberius A. III. assigns fourteen years seven weeks and three days to the reign of Æthelstan. Reckoning backwards from he 27th Oct., 940, that would place his accession on the 5th Sept., but in the year 926.

Page 289, note 5. The reference to *Domesday and Beyond* should be pp. 226–244. The suggestion that the charters in many cases only conveyed "superiorities" over land makes way for the further suggestion that there may have been many free landowners on the estates conveyed, who held not "of" the Churches, but "under" the Churches. There is no proof whatever of this, but it is likely enough that under these charters rights of many kinds may have passed. "The King gave what he had to give."

Page 294. The area of half a square mile and upwards assigned to old Canterbury is excessive. The Anglo-Saxon city, including the cathedral precincts, would not exceed one-sixth of a square mile. See the plans in the excellent monograph by the late Thomas Godfrey Faussett, F.S.A., *Canterbury till Domesday*.

Page 295, note 2. For *Cod. Dip.* No. "1138," read "1137."

Page 320, and note 3. Ælfthryth appears signing as Regina, *Cod. Dip.* vol. vi. 241, a charter which I believe to be genuine at bottom. The homage of eight Celtic kings in one day is clearly referred to by Ælfric *Grammaticus*, an actual contemporary, in his Life of Swithun (*Lives of Saints*, Skeat, Part II. p. 468, Early English Text Society, cited W. H. Stevenson, *English Historical Review*, XIII. 505.

Page 321, note 3. For side of "tower," read "town."

Pages 339, 395. With respect to the sums of Danegeld alleged to have been raised at times, I may further point out that the Danegeld from all England under Henry I. was only assessed at £5,000, and half of that was remitted. The Conqueror's treble Danegeld of 1084 on the same footing would have been assessed at £15,000. For the worth of chroniclers' figures, see again Orderic's estimate of 60,000 *milites* in England, when there were not 5,000; see below, II. 131. Mr. Maitland urges that if we reject their figures, we shall be taxing the writers with "wanton and circumstantial lying," or "reckless mendacity" (*Domesday and Beyond*, pp. 8, 443). I do not accept the alternative. I only tax them with accepting current, popular estimates, in the absence of official records. The worthlessness of chroniclers' figures is a subject of far-reaching interest, on which the historical world has much to learn.

Page 344. For Bishop "Ealdhem" read "Ealdhun."

Page 360, note 7. Perhaps the text of the Chronicles should be amended by reading for all of them "of thrim hund, scip; and of tynum, ænne scægð," 'of every three Hundreds, a ship, and of every ten [hides] a skiff (*i.e.* a small boat).' For the assessment of one ship on three Hundreds, Mr. C. Plummer has called my attention to the disputed charter of Eadgar already referred to, *Cod. Dip.* VI. p. 240, where three Hundreds appear to be given as a normal "scyp-fylleð" or "scyp-socne."

Pages 381, 409. In the text I have suggested that the private jurisdictions of *sac* and *soc* may have grown up in the chaotic days of Æthelred II. as concessions extorted from his weakness. But I now fully accept Mr.

Maitland's view that the origin of these courts goes farther back in our history than has hitherto been supposed. He shows that it must be found in the grants by Royal charter of immunities, or liberties, "*freols*," as they were called, whereby in the first instance Church lands were freed from secular control; as in the 'Privileges' of Wihtræd and Æthelbald (below, p. 209); or again, where the grantees were specifically declared entitled to some or other of the profits of the administration of justice. In the first case the population on the exempted lands could not be left without law. That would have to be administered by the bishop or abbot, and in a court of his own. In the second case, where a landowner was given certain *wites* or legal penalties, he would have to take cognizance of the misdemeanours involving such mulcts. In either case the population affected by the immunities would *pro tanto* be relieved of suit to the national courts. But, in Mr. Maitland's own words, "To exempt lands from public or national justice is to create private or seignorial justice" (*Domesday and Beyond*, 256–276).

Page 411, note 2. See also Mr. H. T. Riley, *Liber Albus*, II. 804. "There seems reason to believe that in London the trade or commercial Guild was the same as the Soke or Ward, the earliest named Aldermen being those of Guilds" (Rolls Series, No. 12).

Page 417. *Sac and soc.* The following appear to be better explanations of these terms than those given in the text: *Sacu*, *Sac*=matter or cause in the lawyer's sense; *i.e.* a "matter" between litigants, a "cause" before a judge, hence the right to hold a court. Compare German *Sache*, Swedish *Sak* (Maitland, *Domesday and Beyond*, 84; Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*). *Socna*, *Socn*, *Soca*, *Soc* is given as meaning primarily seeking or suit, and so the right of requiring suit to one's court (*ib.*). A later meaning is that of the district within which the rights were exercised.

Page 449. For Lanfranc "Abbot" of Bec, read "Prior."

Page 500 and II. 50. It should have been stated that Morkere, while retaining Deira, or Yorkshire, in his own hands, made over Bernicia, or modern Northumberland, to Osulf (Symeon, *H. R.* page 194).

Pages 509–511. I take the figures of Domesday Book as the best available evidence for the state of England before the Conquest. Of course they must be taken with an allowance. Mr. F. W. Maitland insists on a gulf between the earlier and the later states of the English peasantry, marked off in his own words "by the red thread of the Norman Conquest." He certainly adduces numerous cases of men free before that time being subsequently reduced to villeinage; of men being attached to manors who before were not attached; and so forth (*Domesday*, etc., 60–63, 135–141). The Norman lawyers certainly did their best to depress the legal status of the *villanus*. But for the essential continuity of the manorial system before and after the Conquest I would refer the reader to Dr. Vinogradoff's *Villainage in England*, 279–291, where he will find the duties of the 12th century *villanus* described in terms not distinguishable from those used in the text with reference to the Anglo-Saxon *Gebur*. For the growth of money payments see *Id.* p. 291, etc. I should have pointed out before that the mere uniformity in the size of the holdings of the Saxon peasants, yardlands, and oxgangs, proves that they were tenants rather than owners. If the holdings had been their own they must have been subdivided or aggregated. But a big landlord could lay out his

farms as he found most suitable to his own interests. As for the *Geneat*, the man with an indeterminate holding, and unlimited services, I gather from Dr. Vinogradoff's book that he was simply a trustworthy peasant appointed to look after the others and keep them to their duties.

Page 516. *Dimidii Homines*, etc. With respect to persons so designated Mr. Maitland suggests that the lordship over them had been divided either by descent to co-heirs or by alienation, so as to be vested in several persons (*Domesday and Beyond*, 74). In this view of the case the *dimidius presbyter* would be one who did duty for two manors or townships.

Page 517. See above under 145.

Page 518, note 6. For assessments of £1 on the Hundred as a unit to be apportioned among the townships, see the quotations from *Domesday* given by Mr. Maitland, *sup.* 429, 430, 450.

Page 523. It has been suggested that *Burh-geat setl* may mean a house in the principal street of the county town, say a town house (Maitland, *sup.* p. 190). We have a Burgate Street at Canterbury. Mr. W. H. Stevenson, *Eng. Hist. Review*, XII. 489, suggests that in "burh-geat-setl" the hyphens added by Thorpe should be struck out, and the passage read as "bell-hus and burhgeat, setl and sunder-note on cynges healle," etc. The last clause would mean 'a seat and special office in the King's hall.' As for burgeat he suggests 'a manorial burh, with or without jurisdiction.'

Page 528. Earl-lands. For the great extent of these see Maitland, *sup.* 167–169.

Page 532, note. For further plans of Common Fields the reader is referred to Mr. Mowat's *Sixteen Old Maps* (Oxford, 1888).

LIST OF AUTHORITIES

Abingdon, History or Chronicle of (J. Stevenson, Rolls Series No. 2), to be carefully distinguished from the Anglo-Saxon Abingdon Chronicle (C). Say A.D. 689, with some earlier notices, to 1189, soon after which latter date the work was compiled. It is in the main a register of charters, with historical matter interwoven. It gives a Life of its abbot, Bishop Æthelwold; but a much better one written within twenty years of the Bishop's death by the well-known Ælfric Grammaticus, is printed by Mr. Stevenson as an Appendix to vol. II. p. 257. For Ælfric Grammaticus, see below, vol. I. p. 245.

Adamnan, *Life of St. Columba* (ed. Reeves). Adamnan lived from A.D. 623–704. See also vol. I. p. 132, note.

Ædde, *Vita Wilfredi* (*Historians of Church of York*, Raine, Rolls Series, No. 71). Ædde joined Wilfrith as his choirmaster in 669, and apparently remained with Wilfrith till his death in 709.

Ælred, *see* Rievaulx.

Æthelweard, *Chronicorum Libri IV.* (Creation–975). This man was Ealdorman of Devon and the Western Provinces, A.D. 976–998 (signatures in *Cod. Dip.*); he was great-great-grandson of Æthelred I., and dedicates "Mahtildi" granddaughter of Otho I. of Germany by Eadgyth daughter of Eadward the Elder; *M.H.B.* 499; see also *Id.*, Preface, 81. Note that Æthelweard, after following Chronicle A down to 892, becomes original, as if his copy of the Chronicle ended there.

Amiens, Guy, Bishop of, *Carmen de Bello Hastingensi. Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 856, etc. This, the earliest narrative of the campaign, was written before 1068.

Ammianus Marcellinus. A Syrian Greek by birth; held commands in the Roman armies, 350–360; wrote his history later; died after 390.

Anglia Sacra, H. Wharton, 1691.

Annales Cambriæ, A.D. 444–1288. This important Welsh Chronicle is believed to have been started originally at St. David's about A.D. 954, probably from Irish materials, and subsequently continued at various intervals. J. W. ab Ithel (Rolls Series No. 20).

Annals of Ulster. Valuable Irish records of great antiquity. First printed by O'Connor in his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, and partly in Mr. Skene's *Chron. P. and S.* A wholly new recension is being brought out for the Irish Record Commission by Mr. W. M. Henessy.

Anselmi Epistolæ (Migne, *Patrologia*, Latin Series).

Asser, *De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi*, *M.H.B.* 467. This man, a learned Welshman, and supposed to have been Abbot or Bishop of St. David's, was invited to the court of Ælfred the Great about 885 to assist in literary work, and was in time appointed Bishop of Sher-

borne. For events prior to 887 he seems to reproduce an original Latin text from which the Winchester Chronicle was translated, but in a more correct form than that given in the Chronicle. His own additions are also very valuable. This work must be carefully distinguished from the so-called *Annals of Asser*, or *Chronicle of St. Neot's*, a 12th century compilation printed by Gale, *Scriptores* XV.

Aurelius, Victor, *see* Victor.

Bæda, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (English Historical Society), born about the year 674, and died in 735, having spent his life in the twin monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow. See also vol. I. p. 203.

Baluze, Etienne, *Capitularia Regum Francorum* (1677).

—— *Concilia Galliæ Narbonnensis* (1688).

Battle Abbey, Chronicle of (Brewer, *Anglia Christiana*, 1846), A.D. 1066–1176.

—— *Customals of* (Camden Society, 1887).

Baudri, Abbot of Bourgueil 1079–1107, and Bishop of Dol 1107–1130, author of a History of the First Crusade and other works, has left a Poem addressed to Adela Countess of Blois, daughter of William the Conqueror, in which, describing a piece of tapestry in her bedchamber, and apparently a second Bayeux Tapestry, he gives a summary of the Hastings campaign. (Delisle, *Mémoires des Antiquaires de Normandie*, xxviii. 187, etc.)

Birch, W. de Gray, *Cartularium Saxonicum.*

Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens de la France.*

Bourgueil, *see* Baudri.

Bremen, Adam of. *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiæ Pontificum*; A.D. 788–1072, Pertz IX. 316, etc. The writer, a Saxon, was made Canon of Bremen *circa* 1068; he was a good deal at the Court of Swein Estrithson, King of Denmark, and nephew of Cnut the Great, from whom he learned much of the family history; he died in 1076.

Brevis Relatio Rerum Gestarum Willhelmi Conquestoris. A short anonymous Life written in the time of Henry I. (J. A. Giles, *Scriptores Rerum Gest. Will. Conq.*, London, 1845.)

Bromton, John, Abbot of Jervaulx, *Chronicon*, A.D. 597 (given as 588) to 1200. A mere compilation from earlier works put together in the latter half of the 14th century and chiefly valuable for the Latin version of the A.S. Laws, *Scriptores Decem*, 720, etc.

Brut-y-Tywysogion, or *Chronicle of the Princes of Wales*, in Welsh, A.D. 681–1282 (Rolls Series No. 17, Rev. J. W. ab Ithel). This chronicle is believed to have been originally compiled by one Caradoc of Llancarvan before 1150; but subsequently revised and continued by a later hand.

Cæsar C. Julius, *De Bello Gallico*, born B.C. 100. Assassinated B.C. 44.

Capitolinus, C. Julius. Under the name of this author we have Lives of the Emperors (*Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ*) compiled apparently during the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine (A.D. 284–337) and dedicated to them.

Chronicle, The Anglo-Saxon, or English (see below, p. 121). The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as it has been usually termed, is really a series of distinct chronicles, written up at very different times, with a common basis.

A. The common basis is the record known as the Winchester Chronicle (MS. Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge, clxxiii.). If not perhaps the original, it certainly represents a chronicle started at Winchester by Ælfred. It begins B.C. 60 and extends to A.D. 1070, but after 978 it becomes meagre and intermittent. The first handwriting goes down to 891, and the summary of Wessex Kings given in the preface ends with Ælfred. Besides Bæda and other materials used must have been an old Latin Chronicle, also used by Asser, and apparently given by him more correctly than by the compiler of the Winchester Chronicle. Æthelweard apparently had a copy ending in 892 or 893, as he follows it down to that point, and no further. For errors in the chronology A.D. 731–858, see Bishop Stubbs, *Hoveden*, I. xci. etc.

B. The Canterbury Chronicle (MS. Cott. Tib. A. VI.), Incarnation to A.D. 977; one of the least valuable of the series, probably compiled at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, about the period at which it closes, as the list of Wessex Kings is carried down to Eadweard the Martyr (975–978).

C. The Abingdon Chronicle (MS. Cott. Tib. B. I.), B.C. 60–A.D. 1066. Written in one hand to 1046. This Chronicle has a mass of matter in common with the Worcester Chronicle (D). The best view appears to be that so far they copied a third Chronicle, or third chronicler, each making additions of its own, and again at times becoming independent. The latest entries are the most important, but, like B, it incorporates a little Mercian Chronicle, or "Annals of Æthelflæd," A.D. 902–924. (See Mr. Plummer's *Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, xi. and 103.)

D. The Worcester Chronicle (MS. Cott. Tib. B. IV.) Incarnation to A.D. 1079; written in one hand down to 1016. As already mentioned, this Chronicle and C appear to be largely based on common originals, each copying some things, omitting others, and adding notes of its own, especially on Mercian and Northumbrian affairs. At times they are utterly divergent. The later parts of both are the most full and valuable; at times the narratives seem contemporary; then again we have periods of confusion, when the original entries cannot have been posted up near the time.

E. Peterborough Chronicle (MS. Bodl. Laud 636). Incarnation to 1154; written in one hand down to 1121, about which time the MS. must have been transcribed, perhaps in consequence of a fire that took place in the convent buildings in 1116, when the library may have been destroyed. Down to the end of 892 the narrative (like that of Æthelweard, *q.v.*), follows the Winchester Chronicle (A); after that, down to about 1022, the bulk of the matter is ultimately derived from an original common to C and D. After that "the relations between C, D, and E become too complicated to be expressed by any one formula. Sometimes all three agree, sometimes all three are independent." It will be noticed that E takes us three-quarters of a century beyond the others. For notes on this difficult question I have to thank the Rev. C. Plummer, of C. C. Coll. Oxford. See also his and Mr. Earle's Prefaces to their editions of *Saxon Chronicles Parallel*.

Chronicles of Picts and Scots (W. F. Skene, Scottish Record Commission,
Clark, G. T., *Mediæval Military Architecture in England* (1884). [1867).
C. D., *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici* (J. Kemble).
C.I.L., *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Hübner).
D'Achery, L., *Spicilegium* (ed. La Barre, Paris, 1723?).
Decem Scriptt., see *Scriptores Decem.*
De Inventione Crucis. A Waltham Tract, written after the expulsion of the Secular Canons in 1177 by a man born about the year 1119. (Bishop Stubbs, 1861.)
Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheke*: wrote after B.C. 8.
Dion Cassius, 'History of Rome.' Born A.D. 155. Time of death unknown, but after 230. A leading authority for Roman history, of which he wrote from the earliest times down to A.D. 229. Only parts of his work have come down to us.
Domesday and Beyond, F. W. Maitland, 1887.
Domesday Book, Introduction to, Sir H. Ellis (Record Commission, 1833).
Domesday Studies, edited by P. E. Dove, 1886.
Dugdale, Sir William, *Monasticon* (ed. Caley); *Baronage.*
Dunstan, St., *see* Memorials of.
Eadmer, *Historia Novorum* (960–1122) and *De Vita S. Anselmi* (M. Rule, Rolls Series No. 81). The writer was born about 1064, apparently of English parents, placed "*infantia*" at Christ Church, Canterbury, and there took vows. He was introduced to Anselm at his visit to Canterbury in 1079. When the latter was raised to the Primacy, Eadmer became his chaplain and secretary, and remained in personal attendance on him through all his vicissitudes to the end of his life. Eadmer himself died at Canterbury about 1144. The first four books of the *Hist. Nov.* were probably issued about 1112; the last additions may have been made about 1125. For his abortive appointment to the See of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, see below, II. 294.
Earle, J., *Land Charters, etc.* (1888).
—— *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel.*
Elton, *Origins of English History.*
Ely, History of: Historia Eliensis. Books I. and II. in part are printed by Gale, *Scriptores Quindecim*, I. 463. Book II. is fully printed by D. J. Stewart (*Anglia Christiana*, 1848). Book I. was compiled by the order of Hervé, first Bishop of Ely (1108–1131), and gives the history of the monastery from its foundation by St. Æthelthryth to the time of Æthelwold (died 984). Book II. continues the history till 1107; the date of its composition is quite uncertain. A reference to gold coinage (aureis) (page 475, Gale) suggests that it was not compiled till after 1257—perhaps 1257–1344.
Encomium Emmæ Reginæ. This Tract, which covers the period A.D. 1013–1040, is dedicated to Emma, successively wife of Æthelred and Cnut, and was written by some followers of hers, probably a chaplain and a monk from St. Omer, and finished before the death of Harthacnut (8th June, 1042), as he is mentioned as living. (Duchesne, *Historiæ Norm. Scriptores*; also F. Maseres, London, 1807.)
Eusebius, Pamphilus, Bishop of Cæsarea, the great ecclesiastical historian, was born *circa* A.D. 264, and died *circa* 340.

Eutropius wrote a compendium of Roman history at the command of, and dedicated to, the Emperor Valens, A.D. 364–378.

Evans, Sir John. *Coins of Ancient Britons* and *Supplement.*

Evesham, Chronicon Abbatiæ de (Rolls Series No. 29, W. D. Macray). This work extends in all A.D. 692–1418. The part A.D. 692–1086 (pp. 1–68) is by Dominic, who was Prior of the House in 1125 (Florence). The next portion, A.D. 714–1214 (pp. 69–260), is by Thomas of Marlebridge, or Marlborough, who became Prior in 1218, and died in 1236. The remaining portion is by an unknown continuator. Macray, *sup.*

Florence of Worcester, a monk, *Chronicon ex Chronicis* (A.D. 450–1117), with continuations, bringing down the narrative to 1295. Florence himself died in 1118. His work is based on two leading authorities, viz., for domestic affairs the Worcester Chronicle (D), and for general history the Chronicle of an Irish monk, Mael Brighte, known as "Marianus Scotus," who spent most of his life (1028–1083) in Germany. Florence, however, adds much of his own. His work is of the greatest value, especially in ecclesiastical affairs: in secular matters he is not always equally trustworthy. (English Hist. Society, 1849; B. Thorpe; also partly in the *M.H.B.*)

Fordun, John of, *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* (W. F. Skene, Edinburgh, 1871). Written apparently A.D. 1363–1387.

Foss, Edward, *Judges of England* (1848).

Freeman, E. A., *Norman Conquest of England* (1867); *History of William Rufus; Old English History* (1885).

Frontinus, Sex. Julius, *Strategematicon Libri.* Served in Britain A.D. 75–78. Times of birth and death unknown. A writer on tactics.

Gaimar, Geoffrey (Jeffrei), *L'Estorie des Engles* (A.D. 495–1100). Gaimar, native of Troyes, wrote, apparently in Yorkshire or Lincolnshire, *circa* 1150. Printed in part *M.H.B.* 764; and now in full by Mr. C. T. Martin, Rolls Series No. 91, *q.v.* for details; also the Preface to the *M.H.B.* 91; and below, II. 91, note.

Gale, T., *Historiæ Britannicæ, etc., Scriptores,* XV. (1684–1691). 3 vols. The first volume, as usually bound up, is really a separate work published by W. Fulman and Bishop Fell. See *M.H.B.* Introd. 18–21.

Gervase, *De Combustione etc. Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ.*

—— *Imaginatio quasi contra monachos Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ.*

—— *Imaginatio quasi contra Baldewinum Archiepiscopum.*

—— *Imaginatio contra Rogerum Abbatem S. Augustini.*

—— *Chronica* (1), A.D. 1100–1199.

—— *Chronica* (2) *seu Gesta Regum*; Mythical ages, Brutus, etc., to 1210; with Continuations by different hands to 1328.

—— *Actus Pontificum Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ*; from the mission of St. Augustine to the death of Hubert Walter, 1205. The writer, a Canterbury monk, may have been born about 1141, as he received the tonsure in 1163. His earliest historical writings, the account of the burning of Canterbury Cathedral in 1174, and the *Imaginationes*, or "Cases" for different parties in disputes in which the monks were involved, were probably not undertaken before 1185. His Chronicle was probably begun in 1188, and from that time onwards may be considered strictly contemporary. The second Chronicle or *Gesta Regum*, and

the *Actus Pontificum* were not taken in hand till after 1199. The above were first printed, in part, by Sir R. Twysden, in his *Scriptores Decem*; now fully, and in thoroughly scholarly style, by Bishop Stubbs, Rolls Series No. 73.

Gesta Stephani Regis Anglorum, A.D. 1135–1148. The work of an unknown but well-informed contemporary, living in the south of England; the solitary MS. from which the work was originally printed by Duchesne in his *Historiæ Normanniæ Scriptores* was defective, and is now lost. (R. Howlett, Rolls Series No. 82, vol. III.)

Gildas, *Historia* and *Epistola* (*M.H.B.* and English Historical Society, Stevenson, 1838; a new edition has been issued by Prof. Mommsen). The writer, a Romanized Briton, composed a so-called "History" from Roman times down to his own day, but giving few facts and no dates, except that he was writing in his forty-fourth year, having been born the year of the siege of the *Mons Badonicus*, which the *Annales Cambriæ* place A.D. 516. (Ad annum obsessionis Montis Badonici . . quique quadragesimus quartus, ut novi, oritur annus, mense jam primo emenso, qui jam et meæ nativitatis est.) Mommsen thinks that Gildas wrote *circa* A.D. 547; that would throw back the date of the siege of the *Mons Badonicus* to A.D. 503, but the Saxons do not appear to have pushed so far West by that time.

Giraldus Cambrensis, Gerald of Barry, commonly known by the above name, was the son of William of Barry, a Norman settled in Wales, by Angareth, daughter of the Lady Nest, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, the last King of South Wales. Gerald was born about 1147, studied in Paris, was appointed Archdeacon of Brecknock, and Chaplain to Henry II., and sent with the King's son John to Ireland in 1185. He was still writing in his 70th year, say A.D. 1217. See Mr. J. S. Brewer's Introduction to Gerald's works, published by him and the Rev. J. F. Dymok, Rolls Series No. 21.

Glaber, Rodulfus, *Historiarum Libri*, XV., A.D. 900–1044. The writer, a monk living in the N.E. of modern France, ended his work between 1046 and 1049. (M. Prou, Paris, 1886.)

Godefroy, F., *Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Langue Française.* (Paris, 1880, etc.)

Green, J. R., *Making of England; Conquest of England.*

Guillelmus Pictavensis, *see* Poitiers, William of.

H. and S., Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* (Oxford, 1869).

Herodian, a Greek, wrote a contemporary history of Roman affairs A.D. 180–238.

Hexham, John of. Little or nothing is known of this man except that he was a canon of Hexham, and member of the Chapter of York. He may have been Prior of Hexham at some time between 1160 and 1209. The continuation of the *Hist. Regum* of Symeon is by him.

—— Richard of, *De Gestis Regis Stephani* (1135–1139); a contemporary narrative, as the writer became Prior of Durham in 1141; he was still living in 1154. (R. Howlett, Rolls Series No. 82, vol. III.).

Historia Pontificalis, Pertz, XX. A Tract supposed to have been written by John of Salisbury, 1161–1162.

Historians of the Church of York (J. Raine, Rolls Series No. 71).

Hoveden, Roger of, *Chronica*, A.D. 649–1196 (Rolls Series No. 51, Bishop Stubbs). The earlier part of the work reproduces the *Gesta Regum* of Symeon in an earlier shape than we otherwise have it.

Hübner, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*

Huntingdon, H., *Hist. Anglorum Libri VIII.*, and *Epistola de Contemptu Mundi.* Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon was probably born before A.D. 1084; began to write 1125–1130, and probably died soon after 1154, where his work ends. For his own times he is a valuable authority; his earlier records are mainly based on the A.S. Chronicles (Rolls Series No. 74, T. Arnold; also in Savile's *Scriptores*, and partly in the *M.H.B.*). For analyses of Huntingdon's work see Mr. Arnold's *Introduction*, and Dr. Liebermann, *Forschungen zur Deutsch. Geschichte*, 1878.

Hyda, Liber de, A.D. 455–1023 (Rolls Series No. 45, E. Edwards). A compilation, made after the year 1354, mostly from known authors; but also containing charters and documents, some of them not found elsewhere.

Ingulf, *Hist. Croyland;* Gale, *Scriptores* XV., vol. II. 70. Ingulf was an Englishman at one time secretary to William the Conqueror. He afterwards went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and after that, again, entered the monastery of St. Wandrille in Normandy. He was finally appointed Abbot of Croyland by William 1086–1109 (Orderic, 542; Freeman, *N.C.* IV. 600). The history above attributed to him extends from A.D. 626–1089; it is a forgery of the twelfth or thirteenth century (Freeman, *sup.*; Riley, *Arch. Journal*, 1862, p. 32; *M.H.B.* 18). A first Continuation down to 1117, attributed to Peter of Blois, is another fabrication by some apocryphal Peter, hired by the Abbot to make up a Chronicle. (*M.H.B. sup.*; Stubbs, *Lectures Mod. History*, 148.)

Innisfallen, Annals of; O'Connor, "*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*"; but cited from Mr. Skene's extracts, *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 167. These valuable Irish records were reduced to their present shape in 1215.

Island, Annales de, extending down to A.D. 1341. J. Langebek, *Scriptt. Rer. Danicarum*, III. 41.

Jumièges, William of, *Historia Normannorum* (Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Scriptt.*). William Calculus, a monk of Jumièges, abridged the work of Dudo, *De Gestis Normannorum* (Duchesne, *sup.*), continuing the narrative down to the Hastings campaign. This work, ending book VII. c. 42, he presented to the Conqueror. The notice of William's death he added later, cc. 43, 44. Book VIII., "together with many interpolations in the earlier books, were added by a later hand, apparently that of Robert of Thorigny, Abbot of St. Michael's Mount, commonly called Robert de Monte"; Freeman, *N.C.* II. 161. These additions were probably made towards the year 1139. R. Howlett (*Chron. Thorigni*).

Kemble, John, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*; and, *Saxons in England* (1876). The *Cod. Dip.* is a collection of Anglo-Saxon charters, containing most of those known to be extant.

Laing, S., *Heimskringla, or Lives of the Kings of Norway* (London, 1844). A collection of *Sagas* or historical tales supposed to have

been originally compiled from older sources by one Ari Thorgilsson, A.D. 1067–1148, and subsequently expanded by the great Scandinavian scholar Snorri Sturlason, A.D. 1178–1241, the whole translated by Mr. Laing. See Vigfusson and York Powell, *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, I. p.c. and II. 100.

Lampridius, Ælius. Believed to be the same man as Spartianus, *q.v.*

Lanfranci Opera (Migne, *Patrologia*, Latin Series; J. A. Giles, *Patres*).

Langebek, J., *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum* (1772).

Lappenberg, J. M., *History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings.* (Translated B. Thorpe, 1845.)

—— *History of England under the Norman Kings.* (Transl. B. Thorpe, 1857.)

Leland, John, *Collectanea* (T. Hearne, 1770).

Le Prevost; notes to his new edition of Orderic. (*Société de l'Histoire de France*, 1852.)

Liebermann, Dr. F., *Consiliatio Cnuti*, or Laws of King Cnut (Halle, 1893).

—— *Quadripartitus* (A.D. 1114), 1892.

—— *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, 1896.

—— *Gerefa*, *Anglia*, IX. 251.

—— *Kleine Geschichtesquellen.* (Strasburg, 1879.)

Mabillon, J., *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti in sæculorum classes distributa* (Venice, 1793).

—— *Vetera Analecta* (fol. ed.).

Maitland, F. W., *Domesday and Beyond*, 1897.

Malmesbury, William of: *G.P.*, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, A.D. 597–1140 (Rolls Series No. 52, N. E. S. A. Hamilton); *G.R.*, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, A.D. 449–1128; *H.N.*, *Historia Novella*, a continuation of the foregoing, bringing the narrative down to 1142, where the work ends abruptly. (English Historical Society, Hardy; and Rolls Series No. 90, Bishop Stubbs.) The original editions of the *G.P.* and the *G.R.* were issued about the year 1125. The writer was probably born of a Norman father and an English mother about the year 1095; he spent most, if not all, of his life at Malmesbury. He may have moved to Glastonbury in the troubled times of Stephen. He was patronised by Earl Robert of Gloucester, to whom he dedicated his *G.R.* and *H.N.* We have also from his pen a Life of Bishop Wulfstan, *Anglia Sacr.* II. 241; a Life of St. Dunstan (*Memorials St. Dunstan*, Rolls Series No. 63, Bishop Stubbs); and *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ* (Gale, *Scriptt.* XV.). He probably died soon after 1142. For the Life of Wulfstan, see text, 484.

Map, Walter, *De Nugis Curialium* (Wright); born *circa* 1140; much at the court of Henry II.; died *circa* 1210.

Marianus Scotus, an Irish monk, whose secular name was Maelbrigte; born 1028, and died 1083. He spent most of his life in Irish foundations in Germany, and compiled a chronicle extending from the Creation to his own times (Pertz, VII. 481, etc.). This work is one of the bases of the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester. (*M.H.B.*, Preface, 83.)

Maskell, W., *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* (1846).

Melrose, Chronicle of, A.D. 731–1270. Down to 1120 it is taken from

Symeon of Durham; after that it becomes original; and from 1136, when Melrose Abbey was founded, it becomes in fact contemporary. (J. Stevenson, Bannatyne Club, 1835.)

Memorials of Richard I. (Bishop Stubbs, Rolls Series No. 38).

Memorials of St. Dunstan (Bishop Stubbs, Rolls Series No. 63). This repertory, besides other *Reliquiæ Dunstanianæ*, contains five Lives of the Saint.

(1) *Vita St. D., "Auctore B. Saxonum indigena"; i.e.* not an Englishman, but a German. The writer must have been a personal friend of Dunstan, and wrote about the year 1000.

(2) *Vita "Auctore Adelardo."* This man was a monk of the Abbey of Blandin, otherwise St. Peter's Ghent. He dedicates to Archbishop Ælfheah, or Elfege, and therefore must have written A.D. 1006–1012.

(3) *Vita "Auctore Osberno."* This Osbern was Precentor of Christ Church, Canterbury, and wrote during the primacy of Lanfranc, or at any rate before the appointment of Anselm (1070–1093).

(4) *Vita "Auctore Eadmero."* Eadmer was also Precentor of Christ Church, and the friend and biographer of St. Anselm. He died *circa* 1124, but the Life of Dunstan was probably an early work.

(5) *Vita "Auctore Willelmo Malmesburiense."* This was written by William of Malmesbury, after his *Gesta Regum*, and a good deal in order to correct the errors and absurdities of the Life by Osbern. See the Introduction by Bishop Stubbs.

Merivale, C., *History of the Romans under the Empire.*

Milman, H. H., *History of Latin Christianity* (1854).

Mommsen, T., *History of Rome.* Translation by W. P. Dickson.

Monte, R. de, *Chronica*, 1100–1185. Robert of Torigny-sur-Vire (Manche), commonly called Robert de Monte, was born *circa* 1110, took vows at Bec, and was finally elected Abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel in 1154. He died in 1186. Soon after the death of Henry I. he published an edition of William of Jumièges as we have the work, with the eighth book and other additions of his own. He also published additions to the work of Sigebert of Gemblours—A.D. 64–1100—by way of Introduction to his own proper chronicles. It will be seen that the greater part of the latter must be considered contemporary history, but the chronology is confused, the dates being left to be added in the margin and by subordinates. It was by our author that Henry of Huntingdon was first shown a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth, at Bec, in 1139. (R. Howlett, Rolls Series No. 82, vol. IV.)

M. H. B., Monumenta Historica Britannica (Petrie & Sharpe, 1848).

Muratori, L. A., *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (1723).

Nennius, "Nenn.," "Nynyas," "Ninius." The *Historia Britonum* that goes by the name of Nennius, a Welshman, is a ninth century compilation, much interpolated in successive recensions. Thus, in s. 5, A.D. 831 is given as the current year; in s. 16, A.D. 858 or 859

is given as the current year, and so on. The original author claims to be a disciple of Bishop Elbodug of Bangor, who introduced the Roman Easter into Wales, and died A.D. 809 (Haddan and Stubbs, I. 148). Nennius incorporated a small chronicle, the work of a North Briton, giving facts from the accession of Ida (A.D. 547) to the death of St. Cuthberht (A.D. 687), with an isolated reference to Ecgfrith, son of Offa, who died A.D. 796. This is the only part of any historic value. The notices of St. Patrick are taken from the best Irish authorities, viz., Tirechan and Muirchu. The Arthurian legend makes its first appearance in Nennius. For full analysis and reconstruction of the text, which at an early age was dislocated with great detriment to the sense, see H. Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus* (Berlin, 1893). The learned professor would put the date of the original compilation as early as A.D. 796.

Newburgh, William of, *Historia Rerum Anglicanarum* (A.D. 1066–1198, with a continuation to 1298). This William, who was also surnamed *Parvus*, *Petit*, or Little, was born at Bridlington in 1136; became a canon of the Augustinian Priory of Newburgh in the North Riding of Yorkshire; and died, seemingly, about 1198, where his history ends. Apparently he did not begin his work till 1196. He is a writer of remarkable sense and judgment. (R. Howlett, Rolls Series No. 82, vols. I. and II.; also edited for the English Historical Society by Mr. H. C. Hamilton, 1856.)

Orderic, "in Religion" named Vitalis, *Ecclesiastica Historia* (Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Scriptores*. A better edition, *Société de l'Histoire de France*, 1852, with valuable notes, will be cited as "Le Prevost"). This writer, whose name looks like the English Ordric, as it would be pronounced by Frenchmen, was the son of a Norman priest, Odelerius, chaplain to Earl Roger of Shrewsbury, by an English mother, and was born near that city in 1075. In 1085 he was sent to the monastery of Saint Evroult-en-Ouche, where, with the exception of some visits to France and England, he spent his life. In one of the latter he was evidently shown, at Worcester, a copy of the work of Florence, though he gives the author's name as John, being apparently that of a Continuator. In 1141 he lays down his pen, being, as he tells us, worn out with age, in the sixty-seventh year of his life, and the fifty-seventh of his residence at Saint Evroult. His work supplies us with a mass of information on family, local, and ecclesiastical, as well as general history; but it was written in parts, at intervals of time, and subjected to various revisions, leading to a certain amount of inconsistency and of confusion in the chronology. For an analysis of the work see the article in the *National Dictionary of History*.

Orosius, Paulus, a Spanish priest. Compiled a brief history of the world, from a Christian point of view, down to his own time, ending A.D. 417.

Palgrave, Sir Francis, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 1876.

Paris, Matthew of, *Chronica Majora*, commonly called the *Historia Major* (Creation–1259; H. R. Luard, Rolls Series No. 57). *Historia Anglorum*, commonly called the *Historia Minor* (1067–1253; Sir F. Madden, Rolls Series No. 44). *Vitæ XXIII.*

Abbatum Sancti Albani, printed by Wats with his edition of the *Historia Major* (London, 1640). The writer, a native of the district of Paris in Lincolnshire, became a monk at St. Alban's, and took up and carried on the work started there by Roger of Wendover, *q.v.* He died in 1259. His work was carried on by others to 1272.

Patrick, St., Tripartite Life of, Rolls Series No. 89, Whitley Stokes.

——'*Confession of*.' *Ib.*

Pausanias. Wrote A.D. 170–180 (*M.H.B.*).

Pearson, C. H., *History of England in the Early and Middle Ages.*

Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica.*

Peterborough, John of, *Chronicon*, A.D. 654–1368. A compilation from earlier sources of uncertain date and authorship. (Sparke, *Hist. Angl. Scriptores*, 1723.)

Picts and Scots, Chronicles of, W. F. Skene (Scottish Record Comm., 1867).

Pipe Roll, 31 Henry I. (Hunter, Record Commission).

Plutarch, *Lives;* born towards A.D. 50 (*M.H.B.*).

Poitiers, William of, Archdeacon of Lisieux, and Chaplain to William the Conqueror, *Gesta Guillelmi Ducis* (F. Maseres, 1807; and Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Script.*, 1619). This work, composed when William was 45 years old (=1072, p. 43), is believed to have originally extended from 1027 (?) to 1070; as extant it only covers 1035-1067; but the part subsequent to 1067 is apparently preserved by Orderic, *q.v.* William apparently was not with his master in the Hastings campaign. *See* Mr. Round's article in the *English Historical Review*, VIII. 667.

Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis.* Fl. *circa* A.D. 45 (*M.H.B.*)

Prosper of Aquitaine, *see* below, I. 97, note.

Prosper-Tyro, or Pseudo-Prosper, *see* vol. I. p. 97, note.

Ptolemy—Claudius Ptolemæus—mathematician, astronomer, and geographer. Was making observations in A.D. 139, and living after 161. (*M.H.B.*)

Radulfus Niger, or The Black, a writer of the time of Henry II.; has left us two chronicles extending down to his own time. (Caxton Society, 1851, Metcalfe.)

Ramsey Abbey (Hunts) *History or Chronicle of*, say A.D. 925–1160, after which latter date it was compiled (W. D. Macray, Rolls Series No. 83; also partly printed by T. Gale, *Scriptores* XV, Oxford, 1691). In the main a Register of Charters, this work also supplies valuable facts as to the founder, St. Oswald Archbishop of York, Cnut, and other persons connected with the Abbey.

Registrum Gregorii VII. (Migne, *Patrologia*, Latin Series, vol 148).

Registrum Sacrum, Bishop Stubbs (1858; an enlarged ed. 1897).

Rhys, John, *Celtic Britain* (S.P.C.K. 1882).

——*Hibbert Lectures*, 1886.

Rievaulx, Ælred or Æthelred of, *De Vita et Miraculis Edwardi Confessoris* (*Decem Scriptt.* c. 370). *Relatio de Standardo* (Rolls Series No. 82, vol. III., Howlett). *Vita S. Niniani* (J. Pinkerton; *Vitæ SS. Scotiæ*, ed. 1889, W. M. Metcalfe). The writer was born in 1109 at Hexham; in 1133 he entered the Cistercian Abbey of Rievaulx, of which he became abbot in 1146; died 1166.

Rishanger, W., *Chronica*, A.D. 1259–1307 (Rolls Series No. 28, vol. IV., H. T. Riley).

Robertson, E. W., *Scotland under Early Kings.* Edinburgh, 1862.

—— *Historical Essays.*

Rodulfus Glaber (*i.e. The Bald*), *Historiarum Libri XV.*, A.D. 900–1044. (Prou, Paris, 1886). A Burgundian monk, born at the end of the 10th century; he spent his life in the N.E. of France; ceased writing between 1046 and 1049.

Roman de Rou, Wace. 2 vols. ed. Pluquet, 1827. *See* Wace.

Roskild, Annals of, A.D. 826–1157. J. Langebek, *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*, I. 149, etc.

Rössler, Dr. O., *Kaiserin Mathilde* (1898).

Round, J. Horace, *Feudal England* (1895).

—— *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (1892).

—— *Knight's Service* (1891; reprinted from the *English Historical Review*).

Saxo Grammaticus, *Historiæ Danicæ Libri XVI.* (Stephanius, 1644). The writer was secretary to Archbishop Axel, or Absalom of Lund (1158–1201), and died in 1204. His work is a classical composition, based on Sagas and popular tradition, without dates, and abounding in gross errors.

Schmid, R., *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 1858.

Scriptt. X., Scriptt. Decem Historiæ Anglicanæ (R. Twysden, 1652).

Seebohm, F., *Tribal System of Wales.*

—— *English Village Communities.*

Senchus Mor (Irish Record Commission). *See* vol. I. 11, note.

Sismondi, J. C. L. S. de, *Histoire des Français*, 1821.

Skene, W. F., *Celtic Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1886).

—— *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* (Scottish Record Commission, 1867).

—— *Four Antient Books of Wales.*

Solinus, C. J., *Polyhistor.* Fl. *circa* A.D. 80. Wrote a geographical compendium, much borrowed from Pliny's Natural History.

Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica.* A history of recent events ending A.D. 423, the writer being then living.

Spartianus, Ælius. A contributor with Capitolinus to the Lives of the Emperors, known as *Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ.* *See* Capitolinus.

Spicilegium, *see* D'Achery.

Stubbs, T., a Dominican Friar. Wrote Lives of the Archbishops of York (*Acta Pontificum Eboracensium*), down to his own time, ending with the death of Archbishop Thursby in 1373.

Stubbs, W., Bishop of Oxford, *Constitutional History of England* (1883); *Select Charters* (1870); *Registrum Sacrum*, 1858; a new and enlarged ed. 1897.

Suetonius, C. Tranquillus, *Historiæ Cæsarum*; born A.D. 70–72? time of death unknown.

Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi* (Société de l'Histoire de France).

Symeon, "*H.D.E.*," *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ*, A.D. 635–1096; with *Continuations* by unknown writers, extending to 1153. "*H.R.*," *Historia Regum*, A.D. 547–1129; with a *Continuation*, cited as "*H.R. Cont.*" by John of Hexham, bringing the narrative down to 1153. A

second *Continuation* by Richard Prior of Hexham (*q.v.*) is cited as an independent work. The "*H.D.E.*" and the "*H.R.*" are respectively printed by Mr. T. Arnold, Rolls Series No. 57, vols. I. and II., with further valuable Tracts in the *Auctaria* and *Appendices*. The "*H.D.E.*" and "*H.R.*," etc., are also printed in Twysden's *Scriptores Decem*; the "*H.R.*" have also been printed by Mr. J. H. Hinde for the Surtees Society, and of course, in part, in the *M.H.B.* The "*H.D.E.*" and some of the minor pieces are unquestionably the work of Symeon; the "*H.R.*" can only be considered his to a very limited extent. It is a compilation of a very singular character, divisible into three parts. Part I. extends from the time of Ida (no date) to 957. It begins with extracts from Bæda, and ends with extracts from Asser, but between 732 and 802 it incorporates a fossil Northern Chronicle, not found in any other shape, and more accurate in its chronology than the A.S. Chronicles. Part II. goes back to the year 848, and from thence to the end of 1118 it is little more than a transcript of Florence and his first Continuator. After that (Part III.) it becomes original. The work as we have it was certainly retouched at Hexham, but whether, as argued by Mr. Hinde, it is altogether a Hexham work, or the work of Symeon, it is throughout the primary authority for Northern affairs. Note that the "*H.R.*" is embodied by Hoveden in his Chronicle, and in a more correct form than we have it otherwise, he having had access to a MS. older than the existing MS. (Corpus Christi Coll. Cambridge, 139). See the Prefaces of Mr. Arnold and Mr. Hinde, and that of Bishop Stubbs to his *Hoveden* (Rolls Series No. 51). For Symeon himself see below, I. 204, and II. 120.

Tacitus, C. Cornelius, *Annals, Histories, Life of Agricola, Germania.* Time of birth unknown; married a daughter of Agricola; died probably after A.D. 117.

Thorpe, B., *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* (Record Commission, 1840). Vol. I. contains the Secular Laws, vol. II. contains Ecclesiastical Documents.

Tighernac, Annals of, A.D. 501–1072 (*Chron. P. and S.*, Skene, p. 66). The writer, an Irishman, died in the year 1088.

Tripartite Life, see Patrick, St.

Victor, Sex. Aurelius, *De Cæsaribus.* The writer flourished in the middle of the 4th century; consul A.D. 373.

Vinogradoff, P., *Villainage in England* (1892).

Vitæ Ædwardi Confessoris (H. R. Luard, Rolls Series, No. 3). This collection comprises three lives.

(1) Poem in French, dedicated to Eleanor the Queen of Henry III. (say *circa* 1245). This work is professedly translated from the Latin, *i.e.* the *Genealogia Regg. Anglorum*, and *Vita Edwardi Confessoris* of Ailred of Rievaulx (*Decem Scriptores*, and Migne, *Patrologia*), but re-arranged with additions from other sources (pp. 1–157).

(2) Latin Poem, dedicated to Henry VI. *circa* 1450; this again is all from Ælred (pp. 361–377).

(3) *Vita Ædwardi Regis.* This is the important Life, as it was written for, and dedicated to, Queen Eadgyth by a follower.

It is composed partly in verse, and partly in prose, and was written 1066–1074. The existing MS., however (Harl. 526), is not the original but a twelfth century copy (pp. 389–435). The first two Lives are really not historical, and scarcely worth quoting.

Vita Lanfranci (Giles, *Patres*).

Vita Oswaldi; Historians of Church of York, I. 411, etc. (J. Raine, Rolls Series, No. 71).

Vopiscus, Flavius, a contributor to the *Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ*. *See* Capitolinus.

Wace, otherwise Vace, Vaice, or Uistace = Eustace, *Roman de Brut*, a metrical translation of the *Historia Britonum* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, finished in 1155. *Roman de Rou* (*i.e.* of Rollo), a metrical history of the Dukes of Normandy, ending in 1106 (ed. Pluquet, Rouen, 1827; translated by E. Taylor, 1837). The writer, a native of Jersey, was rewarded for his literary labours by Henry II. with a canonry at Bayeux. The *Roman de Rou* is mainly based on the work of William of Jumièges, but it is essentially of a popular character, and of value chiefly for the language and the spelling of names. A more critical text has been printed by Herr Andresen.

Wars of Gaedhill with Gail (J. H. Todd, Rolls Series No. 48).

Waverley, Annals of, A.D. 1–1291 (Rolls Series No. 36, vol. II., H. R. Luard).

Wendover, Roger of, *Flores Historiarum*, A.D. 447–1235 (English Historical Society, H. O. Coxe). The writer, the first of the St. Alban's chroniclers, died in 1237. He evidently had access to materials that we do not now possess.

Wilkins, D., *Concilia Magnæ Brittanniæ* (London, 1737).

Winton, or Winchester, Annals of, A.D. 519–1277; printed by Mr. H. R. Luard in his *Annales Monastici*, vol. II. (Rolls Series No. 36). The work may be styled a 13th century compilation, but it gives many notes as to Winchester.

Wright, J., *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*.

Xiphiline, Xiphilinus of Constantinople, a monk. Made an abridgment of parts of the work of Dion Cassius at the command of the Emperor Michael VII. Ducas, who reigned 1071–1078.

Zonaras, J., *Chronicon*. A. Byzantine scholar; lived in the 12th century. His work reproduces valuable portions of the History of Dion Cassius not preserved elsewhere.

Zosimus, a Greek historian. Wrote after the year 425.

Butler & Tanner, The Selwood Printing Works, Frome, and London.

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